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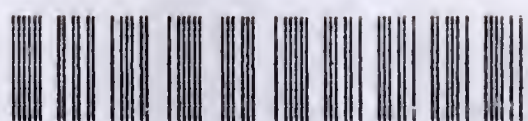
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THE  
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EDITED BY

E. J. WOLF, D. D., AND P. M. BIKLÉ, PH. D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D.

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THE  
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ARTICLE I.

SELF-REVELATION OF GOD.

A REVIEW OF DR. SAMUEL HARRIS' WORK.

By PROF. W. H. WYNN, PH. D., Dean of the Faculty of Midland College,  
Atchison, Kansas.

*The Self-Revelation of God.* By SAMUEL HARRIS; D. D., LL. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This remarkable book is the outgrowth of a feeling widely prevalent in our day, that the whole subject of God's revelation of himself to men, and specifically the revelation alleged to have been incarnate in Christ, should undergo revision, and be lifted to such altitude of advantage as the wondrously increased knowledge of our time will admit. Old methods, and the earlier apologetic conceptions, are felt to be somewhat outgrown, especially when confronted with a species of skepticism which boasts itself of new and decisive tests, and sets itself up as the very mouth-piece of the latest deliverances of science shutting the knowledge of God forever from men.

It was indeed fair to assume that where science was reaping such rich harvests of discovery, religion might reasonably come in for her share, not indeed of the same material, but of the usufruct of the same teeming and exuberant soil. In an age of such intense intellectual activity as ours, who could imagine every faculty of man in most vigorous and productive exercise, and the religious consciousness inert? Progress sweeps human-



ity onward in a mass. We have known from the beginning that there was a palpable one-sidedness, not to say violence, in the attempt on the part of the leading scientific minds of the century to arrogate all forward movement to themselves, and sneer at theology as something not only backward in itself, but as a dead weight to every other energy striving to advance. Absorbed in the material, the crass, the sensuous, in all those forces that make themselves known sensibly in the laboratory, they come at last to attach reality only to these, and find some speculative ground for dissipating every religious idea into agnostic smoke.

There is a vast, ingenious, persuasive, similitude of philosophy lying behind the materialism of our age. It is no philosophy, it is true, but it wears the robes, and speaks the dialect, and walks with the self-same pensive gait of the heaven-descended messenger of Hellenic skies. "Divine philosophy"—not any more. Its chief exploit is to show that there is nothing divine, that is nothing personally divine within reach of the groping faculties of man. We know of no world but matter, it says, and we are deceived in our idea of an immanent God. The Unknowable lies shoreless, boundless, abysmal over all—a dark, silent, terrifying mystery, which the unscientific imagination relieves itself of by outlining on the formless infinite the figure of a colossal man. This is the scientific materialist's rendering of theism, and especially of Christian theism, as it rests now in the devout musings of the common mind, and of the learned mind also in so far as the light of scientific discovery has not yet come to its aid. Theism, meaning thereby a self-conscious God moving onward and outward in the act of self-revelation to finite intelligences so constituted that their highest realization of self is their realization of Him—theism, thus understood, is regarded as a thing of the past. It has been sloughed off. All reasonable basis has slipped out from beneath it, and it stands now, they tell us, the forlorn survival of an anthropomorphic era, like those stately cathedrals of the middle ages, to be venerated and propped up as the lingering symbols of a dead past.

Now, unhappily, this spiritual blank has its logical antece-

dents far back, and is the logical outcome of a long line of philosophic system-building, originated and perpetuated in the interests of the very conceptions it overthrows. We trace it all to Sir Wm. Hamilton's philosophy of the unconditioned, and thence back to Kant. Kant set out to discover the fallacy in the skepticism of Hume, and by installing Reason as the coronal faculty of the human soul recovered the ideas of freedom, immortality, and God, from the awful eclipse into which they had fallen, and clothed them with the right royal supremacy of the great faculty itself. But his *Ding an sich* was the defeat of it all. The seeds of agnosticism were sown exactly there, and under the ample brooding of such master minds as Sir Wm. Hamilton and Herbert Spencer, the ill-fated postulate has sent out its dreary progeny, like the spawn of Egypt, into every avenue of human thought and life. To think is to condition, that is, to configure in outline or subject to limits, a process altogether inapplicable to whatever that is in which all phenomena inhere. What that is we can never know. It may be God; it may be Force. One thing is certain, it is out of relation to the human mind, and our highest wisdom will be to acknowledge the mystery, call it the Unknowable, and stand with yearning hearts and flinty faces, looking over into its pitch-black abyss.

Dr. Harris, like many a Christian philosopher of contemporary time, has felt the necessity of laying anew the philosophic basis of theism, and of denying roundly the Kantian hypothesis of the impossibility of knowing the thing in itself. But here a wide field of controversy is opened out. By far the greater burden of this expanded discussion—unduly expanded—is occupied directly or indirectly with this point. Man's capacity to know the Absolute, and what the Absolute is that impinges for recognition on the finite mind; the necessity and mode of revelation as between two such incommensurable interlocutors as the Infinite and the finite—not one step in this direction can be taken until we know how the great reality, if there be such, lying behind all phenomena, is taken hold of by the mind. How do I come by a knowledge of God, more particularly by such knowledge of him as will carry with it a conception of his self-conscious movement on my mind by way of a still further rev-



elation of himself to me? The old and long mooted ontological questions are still at issue here, and it is an interesting inquiry as to what extent Dr. Harris has succeeded in setting them at rest.

It is gratifying not to find the sword of the dialectician glistening over these pages. There are earnest appeals, often repeated, to what we may call the "secret confidences" of the mind, as if the writer, after the manner of a consistent intuitionist, were going round these great truths and facing them on all sides, to get such meaning out of them as only patient gazing will secure. An intuitionist is one who *sees*, and sees with the self-assuring eye of the mind. Ideal truths, that is truths which are not so closely bound to tangible and visible objects as are physical laws, are not only accepted as a real somewhat, but as the all-comprehensive underlying realities of the universe in which we live. They are the truths of the Reason, as Dr. Harris is constantly reiterating; and because they lie more or less remotely from the region of the senses are not readily subject to logical formula, and require in the main a mental attitude in order to their being distinctly seen.

The remedy, therefore, which Dr. Harris would find for the materialistic drift of the great Kantian metaphysics, would be "rational realism," or the making of Reason, the faculty which Kant discovered, a kind of internal organ for realizing spiritual realities, with as much vividness, under favorable circumstances, as the facts of the outer world are revealed to the eye. It is an internal experience, therefore, that reveals God. God is not an inference. His being is never to be argued into the mind, because he is seen by the mind before the argument begins. He is immanent in the universe and in the mind, and is always in the act of making himself personally known to finite intelligences so constituted that their very self-consciousness is a revelation of him. Before this conception of the Reason, Kant's bugbear of the unknowableness of the "thing in itself" must disappear.\* Man is endowed with a faculty of knowing "things

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\*"Such is rational realism. In this philosophy there is no place for Kant's doctrine that the phenomenon is totally separated from the *noumenon* or thing in itself, and that the latter is therefore entirely unknow-



in themselves," or at least, in self-consciousness, knowing a *noumenon* beyond the shadow of a doubt. Early in the career of this titanic system marching on to universal conquest, this fatal weakness was discovered, and put sarcastically to the great philosopher himself, charging that at least in the consciousness of himself Kant was mightily aware of one incontestable *Ding an sich*.

It was the mission of Hegelianism, by means of a stupendous dialectic, to work out a philosophy of self-consciousness that would expose the fallacy of the Unknowable, and save the great truths which Kant's famous postulate practically gave up. But Hegel erred in loading down thought with a burden of responsibility it could not support. He spun out his dialectic into a too intricate and too idealistic a web. On entering the long road of winding logical antitheses from *Sein ist nichts* up to *Wesen* and *Begriff*, we get hopelessly tangled in the skein of our own weaving, like the Lady of Shalott, who

“ —weaves by night and day  
A magic web of colors gay.  
She has heard a whisper say,  
A curse is on her if she stay  
To look down to Camelot.  
She knows not what the curse may be,  
And so she weaveth steadily,  
And little other care hath she,  
The Lady of Shalott.”

And yet in this endless weaving, it has of late days become quite apparent, we do really escape the threatened curse of looking down to Camelot.

To speak without figure, it must be credited to Hegel that by seizing upon self-consciousness, and developing the essential antitheses of all thinking, he has given the world the only clue it may have for the solving of Kant's riddle, and opened out the

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able, except that it is known not to be like the phenomenon. On the contrary what we know of an object is the object itself in its essential being, and in its essential significance to rational intelligence. \* \* And we have this knowledge of the thing in itself whether the object known is a body, or ourselves, or other rational and personal men, or God.” See p. 80, et seq.

only route left whereby the Absolute can be confidently claimed for the finite mind. All knowing is in the shape of thought; and whilst it is conceivable that much of our thinking may represent no reality whatever in the universe of things, may be the fret-work of dreams, or even the hallucinations of a mind diseased, yet a foot-hold of indefeasible reality is attained in the thought of ourself. No one can question the validity of this. His philosophy, as in the case of Kant, may indeed rob him of an adequate comprehension of the "infinite content" included logically in the very notion of self-consciousness, but he can never escape the conviction that solid underlying being is in some sense at the centre of self. If thought and being are not essentially one, the consciousness of finite self implicitly carries with it a consciousness of the infinite self in which it subsists, and so the soul knows its God in exactly the same way in which it knows itself. If thought be not all that Hegel represents it to be, the organic life of the soul and the world and God, the substratum of self-consciousness in which all opposition between outer and inner, infinite and finite, is annulled, it must at least be asserted that only at that point of our spiritual being where thought emerges with the consciousness of self, do we get any direct perception of rational truths. With Dr. Harris these rational truths are the underlying reality of the world. The rational is the real, and the real is the rational—this principle is repeated and illustrated at almost every step of the discussion; and if this be not a species of Hegelianism, it is, at least, going Hegelwise to the task.

And yet Dr. Harris uniformly deprecates any resort to the tenets of this school as contributing nothing toward the knowledge of God, but rather involving the whole subject in transcendental fog. There are indeed cautions and qualified concessions to the value of some lines of thinking in that great school, but nowhere a recognition of the fact that the *specific* for the materialistic malady of our age, philosophically considered, is to be drawn from that dispensatory, and that dispensatory alone. In a hesitating tone he says: "The profound philosophy of Hegel suggests truths, aspects of reality and lines of thought by which our accepted theology may be broadened, deepened and en-



riched, and the reasonableness of doctrines received on the authority of revelation be found. I say 'suggests,' for Hegel himself, beclouded in his dialectics and his *a priori* methods, can scarcely be said to have grasped and clearly enunciated the theistic and Christian truths which his philosophy approaches and points to, but never declares." "It must be said, however, of all the recent writers who have looked to Hegelianism for help, that, whatever of value they bring to Christian theology, they bring it encompassed with the obscurity and tenuous speculation characteristic of the philosophy and with forms of thought and expression which easily lead to idealistic pantheism, and to the mistaking of logical notions and processes for concrete beings and their activities and relations."\*

Granting, in the main, the justness of these strictures, especially as directed against the original form in which the system was thrown upon the world, I cannot but think that we get from it the key by which we effect our release from a long and dreary duress to materialistic gloom. In fact this discussion quietly wends its way along these same transcendental heights, complacent in its liberty, if betimes forgetful of the source from which its liberty was derived. Thus for example we are told: "This discussion of man's reception of revelation gives the true significance of the common sayings that man in his own self-consciousness finds the consciousness of God; that his consciousness of self, unfolded into its full significance, contains the consciousness of God; that the consciousness of God is in the background of self-consciousness."† It hardly appears why a matter of so great moment, and one that has called to its elucidation the most colossal system of philosophical thinking the world has yet known, should be spoken of as "common sayings," since they are the very uncommon sayings of the subtlest of all delvers in things metaphysical and deep. The consciousness of self involves the consciousness of God; "the potential infinitude of the human consciousness,"—no one can hesitate a moment as to the source whence that unusual dialect is derived. The announcement that human self-consciousness involves the con-

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\*Self-Revelation of God, p. 145.

†Do., p. 72.

sciousness of God, instead of being among the "common sayings" of men as a thing of easy comprehension, is, indeed, a matter of such lofty import that without the aid of a most vigorous philosophy it can scarcely have a recognition with even the class of minds that move on that plane. Philosophy is needed here, if anywhere, in the whole range of human research. Reality, and the great Reality, namely Absolute Being, must be found in the self-consciousness of the finite, or else it is nowhere to be found. And yet how easy it is for the materialist to point derisively at you, with all your introspections and devout longings, and tell you that all thought is relative, and that, therefore, the Absolute of which you dream is out of relation to the human mind, unthinkable, unknowable; and that to make it a religion is but to mistake the impotence of finite thinking for something divine.

What we want to do, if the consciousness of God be implicitly bound up in the self-consciousness of man, is to show scientifically that such is the fact; and I see no way of getting about this except by working profoundly on the nature of human thought. There is, indeed, something infinitely deeper in man than thought, that is thought considered simply as process; there is being, spiritual life, whatever that positive entity may be called which is the *prius* of thought. It is being, let us say, but none the less the mind takes hold of it in the shape of thought, and the problem with the theistic philosopher is to show that thought takes hold of being not as a negative something, as having arrived at the limits of its powers, but as the all inclusive life and paternity of the world—implicitly in the untutored, consciously in the one who has subjected his psychological processes to scientific tests. Is man a religious being? That means is God always revealing himself to human thought? Religion is always some kind of conscious communion of the soul with its God, and so religion is possible only on the hypothesis that the finite mind is able, in some way, to get the Infinite mind within its embrace.

How easy it were, if we could be satisfied with the testimony of history, with the empirical evidence that comes rushing in upon us from the religious experiences of every race and tribe



on the earth, to settle this matter at once ; for as a well-attested fact every mind maturing into some glimpse of Reason, ever so faint, gets some conception of God, universally and without fail. We all felt it at the very dawning of childhood ; we all feel it now. If there is anything that the ethnological and anthropological inquiries of our modern specialists may be said to have settled beyond a doubt, it is the universality of religion, the prevalence in all minds of the idea of God. But when we turn away from the face of humanity, and enter into the retiracy of the human soul, where primarily religion must dwell, to detect psychologically what that process is by which the mind takes hold of its God, we find all the long mooted metaphysical problems encompassing us about, and, to speak paradoxically, the most certain and the most uncertain matter is to try our skill.

Dr. Harris disposes of it in this way. First, God is the spiritual environment of the soul. And that we may not misapprehend his meaning, he proceeds to say that as man, as to his body, "is surrounded by a physical environment which is constantly acting on him and presenting itself in his consciousness, so man, as spirit, is surrounded by a spiritual environment, which is constantly acting on him, and presenting itself in his consciousness. That environment is God, in whom we live and move and have our being, and the moral system of spiritual beings, who depend on his power, and are subjects of his law and of his love."\* It must follow from this that man, living always in this spiritual environment, and having it act upon him as external objects act upon the sense perceptions of the mind, must be conscious of God in exactly the same way as he is conscious of the physical world in which he moves.

In the end this beautiful doctrine must receive the hearty assent of every unsophisticated mind. But it is not surprising that, in the shape in which it here appears, it should not instantly command the acquiescence of minds critically disposed, and especially of minds upon whom the agnosticism of Kant has rigidly seized. They will say : The dream of the mystic over again, proceeding upon the unwarranted assumption of two

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\**Self-Revelation of God*, p. 32.



worlds lying together, interspaced, in the single man walking here on our earth. We know of but one. Moreover what shall be done for this doctrine, if the materialist shall allege that his own consciousness has never responded to the impinging of a spiritual environment upon him; that all he knows in consciousness he has gathered directly or remotely from the external world.

Dr. Harris interposes with the assertion that God does not present himself in consciousness in a fully rounded and complete idea; that "consciousness may be distinguished as implicit, as it lies unapprehended and undefined in thought; and explicit, after its contents have been thus apprehended and defined. In the primitive or implicit consciousness, the objects presented incite and actuate the man while he has not clearly apprehended them nor his own mental state as affected by them; in the explicit, the contents are the same, but they now lie clear and definite before the mind."\* The mind, he proceeds to say, reacts on the contents of consciousness, and so brings its nebulous apprehension into definite and intelligible shape. "If God is known in consciousness, it is only in this way"—that is, by the reaction of the mind on this nebulous conception—"that the idea of him is traced out and brought into the full light of intelligence."† To all this we yield unqualified assent. But if God is known in consciousness, be it in the farthest off, dimmest, most implicit way, still he is known, and the problem sticks with all the weight of its persistence specifically at this point. That the idea of God comes to be clearer as the mind reacts upon it, just as every other idea under similar handling does, is a truth of profound scope and comfort, but then it helps in no slightest measure to the discovery of how that idea in its most nebulous habit can find a lodgment in the human mind.

Following Dr. Harris carefully in his exposition, we learn that "in our idea of God there are two factors, designated by the two words, *absolute—spirit*. That absolute or unconditioned being exists is known as a necessary truth in rational intuition. As thus known this truth is present in consciousness like other

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\*Self-Revelation of God, p. 32.

†Do., p. 33.

necessary truths of reason. Being is known in the consciousness of self. But the absoluteness of being, considered only as given *a priori*, has no positive contents in consciousness; what it is can be defined only by negations; it is being that is not conditioned in dependence, and not limited in time, space, or quantity. The second component of the idea is spirit. In knowing ourselves as rational free agents, we know the personal, the supernatural; we thus know what spirit is. Having thus knowledge of the absolute and of spirit, we combine the two in our idea of God, the absolute Spirit. The idea is legitimately formed, for the components of it are known in intuition.”\*

It would seem, then, that the movement of the religious consciousness must be three-fold. First, it takes hold of absolute being without positive content; second, through its own conscious personality it grasps the idea of spirit; and then, third, it combines these two into the idea of God. Absolute Being combined with personal spirit, must according to this rendering, describe the *modus* of the genesis of the idea of God for every human soul. The consciousness *sees* absolute Being; and *sees* personal spirit, and then some other faculty, I assume, puts these two into one. Most obviously, it is not the intuitional faculty that combines these two into one, but some other function, whose office it is, like the human hand, to put together things which the eye sees will mutually coalesce. But what if that combining faculty should not come to time. This scientific process of putting two intuitions together may tarry long, or never come at all. In that event the mind must be destitute of the idea of God, for although it has the intuitional elements of that idea, the idea itself is not present until those elements are fused. One or other of these elements standing alone would not embody our idea of God. Indeterminate being would not. Finite personality would not. In the one case we should be swamped in the Unknowable; in the other we should grope around in a world of sense, with no higher consciousness of the supernatural than what might be found in the finite personality of man.

Evidently there is something radically wrong in this theory of combining intuitions in order to arrive at the consciousness

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\*Self-Revelation of God, p. 36.



of God. In some way the consciousness of God is an intuition in itself. Dr. Harris seems, himself, to have implied as much, when he set forth that God was the spiritual environment of the soul. How environment, except by some sort of impinging upon the soul, and some sort of immediate consciousness of reality as the result of the impact? True, the implicit consciousness is made explicit by the reaction of the soul upon its spiritual environment, but by supposition that spiritual environment is God, and there was nothing ultimately in the explicit consciousness that the implicit consciousness did not potentially contain. It is hardly possible that the mind goes about a logical process to attain to a knowledge of God, combining elements, erecting a stairway to him; for, to go deliberately in quest of the conception, implies that the conception is already on hand, dim it may be, and wanting to be brought out into more definite and intimate realization on the horizon of the soul, but unquestionably there in embryo at least.

When, however, Dr. Harris would have the logical faculty set about putting intuitions together with the intent of bringing out the idea of God, he is practically consigning away his premises to the old-time and inveterate fallacy of relegating to the Understanding what only the Reason can discharge. The Reason is the soul's window Godward, like some great oriel opening to the sea. Its every function is an intuition, and it does not manufacture its insights by an interlacing net-work of logical threads. The Reason knows God as being sensitive on all sides to the throbbings of his immanent life, as feeling him with the first conscious boundings of the inner being, and this feeling flashing forth into immediate, although, doubtless, nebulous outlining in the thought. When Reason dawns, ever so little, God stands out as distinctly on its horizon as the sun in the empyrean, only there is in the one case, as in the other, the frequent obscurations of the gloaming and the clouds.

We cannot now recover the primitive movements of our minds in this direction, but it is altogether competent to rest our speculations here on the well known laws of thought. The mind on coming to consciousness finds itself confronted and opposed by the external world. In its earliest experiences there

is a dual habit, a sense of twoness, the consciousness of a thinking agency and of the body in which it dwells. Mind and matter, and the immediate apprehension of the opposition between these two, and a vivid sense from the beginning of the qualified supremacy the one has over the other—thought being the stronger, and conquering external things to its dominion—it would seem that on the instant this antagonism should manifest itself in consciousness, the mind would immediately leap to the stronger element as insuring the reconciliation of the two, as the all-inclusive whole of which these two are but organic parts. Finite mind conscious of a qualified mastery leaps by intuition to the infinite mind in which the mastery is complete. There is here no compounding of intuitions, and the idea of God resulting chemically, so to speak, but the leaping of the mind above the antagonisms of self-consciousness to the higher unity in God.

Here are two worlds altogether diverse in character, two sets of phenomena having nothing in common, and yet a power consciously going out from the one that puts the other under its feet. Here is a conflict between sense and spirit, the thinking agency and the inert matter lying outside of it, which however the thinking agency subdues to itself by sublimating it to forms of thought. Now it is inconceivable that these warring elements should rest a moment in consciousness, without the mind mounting to some all-inclusive unity, of the nature of spirit, in which their contradictions are annulled. Otherwise an internecine conflict must tear the soul of man asunder, and the spiritual wreck go drifting with the wind.

I am doubtless describing the process too largely in the dialect of the schools, and using terms which embody the long-time gleanings of mature thought reacting upon the idea of God. Nevertheless I cannot but think that this is essentially the way in which the idea is born. It is an intuition flashing upon the soul the moment it consciously antagonizes the external world. It is the instantaneous filling out of self-consciousness which were otherwise contradictory and incomplete, because the *I* and *It* have no other unifying principle than the all-inclusive life in which they both subsist. It is the child, or savage say, looking



out upon nature and immediately having the thought of God, not as the over-awing immensities asserting themselves as such, or as Zeus Pater (Heaven Father) receiving the superstitious devotions of men, but as immediately lifting the mind to the absolute life and spirit that is over and in them all.

Dr. Harris would doubtless object to this on the score of its pantheistic trend. It seems to lose mind and matter in an all-submerging ocean of ideal, indeterminate spirit or life, wherein no trace of personality appears, an element which the soul in its conception of God cannot forego. Dr. Harris' proposition is that God is a personal God, and as such he reveals himself to men. He wishes to conceive of him as actively and deliberately communicating a knowledge of himself to the finite intellects of men, and this he could not do if he were not a personal God. He moves upon the human consciousness in the same way as the human consciousness reacts upon him. But now it is a timely inquiry as to whether the personality of God is any more likely to be missed in a direct intuition of Infinite Mind by finite mind, than in a logical process by which intuitions are combined, in neither of which is the infinite personality sought to be conserved.

Absolute personality is what we want. We all believe that unless our God is a personal God he is no God at all. And yet this is the very problem which the advocates of the Unknowable challenge us to solve. Personality as we know it is the self-consciousness of the finite ego, a knowing energy moving always within the sphere of the limited and relative, and conceivable only as something on the hither side of the Absolute. So they say. Personality and the Absolute are incompatible terms. And now if there be any great reality lying underneath this phenomenal world, this at least it cannot be, it cannot be personal in the sense in which that term has meaning to us. It is conceivable only as the all-inclusive impersonal something, of which we can predicate that it is, without doubt, and, inferentially, that it is the all-pervading Power of a universe of worlds. But it is *It*, and not *He*. So Mr. Spencer always writes, and so the scientific mind of the century is strongly inclined to believe.

If we sally out to meet this, it is well to look closely to the



weapons we bear. When Dr. Harris finds the Absolute in one direction and personality in another, and that, too, in spheres as wide apart as the infinite and finite, and then represents the consciousness as, spontaneously and deliberately, combining these two into one, and getting thereby the idea of God, he is but assuming, as it seems to me, what these his formidable opponents deny. He is forcing together ideas which cannot coalesce. On the contrary every difficulty disappears when the first of these mental movements is made adequate to the whole task. When the mind takes hold of the Absolute it takes hold of the Absolute Spirit in the same act. Why not? Having transcended the limits of the finite in getting an intuition of the Absolute, why not while in that attitude take in infinite spirit as well?

Indeed the whole stress of the objector's cavil rests on the alleged incompetency of the finite mind to transcend its finite limits, and entertain at all a conception of the Infinite. If it were possible to transcend the finite even by a hair's breadth, then there is no telling, and no cogent controversy, as to what might be found on the other side. Once over, even though the transit be accomplished with protest, as in the case of Mr. Spencer, it would follow inevitably by the laws of human thinking that something more than dreary expanses of negative nothingness would be found there—an Absolute, void of content, as Dr. Harris would say. Mr. Spencer having reluctantly made the ascent

“—Upon the great world's altar-stairs  
That slope through darkness up to God”—

found himself compelled to speak of what he discovered there in terms significative of positive content.\* He calls it the “All-Being,” the “Power,” the “Ultimate Reality,” resorting to capi-

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\*Mr. Spencer in his article on “Retrogressive Religion” published in the Sept. No. of the *Eclectic* for '84, in reply to Mr. Harrison's strictures says: “So far from regarding that which transcends phenomena as the “All-Nothingness,” I regard it as the All-Being. Everywhere I have spoken of the Unknowable as the Ultimate Reality—the sole existence; all things present to consciousness being but the shows of it.” *Eclectic*, Sept. '84.

tal letters by way of insinuating the positive conception that was in his mind.

And so it must be. We have come to see that the consciousness of the finite were impossible without the implicit consciousness of the infinite; that the two together make up the opposite poles of thought. Our thinking is relative, it is true, but it is correlative as well. We can no more think the finite without implicitly thinking the infinite, than we can think up without down, or in without out, or, as has been aptly said, "no more than we can think of a stick with but one end." And, now, when we turn with this principle to our consciousness of self, where unquestionably a *noumenon* is found, we discover that we cannot think the finite self-consciousness without implicitly thinking the infinite self-consciousness at the same time. In short God reveals himself immediately in every human soul. This is what Dr. Harris meant when he was interpreting "the common sayings" "that man in his own self-consciousness finds the consciousness of God; that his consciousness of self, unfolded into its full significance, contains the consciousness of God; that the consciousness of God is in the back-ground of self-consciousness." It is to be regretted that he did not plant his otherwise powerful defense of theism specifically in the heart of this fact.

We can see, however, what it was that withheld the argument from a distinct and confident avowal of the direct intuition of God. The religious consciousness has a long and dark road to travel in the evolution of years. It must come up through ignorance and crudities, fetichisms, and phallic orgies, and bloody rites, and persecutions, and fanaticisms, and the wars of the sects, groping from clime to clime, and from age to age. It has a history. From the very faintest conception of the divine, so faint that learned explorers hesitate long as to whether there is any the least evidence in language, or custom, or incidental hint dropped by the way, that the soul of the savage has any impulse Godward—from mere glimmerings, we can trace the unfolding religious consciousness of the race on, up, through culminating stages of development, the conception of God becoming clearer and deeper as the ages go by, until we think we



note the climax of it in a most unique and marvelous event occurring in the very bosom of human history, when

“—the Word had breath, and wrought  
With human hand the creed of creeds,  
In loveliness of perfect deeds,  
More strong than all poetic thought. ’

Now Dr. Harris had a mind to frame an adequate philosophy for this; to ask why it was that an immanent God projecting himself upon the *camera* of the human consciousness, should ever under any circumstances make so faint an image of himself as to admit of questionings and even denial of the fact; how it is that such a revelation in consciousness should be susceptible of long centuries of growth and development, and why especially it should require to be supplemented by an outside revelation in history such as is said to have been made in the incarnate person and ministry of Jesus the Christ. If God does, in very deed, reveal himself in human consciousness, why is that not enough? If this be well and incontestably settled—God blazing down directly on the human soul—must not all added revelations coming from without, except, perhaps, the coördinating office of the external world which made the inner revelation possible—must not all systematic tutelage of the religious consciousness through history be superfluous, since God, personally revealed in the consciousness, can not be any more revealed? If God is sufficiently revealed in consciousness, why superadd the revelation in Christ? This was the problem.

Moreover a strong cry has gone up from the deepest yearnings of the Christian experience of our time, for some profounder and broader *rationale* of the Incarnation than was aforesaid entertained, some rendering of it that will save it from the likeness of an after-thought, and secure it a place in the heart of the creative order of the world.\* Somehow we have always

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\*“If the Redeemer of the world stands in an eternal relation to the Father and to humanity—if his person has not merely a religious and ethical, but also a metaphysical significance—sin alone could not have been the ground of his revelation; for there was no metaphysical necessity for sin entering the world. Are we to suppose that that which is

felt that this sublimest, divinest, of all events in the history of the worlds could not be an episode; that it must have come on in the same way as the heavens unrolled themselves in space. The coming of God in the flesh must have had an occasion quite as vast and commanding as that which gave rise to all yon countless starry host, making up a universe of worlds. It is 'the one *insphered*, divine event'—changing somewhat the phraseology of the poet—'*round* which the whole creation moves.' No doubt it is a great world-scheme of redemption, and God's way of working out an atonement for sin, but its roots inhere in the very depths of the divine motive in creating the world, and we must see it so before our souls can be free from alarm in taking the Nazarene for our God. It is a creative as well as redemptive manifestation of God.

It is noteworthy that those whom our Lord gathered about him of deepest spiritual insight so apprehended his mission. He was the eternal Logos, "by whom were all things made, and without whom was nothing made that was made." He was the creative instinct of the world, "the first-born of every creature," "the effulgence of God's glory, the very image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power." We have somehow become incapable of this sublime philosophy of the incarnate manifestation of God in the world. It is for us too much of an episode, hanging upon the historical contingency of sin, an after-thought, an incident, an expedient, having no absolute place in the creative scheme of the worlds. Not so was Jesus thought upon by those who stood nearest his person, and drank deepest of the deific wisdom that rayed out from his ev-

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the most glorious in the world could only be reached through the medium of sin?" "As the incarnate Logos, he is the centre not merely of the world of men, but also of the universe; for which reason the Apostle views him not merely as the Head of the human race, of the Church, but as the Head of all creation, 'the first born of every creature,' unto whom all things are created." "In this sense we maintain that even if sin had not entered our world, Christ still would have come. Not until an insight has been gained into this, the metaphysical and cosmical significance of the Mediator, shall we find the proper foundation on which to build our doctrine of the Redeemer."—Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, pp. 260-263.



ery word and deed. They could speak of him as the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world"—that is, of his incarnate sacrifice as entering into the creative scheme of the world. We have in a manner lost their inspired insight into the sweep of that sacrifice, and have almost expunged from our vocabulary the terms by which its far-off eternal bearings were described. The Logos, the Eternal Word of God, the Word made flesh—these are almost lost phrases, having gone down in the scholastic jargon that formulated the empty warring of the sects.

But we must not anticipate. We were going in quest of Dr. Harris' method of finding occasion for that outward, historical self-revelation of God, which culminated in the incarnation, sacrifice, and glorification of our Lord. Why, in his view, must that kind of manifestation be super-added to the inner consciousness of God? There was evidently something defective, something imperfect, something inchoate, about the primitive consciousness of God, or else this coördinating current of history and development would not have been required. But then here was the dilemma. If God reveals himself in consciousness, or anywhere else, the revelation ought to be complete. It is urged by skeptics, with a great show of reason, that the idea of an imperfect or progressive revelation of God is a contradiction of terms; that an infinitely wise and perfect Being, undertaking to image himself in his works, cannot be conceived of as meeting with resistance, or as awaiting the evolution of the ages to render his image distinct. If God will condescend to show himself to men, he must show himself whole. No clouds and darkness can compass his going, for has he not undertaken to make himself known? That such self-revelation should halt in any particular, or be uncertain, or equivocal, or in the least degree ambiguous as to fact, where unquestionably there is a human consciousness adequate to take it in, and on the supposition of a purposeful movement made on the soul to that effect, is altogether beyond the power of a reasonable mind to allow. Does God reveal himself to the religious consciousness of the race? Then he reveals himself, and there is an end.

Dr. Harris every now and then calls up anew this difficulty, as if to be sure that his method of relieving it was gathering,



meantime, constructive force. His solution seems to be in a certain energy of reaction of which the mind of man is variously capable at various stages of its development—reaction as in response to the divine action as spiritual environment for the soul. “This revelation of the infinite to the finite mind, this revelation of God within the limited experience and consciousness of man must be progressive and at every point of time incomplete. God reveals himself to man. But man’s apprehension of God through his experience of the divine manifestation must be commensurate with his own imperfect development and education, and can advance only according to his capacity to understand it and his faithfulness in receiving, interpreting and obeying it.”\* All this is clear. The revelation of God to the human soul is never in advance of the capacity of the human soul to receive. But its primitive capacity to receive—what of that?

It is fundamental in this discussion that God is known in experience, but unhappily there is an ambiguous use of the term experience in which the author’s argument is sometimes left to drift. Experience in religion, as we ordinarily use the term, is the soul feeling its way up into more and more spiritual life and light, as the moral habit of the inner being is quickened and lifted by a hard discipline of trial, and as new territory is won from the kingdom of darkness by a protracted struggle with sin. In religious experience the idea of trial is necessarily involved. Spiritually men reap enlightenment by doing the truth, that is, by wrestling it into perception, as Jacob wrestled until the break of day. It is one prolonged process of the reactionary energy of the soul against the evils of its estate, confronting them with the assaulted truth which comes out only the more vividly in the consciousness and the life, as the battle that crowns it was protracted and severe.

For the individual disciple of our Lord, and for Christendom as a whole, there are vast didactic resources, cumulative stages of enlightenment, progressively opened only on condition of the spiritual trials and victories which religious experience involves. Out of these an ever-increasing breadth of moral faculty, and

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\**Self-Revelation of God*, p. 39.

an ever-widening range of spiritual apprehension, are evolved. In this way, more than in any other, our knowledge of God is enlarged. It is, however, not a process in which the rational faculty has preëminent sway; nor is it one in which blind feeling absorbs everything, an emotional zeal, kindling fatuous fires by which to walk. It is a spiritual insight engendered by the moral habit of the soul, which in turn is wrought out by the storm and stress of sternest buffetings in actual life. It is realizing the beatitude: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. It is knowing God, by following on to know him, that is, by progressively conquering the faculty of apprehending him in a larger and larger degree.

Now, of course, the revelation of God, coming to man in any way, must, in the end, accommodate itself to this growing capacity of the soul to take him in. At every stage of the unfolding spiritual life, there will be new measures of light in readiness to break in, measure for measure, light from the countenance of God lifted up and reconciled. This is religious experience. Teacher it is, leading up by sternest pedagogy to God, and using all outside agencies, history, ordinances, Bible, and fellowship, simply by way of quickening the internal gift. This tutorial office of experience is occasionally touched upon by Dr. Harris, and always with just appreciation and force. "As a man goes on thus organizing the knowledge of God into his own being and growth, he not only acquires possession of the truth thus appropriated, and knows its significance as bearing on life and disclosing the concrete realities with which he has to do, but he is always gaining thereby new capacity to receive the revelations of God and to know him through them; according to the old maxim, '*Quantum sumus scimus*,' we know as much we are. The more we appropriate the truth and live by it, and the more we come into the divine likeness, so much the more are we prepared to receive further revelations of God and to gain new and richer knowledge of him."\*

But it has seemed to us that this process of increasing revelation from God, according as enlarged capacity is acquired in the trials and conquests of religious experience, was not kept

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\*Self-Revelation of God, p. 117.



sufficiently distinct from the state of soul in which the consciousness of God originally dawned. Increase in the knowledge of God goes on as the moral habit of the will is voluntarily subjected to the control of divine truth so far as it is known. But the dawning of God upon the human mind is a process in which moral forces cannot as yet have had any considerable sway. It must be something, so to speak, indigenous in the human consciousness as such, that it shall discover God. Its moral career cannot begin without this much spiritual capital on hand, a no less investment, indeed, than the divine image in the soul. The movement of the human mind toward its God is so nearly spontaneous, and so nearly simultaneous with the first appearance of self-conscious thinking, that we should prefer regarding the universal divine manifestation—that is God's revelation of himself to the religious consciousness of the race—as a revelation *per force*. Morally, spiritually, the soul must be conceived of as nearly, if not altogether, passive, or quiescent, when the idea of God is first distinctly entertained. Certainly the prior condition of experience is inconceivable. And yet we find Dr. Harris in some way identifying experience and consciousness in a whole chapter headed: "God is known in experience or consciousness."

Evidently experience here, as a synonym for consciousness, is not religious experience, the long process of wrestling truth into perception, the progressive acquisition of further revelations of God by conquering a larger capacity to receive. Dr. Harris means experience in the sense in which it was used in the old sensational school—in the sense of consciousness from immediate contact. Just as they were wont to say: All we know is given by immediate contact in the sense, or, is derived from experience; so, now, Dr. Harris would transfer the term and make it descriptive of a state of consciousness in contact with a spiritual environment, as aforetime it was descriptive of a state of consciousness from an environment of sense. And there is no objection, except that, for the sake of having a philosophic basis for his favorite theory of the continuity of the divine revelations, he was led to ascribe to the primitive religious consciousness a reactionary agency, upon which, I conceive, he has

laid a burden too heaven for it to bear. God in revealing himself acts upon the human mind, and the human mind reacts in taking the revelation in. This is internal experience, wholly analogous to the sense-experience whereby we come to a knowledge of the external world.

The idea was a captivating one to show that the primitive knowledge of God was arrived at in exactly the same way in which all subsequent revelations are finally compassed by the soul, and in a way analogous to the mind's method of knowing the external world. We recall the process, viz., certain elements out of the spiritual environment fall upon the religious intuition of the soul, and these are combined into the primitive idea of God, and subsequently into the more and more enlarged idea of God in proportion as these elements increase in number, and the combining agency is vigorous in its work. Thus the primitive experience is essentially the same as the experience of all subsequent stages in the unfolding of the spiritual life.

We cannot so think. It seems to us that every attempt through phenomenalism, of whatever kind, to find out God, or to furnish a philosophy of his universal self-revelation to the soul's of men, must in the end meet with disappointment and defeat. That way, inevitably, agnosticism lies. In some sense, transcendental let it be, the consciousness of the human implicates the consciousness of the divine, and with the very dawn of reason God's image, the eternal archetype of everything human and personal, is felt in throbbing outline upon the soul. The divine and human are so inextricably intertwined in the religious consciousness of the race that the one is unthinkable without the other, and they do so inherently coalesce that no most violent shock of sin can rend them apart.

But now what advantage have we in this, when passing over from the human consciousness of God to the historic revelation of God in Christ? How shall we maintain the line of continuity unbroken, so that we shall see everywhere in nature, in the constitution of the human mind, and in the progress of history, the same process going on of the divine self-revelment as being itself the moral order of the world? In other words what was to be revealed in the reason of man that could not be revealed



in the inert planet rolling in tenantless solitude beneath the sun? What was there to be revealed in Christ that the reason of man could not convey? If through all the stages of cosmic evolution we come at last to a human consciousness, so like the mind that is seeking to be revealed that its very exercise is predicable on the assumption of the all-pervasive immanence of the larger mind—if this consciousness be so endowed, why not throw it upon the arena of history, to work out what was in it, through advancing stages of struggle and development as the years go by? Why intercept or supplement the process by so stupendous an event as the coming of God in the flesh?

In running over these fascinating chapters of Dr. Harris' exhaustive work, one feels an unsuppressed eagerness to see how he will finally gather up his reasoning in his closing discussion of 'God revealed in Christ as the Redeemer of Man from Sin.' It must be confessed that on arriving at this goal there creeps over us a haunting sense of something vast and importunate as having been left unsaid, or as having been purposely excluded because the author's premises were not broad and liberal enough to take it in. We may call it the cosmic aspect of the coming of God in the flesh.

Dr. Harris builds up a scheme of continuity for the divine revelation, consisting of ascending stages in an unfolding scale of higher and higher self-revelment, with epochs of miracle in between. "The coming of Christ constitutes a new epoch in the progressive development of the world, and in the revelation of God therein. \* \* The progress is marked by epochs in which successively higher orders of being and spheres of action appear, and the ever immanent God makes new revelations of his archetypal thought. Such epochs are the beginning of motion, the introduction of organic life, the introduction of sensitivity, the introduction of rational personal beings. In the last the great transition is made from the natural to the supernatural, and the moral and spiritual system appears. Then, after due preparation in the education and development of man, in the fulness of time, in the great epoch in which God comes in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, and therein making the consummate revelation of what he is in his relation to man, and of

what man is in his relation to God, disclosing to human view the archetypal principles and laws which guide God's action, and the archetypal ideas of good to be realized in the history and destiny of man. This is the great revelation of God."\*

From this it must be inferred that the whole revelation of God in Christ is confined to whatever is historically included in the redemption act. It is a revelation not growing out of the order of things, and therefore in the direct line of development, but a revelation induced by the contingency of sin. When the supernatural was attained in man and a moral and spiritual kingdom set up in his soul, had he gone on as a dutiful subject of this kingdom, unfolding the godlikeness that was in him, there would never have been any occasion for the coming of God in the flesh. The consciousness of God would have been an ever-present impulse, and the discipline of years would only have drawn out the divine image into more and more vivid relief. But sin entered, and the divine image became blurred. The light faded. Spiritual darkness settled upon the soul, and every high faculty of vision became blinded in the besotting of sense. The consciousness of God was eclipsed. The moral collapse of the race was final and complete. And so if God will reach men at all in this sense-besotted condition, he must come round their disability, and project himself in the sphere of sense. Men will see him thus, imaged concretely before their eyes, and be touched by the pathos of his sacrifice, when every trace of him has faded from the mind. In coming thus into the region of the sense, he will incidentally reveal to men his archetypal thought, both as to what he is, and what man should be,—the divine and human in flawless perfection, just as the infinite standards would have them to be; perfect God and perfect man. Incidentally, I say, for had not sin obliterated God from the consciousness of man, the divine image would not have been thus historically projected upon the plane of sense.

We cannot help feeling profoundly the inadequacy of this view. The redemption of man from sin, the great atonement

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\*Self-Revelation of God, p. 515.



as we have been wont to conceive of it, may very well engage all this outlay of divine resource, and so be at just the full measure of painful self-expenditure that we see in the incarnation, and ministry of sorrow, and sacrificial death of our Lord. But how much more in keeping with the magnitude and supernal grandeur of such an event to hold that it came about in the eternal ongoing of things, through the successive emergence of the image of God in his works, taking up as it must, and reconciling all the contradictions of the moral world. Vaster than the redemption act, it nevertheless works out that stupendous consummation by keeping none of its resources in reserve; it moves against the powers of darkness with all the energies of the eternal world. Whilst, therefore, there need be no abatement in our estimate of the divine exigency, or of the necessity at such a juncture of just such an interposition to the end of a redemption from sin, there is always intruding upon our thought, in moments of favored insight, a suggestion of some larger occasion for so stupendous an event, some universe-phase in which the great subject may be viewed. An intellectual craving it may be, but persistent nevertheless.

We feel satisfied if it may be said that the image of God, in effigy as it were, overlies all the worlds, is struggling for expression in the flocculent star-dust and finished constellations with which immensity is teeming, is lifted to higher and higher stages of relief as the upward movement of evolution advances, and, finally, in the very efflorescence of humanity, attains its historic climax in the Divine-Human, God-Man, whom we name the Christ.\* Incidentally all things will be done for an apostate race that it is in the heart of the Deity to do, atonement, satis-

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\*“The incarnation was not a change in the nature of God—though a change of state or condition is implied—but a revelation, rather, of *the essential humanity of God*, and of the (potential) divinity of man. If there were not something human in God, it were inconceivable that he could so identify himself in thought and feeling and life, with humanity—as all revelation implies—and that he should make this identification not temporary but eternal. It is certainly a very significant fact that we cannot intelligently conceive of God otherwise than as human, and that God everywhere sanctions this conception.” Dr. H. M. Goodwin’s *Christian Humanity*, p. 303.



faction, the supreme honoring of the law, the exhibition of the truth in such a way as to touch the consciences of men. But the process must go on until in the glorified person of the God-Man that image has made the round of creation, and is back again in the bosom of God. It is then in a condition to enter into the religious consciousness of the race, and to meet there, and fully satisfy, all the Godward cravings of the human heart. The Christ is now the Paraclete, and he unfolds his wings in tenderest brooding over all the world. Here is creation consummated with all the apparatus of redemption beside.

If we were to make further inquiry into it, we should find—what perhaps has been hitherto too often overlooked—that in his historical relation the person of Christ must take the precedence of his work. The work was incidental, resting largely on the contingency of sin; the person was eternal, being the *a priori* humanity which was in the bosom of God, and which in due time was made flesh, and thence passed to the perennial glory of the resurrection morn. The elements of humanity were in first principles eternally in God, else man would never have been the result of his creative energy, and most certainly would not have been the crowning product of his creative skill.

The human is divine, and the divine human, and if the straying populations of our planet, or of any other planet, need tutoring in a truth so vast, what more effective method of communicating it than to see the divine humanity gradually rising in definiteness of outline, through the dull limning of inert cosmic masses, and the faint diagramming on the consciousness of men, mounting more and more into tangible relief, until in the incarnate Son of Man it stands out concrete in a veritable human form. Nay more. The glorified body of the Risen One must be seen floating over the Garden of Joseph, and going up on the bosom of a cloud, and so returning to the ineffable deific sources whence it came. Nay more. It must now be conceived of as henceforth the repository of all the fulness of the God-head bodily, as having entered upon its glory, the glory which it had with the Father before the world was, the glory, that is, of a perfected humanity in coalition with the divine.

Turning, now, to the discourses of our Lord, with eager in-

quiry as to what he may have said, or even hinted, on a subject so grave, we are struck with the frequency and urgency with which he sets his person in sublime preëminence over every other feature of his mission. He and the Father were one. He did not even speak of himself; and the Father that dwelt in him, he did the works. He was from above, in distinction from the mortal men with whom he sojourned, who came up from beneath. "I came out from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go unto the Father." After the morning of the resurrection he was making his ascent unto God, and for some reason must not be touched until the ascent was complete. When, however, after many days, flashing in and out of this grosser world, he was in mid-air over the Mount of Ascension, effulgent and glorious as the sun in his strength, his very last words unto his disciples contain no reference to system, or miracle, or universal truths of reason, or archetypal thoughts of God,—but speak only of himself, to the import that all power was given to him in heaven and on earth, and that he in his glorified capacity would be with them always, even to the end of the world.

Viewing Christ's person in this way, were we asked to formulate the process of continuity in the divine self-revelation, to which this whole discussion of Dr. Harris is a suggestive contribution, we should say that the eternal Logos in the bosom of the Father, by whom were all things made, and without whom nothing was made that was made, otherwise the image of God, otherwise the *a priori* humanity in its ineffable sources, struggling faintly into expression in the cosmic masses, comes out more definitely in the religious consciousness of the race, but still with such finite and subjective limitation, with such inherent incompleteness, as to render the full expression of it possible only in an ideally perfect man, who is God and man in one, in whom, to use the language of the creed, "the human and the divine are inseparably united in one person, constituting one Christ, who is true God and man."\* In him the cycle was

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\*Dr. Dorner says: "The chief defect in the early Christology was that of treating Christ as an absolute miracle; as a being absolutely separated by his divine essence from the rest of mankind, even when



complete, save that we must conceive him, now, as having made his glorified body commensurate with the infinite, and, through that as a medium, holding the humanized image of God forever before the eye of faith. I cannot close my eyes, now, and look Godward, without seeing him. Far up on the horizon of my spiritual empyrean he stands out in sabbatic calm, filling up all empty spaces, and following my vision to all points of the compass whithersoever I turn. He supplements a physical disability of my religious consciousness, and not one simply which sin has made.

No doubt a lamentable opaqueness, a deep and hopeless darkness has touched these eyes that roll in vain to find the light; the mysterious and awful inheritance of an apostate race. And it is a most merciful interposition when the glorified One, who called himself "the light of the world," shall anoint my dead eyes with a clay salve, and I shall see again. But the disability of the human consciousness is to that extent innate, not that it cannot apprehend God, nor apprehend him as the self-conscious all inclusive personal life of the world, but that it cannot apprehend him in his paternal aspect, as the Heavenly Father yearning toward the creatures of his hand.

When aided only by the external world, the religious consciousness of the race will attain to all the physical and ethical attributes of God, wisdom, power, goodness, but the element of paternity it is not in the power of nature to bestow. Father, indeed, the groping mythologist may call the loftiest divinity in his hierarchy of gods, but his dwelling is Olympus, and in his far-off cloud-compelling isolation he has very little concern for the men and women that toil, and worry, and war, and waste, in the world below. And whenever the philosopher, growing weary of the reluctant hospitality of the gods, turns his mind inward, to work directly on his religious consciousness, he re-

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viewed in the light of its divine idea. \* \* Were we *a priori* to set our face against every view which represents the divine and human as intimately and essentially related, we should be willfully throwing away the gains of centuries, and returning to a soil on which Christology is an absolute impossibility." Quoted in Dr. Goodwin's *Christ and Humanity*, p. 299.

fines away every domestic element in the conception, losing what little hold he had on the personality of God, and looks up at last to a superincumbent abstraction lying like a wintry solitude over the soul. These all were but tentative yearnings towards the fullness of time, and demonstrated not so much what spiritual blindness sin had wrought, as the particular point of inherent incapacity in every finite mind which the mystery of the Incarnation must come to supply.

At last when men, feeling after God if happily they might find him, have convinced themselves, by long and fruitless struggles against insuperable barriers, that those barriers are insuperable, within them comes the—

“Strong Son of God, immortal love,”

calling himself the light of the world, and making it the burden of his message that he came to reveal the inscrutable Father to minds capable otherwise of seeing him in but dimmest outline. “No man hath seen God at any time”—nor can we see him—“the only-begotten who is in the bosom of the Father he hath revealed him.” And then, finally, when his disciples had demonstrated that their disability was a constitutional one, and were yearning toward the Father, and were asking, like Moses of old, that they might look in upon his glory, this same divine man stood forth in their midst, and with his hand upon his bosom made that memorable announcement: “He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father, and wherefore sayest thou, then, show us the Father?”

I cannot think that Dr. Harris would find serious objection to this view of the mystery of the Incarnate revelation of God. There is a tendency everywhere discoverable in this discussion toward affiliation with this view and many of the elevated lines of thinking which he so quietly and confidently pursues would seem to lead logically in that direction, if, indeed, so coarse an instrument as logic could fairly find a place in a discussion so profound. But there is nowhere any direct statement of this view. The quotations from Dr. Dorner—only two very brief extracts—both implying distinctly this most elevated conception of the person of Christ, as being the consummation in time of the divine-human principle determining the creative energy of



God in its far-off beginnings in its ineffable source—are made to do valuable service in other lines. Moreover Dr. Harris' philosophical basis of theism, if we have interpreted it rightly, can scarcely admit of anything more than an occasional wistful side-glance toward a *rationale* of the Incarnate mystery that requires another species of intuitionism in order to its support. Nevertheless his great book is a most valuable contribution toward a most satisfactory restatement of the loftiest themes that can engage the human mind, in the light of the new knowledge which has come in upon us in such startling profusion, and with the purpose, it would seem, of challenging Christendom to a profounder comprehension of the God it adores.

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## ARTICLE II.

### LUTHER AS FOUNDER OF PROTESTANT MORALS.

By PROF. DR. OTTO PFLEIDERER, University of Berlin, Germany.

At Erfurt on a summer evening in the year 1505, young Martin Luther sat in the pleasant circle of his friends, drank and sang with them the beloved songs as usual, then suddenly he explained that they would not see him henceforth since he was going the next day into the cloister. We may imagine their astonishment: Luther who had been glad-hearted with his comrades, who had studied his philosophy so zealously, and recently won the dignified title of Magister, who was the pride of the University and the hope of his parents, and on the point of casting everything aside and burying his young life in a cloister! How was it possible? Was it perhaps the result of a casual occurrence, which had for the moment changed his usual state of mind? By no means? That which had brought him to this decision and vow had been ripening for a long time in the soul of this youth, who could say with Faust: "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast, the one at variance with the other!" With open eyes he gazed out into the world which even now was spreading out its treasures before him in this animated university town of Erfurt; he brought an active, receptive mind to meet

its many varied impressions; with rare diligence he busied himself in the scientific learning of the university and had already mounted the first round of academical honors. But in the depth of his soul there was a ferment under this smooth surface. Without his having to accuse himself of any special sins, according to human judgment, his tender conscience, made timid by his strict training, felt itself in deep guilt before God, whose anger and retribution moved continually with threatening before his eyes, and often the question rose to his lips: "O when wilt thou become pious and justified in thy doings, that thou mayest find God gracious?"

But for this end must he go at once into a cloister? • To become pious could he not undertake the task as well outside the walls of a cloister in his worldly calling? Yes, indeed, he could, as we now very well know, thanks to the light which the very Reformation of Luther has brought into the world; but Luther did not know it then, and could not under the strict church training in which he had grown up. There he had always heard that a religious life was possible only in the clerical profession, because this calling alone was pleasing to God, while the others, the secular professions, could only with difficulty cover their nakedness before God by means of the works of supererogation of the clergy. This had been represented among other things in a picture, which Luther still very well remembered from his childhood: the Church was set forth as a great ship bound for heaven, carrying only the clergy and monks, while the laity swam about in the water, some holding to ropes which were thrown to them from the ship, others drowning helplessly in the waves.

This view of a double Christianity, a higher and a lower state, seems to us now very peculiar, but it is certain that it followed the basis of thought in the Middle Ages, according to which the kingdom of God consisted in the Church as the organ of salvation, while all life outside the Church, including even its moral ordinances and efforts was considered in and of itself as the realm of rebellious flesh, of sin and of the devil. The disharmony between the divine and the worldly, or the spiritual and the natural, so characteristic of the Catholic point of view,



had never been felt so deeply and so painfully by the German people as at the very time of Luther's youth. Everywhere there was awakened a vigorous and earnest endeavor—a reaching out towards new forms in state and society, an ardent thirst for knowledge, a fervent devotion to the beauty and wisdom of the newly discovered classic world, a thoughtful investigation of the secrets of nature, of creative vital forces and of the mysterious interworkings of the universe. And now according to the teaching of the Church this entire beautiful world with all its wonders and treasures of nature and of history must be considered as something godless and worthless for the higher development of man, and to have interest and pleasure in its study dangerous for his salvation. Thus the great teacher of the Middle Ages, the scholastic Thomas Aquinas, taught: “Man is so placed between the affairs of this world and spiritual possessions in which his eternal salvation consist, that the more he inclines to the one, the more he must withdraw from the other, and *vice versa*.”

Therefore man had only the choice of giving up the one or the other—a terrible choice for the German disposition that has as much difficulty in refraining from holding to the world with all its might as it has in seeking God; that is as conscious of a mighty impulse and desire to venture into the world to bear its joy as well as its pain, as it is conscious that rest can be found nowhere but upon the bosom of God. But the way thither was cut off for all Christendom by the frightful abyss which the Church had opened between the sinful worldly life and the angry Judge in heaven. Hence the anxious seeking of the more earnest spirits of that period for bridges which should lead over the abyss, for that amassing of remedies and pious practices which should fill up the deep gulf, for that augmentation of mediators and saints who might reach over the rescuing hand to the despairing from the shore of the blessed. All in vain! No human act was able to bridge over the abyss which separated the conscience-stricken man from the holy judge, and no human mediator's arm was great enough to reach over this gulf. On the contrary the more they accumulated the means and the media-

tors, the more the God receded for whose communion and favor they longed: so much the more painfully did the devout spirit consume itself in fruitless longing for peace, in despairing efforts for its salvation. Only from the depth of a heart which had experienced and struggled against this terrible dissension, could reconciliation, salvation and recovery come.

Hence it was that Luther had to go through the hard school of the law in order to experience by the agony of a restless and insatiable conscience that this way did not lead to salvation. Only gradually this knowledge awoke within him: by the study of the Scriptures, of the Church father, Augustine, and especially that of the mysticism of the Middle Ages, he began to discover the ground of the fruitlessness of all his former efforts. He found in the sermons of Tauler and in the so called "German Theology" the profound thought that the ground of our misery does not consist in single transgressions or in sensual emotions but it lies deeper: in the selfishness of our heart which, defiant and despairing at the same time, now draws back from the love of God in distrust and slavish fear, now in haughty self-justification will purchase his favor by works of service, and all this while really seeking itself and not God and his love. Hence it follows as a matter of course that the overcoming of sin and unhappiness can never be expected from any action whatever which springs from that diseased root, that is, from the selfish spirit of a heart at variance with God, mercenary and venal. Only one remedy could be prescribed against this fundamental evil: to cast aside love of self and to yield humbly to the love of God in perfect confidence, in order to become sure of salvation in the feeling of harmony with God. This thought Luther appropriated from the mystics, and without following them farther, joined it to the Pauline conception of justification by faith. Thereby this conception, so often understood only in the most superficial sense, acquired for him that genuine Pauline richness of contents which made it appropriate for the new ethical life-principle. Faith is for Luther as little as for Paul mere holding for truth of the history of Christ, but it is the union of the heart with Christ in one spiritual personality, the receiving into the heart of the shining image of the Saviour with all the healing



powers which proceed from him, as the diamond is encompassed by the ring that encircles it; in a word faith is according to Luther nothing else than a life in God, in the Holy Spirit of truth and love, of liberty and joy; therefore it changes man completely, makes him good in heart, makes him free from all works and laws, lord over all things, yet on the other hand he is bound by love and serves his neighbor in all things. So Luther has found in the faith which became to him first of all personally the sheltering rock from the storms of his soul, at the same time the foundation of a new moral view of the world and order of life for the individual and for society. He is the founder not only of the Church bearing his name, but also of the Protestant reform in which we all live and move extending far beyond the boundaries of this Church. Allow me to enlarge somewhat upon this subject.

Above the opposition between lawless liberty and legality in bonds in which the old world of heathen and Jews had been bound, Christian morality had, to be sure, even from the beginning elevated itself to a harmony of law and liberty as indeed Paul says: "I am not under the law, and not without law, but I am in the law of Christ; the law of the spirit of life in Christ has made me free from the law of sin and death, for love is the fulfilling of the law." But this great new principle of the law of the spirit making inwardly free, was very soon placed under a bushel by the Christian Church while it imposed its statutes as a new bond of servitude upon the Christian world. It is true that in the earlier centuries such a reiterated training of people in their minority by the ecclesiastical school of law may have been judicious and salutary. But the pupil outgrew the rod of correction of the pedagogue and yet the Church would not release him. The German people especially felt the rule of Rome more and more painfully as an oppressive yoke; louder and louder arose the complaints and grievances of the basely enslaved, ill-treated and exhausted nation, but in their impotence they were all dashed upon the fearful rock of Roman tyranny. In addition to the ecclesiastical servitude of the people there was the terrible dissension of classes, the constantly increasing oppression of the feudal lords upon the peasants. There was

an alarming turmoil in these circles at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the outbursts of selfish power and sedition grew more frequent. Romish servitude therefore upon one side and wild, devastating revolution on the other—these seemed to be the only possibilities for the future of the nation.

It was then that Luther guided safely the little ship, "Freedom of a Christian Man," between Scylla and Charybdis. That a Christian man is free in all things—this bold self-consciousness of evangelical faith which he had gained for himself by inward struggle in the quiet of his monastery cell, he now made known as the foundation of a new moral world by two deeds known to the universe: the burning of the Papal Bull of excommunication by which the old charm of Rome over German minds was broken forever, and by his confession at Worms before the Emperor and his kingdom whereby liberty of conscience was gained over against all earthly powers. But on the other hand that a Christian is a servant ready to minister in all things to every one, this humble self-consciousness of evangelical love, which for him was inseparably bound with that bold consciousness of liberty of faith he has also shown by two world-historic deeds: by the subduing of the revolution in the Church which the fanatics at Wittenberg excited during Luther's stay upon the Wartburg, and by the energetic overthrow of the insurrection of the peasants who made out of this Christian liberty a cloak to hide their heathenish horrors. By this the lines of the boundary against revolution were drawn just as sharply as formerly the separation from Rome was effected. Both sides belong in Luther's work as close together as the two sentences which he set as theme at the head of his sermon, "The Freedom of a Christian Man," and as in Christendom in general: freedom of conscience and bondage of love belong together. The liberty which Luther meant and which he brought to light as the treasure hid in the field of gospel truth, was therefore nothing less than heathen lawlessness and arbitrariness;—if the Roman Catholics raise this objection to Luther over and over, it is exactly as foolish and groundless as was the similar objection in the mouth of the Jews and the Jewish Christians against Paul. According to Luther as according to Paul, it is true the



law as external command and constraining fetter of the conscience for the true Christian is set aside, but only so far as the eternal value of the law, received in the heart of man, has become object of his rational discernment and heartfelt love.

The new man now alive in God is therefore no longer in need of any constraining law, because the divine has become his own life-element, because he loves as the highest good that which he has acknowledged as the true and the good, and feels constrained to devote his heart and life in free and joyful surrender to it. Luther himself uses for this the fitting comparison : as one does not need first to command the sun to shine, fire to burn, the tree to grow and blossom and bear fruit, because these things are governed by their own natures, even so it is with the Christian : he does the good from the impulse of his own heart, and cannot do otherwise without denying his own better nature. Yes, the moral demands of the law will in a condition of freedom not only be as well fulfilled as in a condition of servitude, but a great deal better ; for only that course of action is really successful with us which we enter upon not against our will, but with desire and love, to which we give our whole heart and soul.

But it is true that to surrender ourselves wholly to any task it is absolutely necessary to be convinced by our own reason of its truth and goodness. Therefore the free right of the spirit to make its own rational inquiry and proof, is inseparable from the sincere acceptance of the law in the heart of man. Luther expressed this upon ethical grounds at least, throughout with a clearness and decision which leave nothing to be wished for. A few examples may show this to be true. In regard to fasting, Luther observes the free Christian will it is true under certain circumstances through fasting and watching as well as by toil bring his body into subjection and discipline, but not on account of the statutes of the Church, or on account of the heavenly reward, but because he recognizes in those practices a reasonable means of bringing his body into the power of the spirit. In the same manner according to Luther an evangelical Church may hold feasts and holy days, but not on account of the third commandment, which with the entire Old Testament law concerned only the Jewish people and has no obligatory power

over us Christians; but we keep the holy days because we esteem it reasonable and judicious to establish and keep a common day of rest and service to God.

So the Christian will unremittingly practice good works, but not because the Church commands them, or because they merit a reward from heaven—done in this spirit they would not be good and pure, but rather selfish, impious, hindering rather than furthering salvation—the Christian will practice good works the rather because grateful love to God and his Saviour impel him irresistibly to serve in love his neighbor with the blessings received, and also to become to others on his part a Christ as freely, a bringer of salvation, a cause of blessing, as Jesus Christ himself has been a blessing for him. He wrote consequently at the end of his sermon upon “The Freedom of a Christian Man:” “A Christian man lives not in himself but in Christ and in his neighbor: in Christ through faith, in his neighbor through love; through faith he is carried beyond himself to God, from God he passes under himself through love, and remains still in God and in divine love.” As, moreover, love is the only pure fountain of genuine well-doing, so also according to Luther must it be its only norm and leveling-line. According to this measure he rejects most of the so called “good works,” recommended by the Church, as empty and worthless ceremonies, and allows that action to pass as morally valuable with which one serves his neighbor in some actual way. Since however the essence of the regular service which every one has to render to society for its general good is comprehended in the work of his calling, so according to Luther is the true fulfilling of one’s calling that preëminently good work, whereby the Christian does not, it is true, merit eternal life, but indeed out of the fulness of the higher life which he by faith already possesses, serves others joyfully and allows the gifts he has thankfully received to become a fountain of blessing to the world. Luther can not enjoin this thought often and urgently enough that true work in an earthly calling, how simple and lowly soever it be, is the work with which God is truly pleased, the most beautiful employment of Christian activity, in comparison with which all



the highly praised works of ecclesiastical asceticism and monasticism are utterly worthless.

What a thoroughly sound thought this was, and of what immense moral range! By it at last an end was put to the discord between religion and morality, an end to that delusion which held the earthly life with its work and its anxieties, its joy and its sorrow to be unreal and worthless, forsaken by God, full of sinful lust, while the life of contemplation was considered the only life pleasing to God and worthy of man. It was now acknowledged that this earthly life is the rather full of real divine blessings, duties and purposes, and that the "reasonable service" consists in this very devotion to these substantial aims, by which man honors his Creator and fulfills his earthly destiny; it was now acknowledged that this earthly life is not a kingdom of evil, but rather the stage upon which the kingdom of God has in part already come, namely, in the divine ordering of moral society, partly to be realized in the future by our deeds and sacrifices in the service of the good. Herewith was the entire viewpoint of the Middle Ages completely set aside, a new moral world was founded in which for the first time indeed there was made a serious question of that which really characterized the essence of Christianity from the beginning: the reconciliation of God with the world, the coming of the heavenly kingdom upon the earth, and the divine sonship of the children of men.

Here now lies the point in which Luther essentially differs from the mysticism of the Middle Ages, although in so many other points he agrees with it. Mysticism had, it is true, gone back from the externals of the ceremonious works of the Church to the intrinsic value of the state of mind, of the heart, of love to God, as to the really essential; but it was entirely occupied by this inwardness; it no longer found from the sanctuary of God's love the way out into the working place of God's kingdom, but spent itself in longing, languishing and trifling with feelings of love and devotion, not knowing that the power of God will be mighty in our weakness, will show itself energetic in efforts for the honor of God and the salvation of the world. Mysticism with all its depth remained fast bound in the monas-

tical character of fruitless, idle contemplation, and had no observable influence upon the improvement of men and things in the Church and in society. Luther's bold, heroic nature was not from the beginning adapted to ebb and flow in any such weak, idle life in the feelings. But it was none the less a deep, moral, religious knowledge which saved him from that onesidedness; it was the knowledge that Christian faith is a life in God and must accordingly prove itself effectual and active; and the insight that the spirit of God is not so weak as to be forced to flee from the world timidly into a little cell of devotion, but rather strong enough to cope with the world, to overcome and permeate it, that he has therefore his sanctuary in every place, where it is possible to promote good and build up men of God.

That which separated Luther from the mystics was the deeper perception of the eternal power of God, embracing every finite thing, and the perception of the eternal destiny of man, showing itself in every special act. If his thought in this respect was much higher and grander than theirs, he was again in other respects much more clear and discerning than they. The mystics were fond of speaking of the "deification" of man in the sense that he passes over entirely in the divine, every human imperfection disappears, and he enters a condition of perfect holiness and blessedness.

Luther's healthy understanding of the real, as well as his deeper knowledge of Scripture guarded him from this extravagance passing all bounds of human nature. He knew that the Christian while here below can never become an entirely new man, a purely spiritual man, but that something of the old Adam always clings to him, with a sinful impulse to self-will and selfishness; that on this account the war against sin, the labor for one's own improvement is never at an end and that in so far man always remains under the discipline of the law, although as a renewed man he may be free from the bondage of it. So Luther unprejudiced by his doctrine of the Freedom of a Christian man yet knew how to preserve for the law its value, that is, a means of discipline for those who are not yet true Christians, and for that which in the religious is not yet spiritual, but of the flesh.



Luther held himself as far removed from the unevangelical practices of the law as from extravagant antinomianism : for the conscience and heart he will have freedom untouched by any bondage of the law, but for outer life in the world and society, in which the religious and godless are always together, by all means the law shall remain valid as controlling and restraining authority.

In these sound principles Luther laid the foundation of a new system of morality. He has not however limited himself to the first principles, but he showed also the application of the principles upon all sides of the social life of his people in a number of treatises, sermons and letters, as well as in numerous utterances which are handed down under the name of "Table Talks." Of special significance here is the classic: "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation for the Improvement of the Christian Condition," which in plain features reveals a grandly conceived and clearly drawn programme of a general reform of the social life of the nation. That there was much wrong in the German state, all patriots of the time freely acknowledged ; but to lay the axe at the root of the decayed tree of society in the Middle Ages no one understood so well as Luther, for no one recognized so clearly as he the real root of the social evils revealing themselves in so many ways. He recognized them in the fundamentally wrong distinction between the clergy and the laity, to which he opposed the great, but long since forgotten thought of primitive Christianity, that of the universal priesthood of Christian believers. "Ye are a royal priesthood"—Luther took this Scripture in full earnest with all the accompanying consequences. If all are by baptism and faith already ordained to be priests, that is, to be servants and followers of God, they then no longer need the mediation of a class of special priests. If all are called in Christ to be spiritual kings and lords over the things of the world, they need then no longer acknowledge any Pope as king and lord over them, nor by any papal bull or decretals do they need to have their social order decided, but they recognize in Christ alone their head, to whom all members of the Christian body, that is the Church, are subject equally.

There are, to be sure, belonging to this one body different members with their special duties, offices and activities, with which every member is called upon to serve in his way the whole. But all these offices and services of the Christian order of society, be it Church, state or family, rest alike upon divine ordinance, have a similar divine right to lay claim for themselves directly: no one therefore dare raise himself by his own power over the others, no one dare encroach boldly and haughtily upon the calling of others. Herewith Luther laid the foundation of a Protestant autonomy, a society independent of an ecclesiastical guardianship, and hierarchical pretensions. Especially did he herewith regain finally for the civil magistracy its just, divine right, out of which the hierarchical Church of the Middle Ages had so long cheated it, about which emperor and kings had fought a severe battle for centuries, without being able to accomplish anything, so long as even the halo of the clerical profession remained unbroken, in the consciousness of the Christian people. Now for the first time since Luther has taught to acknowledge in the magistracy also spiritual office, and a membership of the Christian body whose work although of quite another kind than that of the servants of the Gospel does not any the less on that account rest upon divine ordinance, none the less possess divine dignity, and elevated rights: now for the first time was the ban of clerical authority broken, which had rested like an Alp upon the state in the Middle Ages; now for the first time could the civil magistracy elevate itself to the clear consciousness of its lofty calling, could think independently and unhindered by canonical rights or Romish opposition, ordering the common good according to laws which originated in reason, in the sound judgment of what was fitting and judicious. Now for the first time the modern state with its sovereign independence of every outward influence and abundant power from within could come to a free and healthy development. All modern states, not excepting even the Roman Catholic have had and have this blessing of the Reformation to be thankful for, but surely none has gained so much as the Prussian State, which is really an outgrowth of the Reformation; if this state does not wish to continue in the liberty to which Christ through



Luther has called it, but is willing to become bound by the slavish yoke of Rome again, then it would really deny its essential being and its origin, and that is a thing impossible !

Moreover as Luther has honored the just rights of the magistracy as opposed to their catholic-ecclesiastical misuse of power, so on the other hand has he set a limit to their authority. "The civil magistracy," says he, "has laws which do not extend farther than over the body and property and the externals of life. For over the soul God can and will suffer no one to rule save himself. Therefore where worldly power presumes to give laws to the soul, there it encroaches upon the authority of God and only betrays and destroys the soul." His proof of this statement is as clear as it is enlightening : Every power shall and may have jurisdiction only there where it can direct, judge and change ; but the thoughts of the spirit and soul can be clear only to God ; therefore it is useless and impossible to command any one, and to constrain him by force to believe thus and so. Just as little as a man can shut me out of heaven, just so little can he force me to a certain belief. For faith is free, no one can force one to it ; yes, it is a divine work in one's spirit, let alone that external force should control or create it. \* \* For heresy one can never hinder with force, to that another means is fitting ; God's word shall contend here ; if it does not bring about the desired end it will not be brought about by worldly power, even though it fill the world with blood."

We see that Luther has proclaimed the principle of political tolerance in affairs of religion and of the conscience with perfect clearness and decision ; but it is true that was with him in a sense only an ideal and programme for the future, to which he did not remain faithful in single instances in practice. He was too thoroughly penetrated by the idea of the Middle Ages that in a country there should prevail one common faith, and that the ruling powers should grant to this right faith their protection against heresy and unbelief, to make full application of that principle of toleration everywhere, and especially where the ruling powers were favorable to the Protestant doctrines. But if he held it for a right and even a duty of the Protestant princes and magistrates to advance in their own territories the Reforma-

tion by civil authority, and not to tolerate the followers of the old faith, or of any heretical belief, for instance the Baptists or Unitarians, he has demanded only the exiling of those having other beliefs, not criminally persecuted them. If indeed this was a contradiction to the pure principles of tolerance, it was done in the interest of the preservation of the public peace and of harmony among the citizens, not indeed in the opinion that heresy in and of itself was a penal offence. From this unevangelical course, peculiar to the Roman Catholic Church and unfortunately to the Calvinistic theocracy also, Luther's great soul always remained free, and it is surely not the smallest leaf in his wreath of honor that his clean hands were never stained with drop of blood, that he never made any one a martyr.

Rather than of eagerness in persecution one might accuse him of having furthered the passive suffering of persecution too onesidedly, and of having for a long time denied to the Protestants the right of protection by arms and of having granted it with hesitation only in the greatest distress. It is indeed not to be denied that this want of solid political sense and worldly wisdom was very unfavorable for the outward establishing of Protestantism. But does he not deserve at the same time our highest esteem and sympathy for that high patriotic idealism, which held the majesty of the imperial crown even upon the head of Charles of Spain so sacred that every opposition to it, even if in favor of the Gospel, was rejected by him? The unity of the nation as he saw it embodied in the Emperor, to hold to that at any cost—excepting only denial of the faith—that was the guiding principle in Luther's political conduct. Was it in any way his fault that this true German fidelity was rewarded by foreign deception, because then to our misfortune a foreigner was sitting upon the throne who understood not the truest sentiments of the German nation? Surely it was not Luther who sundered our nation and made it powerless for centuries; that was the black hordes from beyond the mountains that dealt our noble Frau Germania the wounds base and deep, from which centuries long she has bled, and from which she is only now recovering. Luther's political ideal was a free national empire, independent of Rome's spiritual and worldly tyranny, strong in



the harmony of its princes and powers, a protection and shelter for the honor and liberty of the German nation against foreigners from without and for peaceful rule and government according to judicious laws within. In short his ideal was that which our own time at last after long centuries of severe suffering and striving has brought to realization. Luther has been then the prophet and leader of the Protestant German empire, which like the German oak has sunk its roots firmly in the deep soil of the German nature.

Still another blessing which has grown upon the German heart not less than their love for the Fatherland, did Luther regain for his people: the dignity and beauty of family life. I say he regained it for them; for the Church in the Middle Ages undervalued and debased this natural, moral good. Here too, as everywhere else, had it made the natural into a sinful act, and then by virtue of the sacrament had impressed upon it the stamp of supernatural sanction, which tallied poorly enough with the presupposed sinfulness of marriage; consequently the married condition, in spite of its sacramental character, remained burdened with a stain in the eyes of the Church; it passed, indeed, as allowed, but not really as positively pleasing to God; such is according to Roman Catholic doctrine only the unmarried condition of the clergy and the monks. From this contrariness to nature, whose fancied heavenly heights lie so near hellish depths, Luther brought us back to healthy natural views. In that natural impulse of the heart which draws man and woman together he recognized the sacred will of God, who even in creation established the everlasting order according to which it is not good for man to be alone. For this reason the basis of marriage is nuptial love, not a mere impulse of nature of a sensuous, impure kind, but a sacred flame, which melts the bonds of selfishness, which reveals its divine origin in its perfect devotion of the one to the other, and in fidelity till death, in mutual forbearance and helpfulness, and in the bearing of the cross in common. And as marriage rests upon the ordinance of God, so it is, according to Luther, a valuable medium of attaining the highest ends of God, a salutary school of education in faith, patience and humility, a field for practice of obedience in

the fulfillment of daily duties, "the sphere of whose work seems small, it is true, but yet is promotive of the honor of God, and is therefore to be held as a just service to God.

Now if Luther compares this blessed life in marriage, with its fulness of gifts and duties, powers and virtues, with the empty show and formal existence of monastery life, he comes to this just conclusion: "The matrimonial state could be fairly called a hundred times more spiritual than the monastic state." Luther has thus established a view of marriage as healthy as it is ideally moral, as far removed from natural coarseness as from sentimental trifling and romantic refinement. He has consecrated the German home to a sanctuary in whose elevated atmosphere the dignity of duty shall be united with the charm of love, the seriousness of work with serene content, making a picture of humanity full and beautiful. How much sorrow and misery has Luther driven from the world by the setting aside of those binding monastical vows, by the doing away with the obligatory celibacy of the clergy! What a rich fountain for church and parish, state and society has he established in the Protestant parsonage! And how beautifully and purely has he set forth the type in his own household, so that all scorn and slander avail nothing in lessening the charm which rules over us all in every glance into Luther's home. The details of his domestic life, I take for granted, are known by all. Yet I would like to draw your attention for a moment to one point. If we observe the bright sociability which ruled at Luther's table, where according to old German custom the bowl received much attention, but where the company was regaled by elevating music and by witty and spirited conversation, even in this small feature the beautiful union of nature and spirit does us, in contrast with the separation and consequent distortion of both, prevailing in the Middle Ages by which the bodily on the one side was debased to dissolute, coarse, animal pleasure, and on the other hand the spirit sought to rise by monastic asceticism and castigation of the body; the superhuman merit of this forced holiness was then to cover the nakedness of that inhuman baseness and make good the sins of sensual pleasure. But what comes to naught



everywhere in this marvelous reckoning is the real man himself in his unity of body and spirit.

In place of this twofold contradiction to nature, Luther now established a healthy and true humanity, which indeed allows nature its needs and enjoyments, but in such a manner that while it makes the natural the basis, it also makes it the means animating and setting forth the spiritual and which does not oppose the spirit as hostile to nature, but lets it enter the body, penetrate, ennoble and spiritualize it. Shall we not perhaps find in this a trace of the Greek spirit? Yes, and yet again, no! The beautiful humanity of the Greek world had this discord: it had not yet won the battle between body and spirit, because it had not yet any serious knowledge of it, because it had this battle still before it, just as the battle of life still lies before the innocence of the child. In Luther, however, the stern conflict which had filled the world of the Middle Ages, was settled, the spirit had grown sure of the sway over the body, and reached to the conquered the hand of reconciliation in token of a perfect bond of a harmonized humanity. Just so far, therefore, as the conscious, established morality of a man stands higher than the naïve innocence of a child, just so far does the Protestant spirit, which in Luther arose from the discord of the Middle Ages to a harmony, exceed in depth and richness, in purity and power the Greek spirit.

But truly where a battle has taken place, there is no victory without wounds, and the scars do not disappear even from the conquering hero so easily. Luther bore the marks of his heroic struggle all his life. The faith of the Middle Ages was too deeply rooted in all his youthful recollections for him not to experience the deepest pain in breaking away from it. Hence that deep seated sadness which so often pressed upon his soul, those doubts and conflicts which even in later years stormed in upon him with such power that he was able to restrain them only by summoning all his heroic strength. It was quite natural that these gloomy moods appeared to him in the usual form of demoniacal beings and activities, in depicting which the fancy of the Middle Ages had been so busy. It would be drawing a very imperfect picture of Luther's point of view if one should

conceal that the form of terror of the Middle Ages, the devil, threw its mighty shadow even into his religious world. Even if the hurling of the inkstand upon the Wartburg be a myth, it is surely true that Luther every where in nature and in society perceived the presence of bad spirits, that he attributed natural evils such as conflagrations, floods, storms, pestilence and famine to their interference, as well as human sins and error, especially doubts destructive of faith to the suggestions of the devil. It is not to be denied that a certain shadow from the background of the Middle Ages forms a part of Luther's picture of the world; but only so much the more worthy of remark is it that in his practical relation to these ghostly forms the cheerful and energetic character of his piety appears so conspicuously. For while the piety of the Middle Ages bowed in trembling fear before the dark spirits of hell and sought to ward them off by amulets, crosses, holy water and other similar magic arts, Luther on the other hand could "sit under the shadow of faith and prayer and laugh at the devil and his scales," as he says. With the armor of the spirit Luther defies the Evil One, yes, he even plays with him in the comfortable humor of his superior strength. If the devil tempted him too sorely with whisperings of doubt, especially in the lonely quiet of the night, then it might happen that Luther would send him flying with the well-known rude energy of a Götz von Berlichingen. Particularly did music serve him as an effectual means of driving away the gloomy, sullen spirit, who according to Luther's idea hates nothing more than the elevated joys of man. Consequently the shadow which the fear of the devil threw into Luther's picture, serves only as a dark foil, because of which the picture of a personality free and joyous in the Lord, a true Protestant disciple shines so much the more clearly.

Sitting under the shadow of faith our Reformer won quite another relation to nature from that which was customary in the Middle Ages. To be sure his natural philosophy was not yet by any means established but clung entirely to the scholastic or popular and childish views. But his natural feeling was of a fineness, sincerity and sensitiveness which belongs only to the true poetic nature. While the monastic point of view looks



upon nature as the secret territory of demoniacal powers, Luther saw in it everywhere the wonderful works of God, yes, perceived God's very presence in it. "God is," says he, "in the smallest creature, in a leaf or blade of grass;" in every form of natural life he saw "the veiled presence of God." And to Luther's loving eye nature did not remain hidden or dumb, its deeper meaning revealed itself, the significance of its sign language; in the least and most common thing he saw the emblem and parable of human life and of the eternal truths which move and direct it. In this delicate perception of animate nature and sympathetic relation to it, no one stands nearer Luther than Goethe.

That the friend of nature was a friend of art also is a matter of course. Music and poetry, the two most spiritual arts, which speak most directly to the soul, were close to Luther's heart. Music was not merely a pleasant pastime to him, but he esteemed it as the most precious gift of God next to theology. No one before him understood so well as he to bring music into the service of the Highest and to express religious ideas. Therefore the saying is true: "That a Bach or Handel ever lived, the world or the German people to whom alone they really belong, owe to their Luther only."\* And what a priceless gift the poet Luther bestowed upon his people in the German hymn, whose founder he was; for what there was of the kind before him is not worth mentioning. The wondrous influence of Luther's hymns upon his contemporaries, even his opponents must admit. A Jesuit once complained: "Luther's hymns have ruined more souls than all the books and sermons." And we must not forget that German hymnology going out from Luther and carried on in his Church still further was for nearly two centuries really the living soul and pith of German poetry, which had otherwise fallen into rudeness or subtilities or imitation of foreign models, while in hymns alone of that time the genuine German heart beat warm and vigorous.

It is true Luther was farther removed personally from the other arts, yet he valued them highly, also. Even to the drama,

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\*H. Ruckert.

elementary as it was at that time, would he allow place, because it was a mirror in which to acquire a knowledge of the world and of men. Finally the school, the place of education for youth, the seat of science, what a far-reaching impulse in every direction does it owe to Luther! Before him there were indeed many Latin schools where there was much flogging and little learning. But the real common schools for all ages and for both sexes Luther first called into life. In the address to the Christian Nobility and later in a special address to the counselors of all the cities of Germany he advised the establishing everywhere of Christian schools, where every child, boys and girls, might hear the Gospel and learn to read it. He recognized the universal need of education, as the natural accompaniment of the common duty of defense: "If the government can force its subjects to carry spears and rifles to war, how much more can and should parents force their children to attend school, because here a worse war is going on, with the devil who goes about to make the land poor in energetic people." In a letter to his Elector he describes the young people as the most beautiful Paradise and the noblest treasure, which God entrusts to a prince, that he cultivate and care for them. He turned his attention not only to the common schools but also to the higher schools and made some suggestions of reform which testify to his deep insight, and which stand out far above his time, and they were later partly carried out; for instance, when he demands that the young people shall come thoroughly prepared to the University, and only the best fitted, the really qualified for study, should be admitted. How highly Luther valued the worldly sciences, how keenly he judged the value and problems, for instance, of the humanities and of history, I will pass by in order to cast one more glance upon his importance for Protestant science in general.

The statement that the science of German Protestantism had to acknowledge in Luther its father, could appear overdrawn, in so far as Luther did not busy himself deeply with other branches of learning than theology. And yet one will not utterly deny the correctness of this statement, when one considers that German science owes nothing less to Luther than body and soul.



For the body of science is language, and its soul is the conscientious spirit of truth and the impulse to free investigation. Both of these it has from Luther and from him alone. He created the simple language which for centuries has been the only bond of union of a people sundered politically.

And what a language! What a fulness of forms, what a flexibility of structure, what a strength of expression it won under his masterhand! The clearness of Lessing, the strength of Schiller and the euphony of Goethe are all combined in the language of Luther. Therefore it is and remains the prototype for all who speak and write the German language, a prototype which inspires and guides without binding or impeding; for Luther's language is far too original and peculiar to mislead into slavish imitation.

But the "free-breathing nature" of Luther's language, as Jacob Grimm aptly designated it, stands in the closest connection with the free-breathing nature of his thought, with that spirit of free examination and investigation which starting with Luther has become the inheritance of Protestantism and the soul of modern science. When Luther uttered that important truth in his declaration at the Leipsic Disputation: "I hold myself to be a Christian theologian and to live in the kingdom of truth; for this reason I will be free and yield to no authority, be it that of Council or Emperor or University or Pope, but I will avow everything which I perceive as truth!"—then the jurisdiction of the authority, which had burdened the thought of the Middle Ages was broken, then struck the birth-hour of the new period, and of unfettered science whose principle is this very original research and independent thinking, which does not allow itself to be bound or imprisoned by tradition, authority or prejudice, but yields only to clearly acknowledged truth, and contents itself only with its self-won convictions.

And now since the stream of independent thought, so long impeded was once set free, it poured forth with the irresistible fury of the dashing mountain stream; dug its bed deeper and deeper, made its banks wider and wider, and drew unto itself all the kindred streams of the time as its tributaries: so it became the powerful and glorious stream of modern science. It is true

the smaller and more anxious spirits sought to kindle the natural flow of this stream to dam it up, to divert it, by establishing new defences, dams and dykes of ecclesiastical statutes, for which they appealed to the letter of even some of Luther's sentences. But here again it was proved that the spirit is stronger than the letter. For it was Luther's spirit which arose triumphant in Lessing, to free us from the unendurable yoke of the letter. In Luther's spirit and in the footsteps of his criticism on dogma, Kant followed with a Critique of Reason, sought with the torch of self-consciousness to light up the depths of our soul, and found in the law of conscience a resting point amid all the range of appearances.

On the other hand when a Schiller sought to soften the severe dignity of the Kantian law through the serene grace of "the beautiful soul," in which the disharmony between body and spirit is reconciled in a noble and unfettered manhood: what is this other than the essential thought of Luther concerning the freedom of a Christian man who, without the pressure of the law, does the good from himself, impelled by his own impulse of holy love? Or when a Schleiermacher leads us back from all outward forms of religion in worship or dogma, to its secret fountain in the depth of the heart, where the soul feels itself stirred by the Infinite Spirit, and in its dependence upon him feels itself elevated above the limits of sense: what is this but the cardinal doctrine of Luther of the saving power of faith, which is that life of the soul in God? Yes indeed, my friends, it is nothing else: our greatest spirits, the interpreters of our Protestant German thinking and feeling—they all stand upon Luther's shoulders, they are all living upon his inheritance, they are all ruled by his mighty spirit, and so much the more perfectly, the less they are hampered by his letter. That Luther is the founder of the Protestant morals in which we all live and move, in which we must be ever advancing, and to which we hope to draw our Catholic brothers even more than in the past: this it is which I have sought to point out, and which I would finally like to corroborate by the testimony of a judge as competent as unbiased, it is no one less than Goethe, who has beautifully said: "We do not know all we owe to Luther and to the



Reformation. We have become free from the chains of spiritual limitation, we have become fitted in consequence of our increasing culture to return to the fountain and comprehend Christianity in its purity. We have again the courage to stand with firm feet upon God's earth and to rest in the feeling that we are in our Godgifted natures. Let spiritual culture advance as it may, let natural sciences grow in ever greater breadth and depth, and the human spirit grow in knowledge as it will, it will never get beyond the height and moral culture of Christianity as it shines and glows in the Gospel. Moreover the more truly we Protestants advance in noble development, so much the more quickly will the Catholics follow. As soon as they feel themselves taken hold upon by the enlightenment of the time, growing more and more comprehensive about them, they must follow and dissemble as they may it will at length come to the point that all are in harmony. Also the unpleasant division of Protestant sects will cease and with it the hatred and hostile feeling between father and son, brother and sister. For as soon as one has understood the pure doctrine and the love of Christ, and has lived it, one will feel himself as a great and free man and will lay no longer special value upon trifling differences in external worship. We shall all gradually come out of a Christianity of the word more and more into a Christianity of thought and of deed."

Upon the way to this goal may the illuminating and strengthening example be the heroic form of Luther which in these anniversary days is rising in millions of thankful hearts with a fresh and imperishable splendor. This may God grant!

## ARTICLE III.

## UTILITARIANISM.

By PROF. L. A. FOX, D. D., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.

There are two great systems of Ethics, commonly known now as the Intuitive and the Utilitarian. Other names are sometimes applied to them, each of which marks some fact in their history, or some feature of their methods, or some characteristic of their doctrines. They are sometimes distinguished as the Stoic and the Epicurean systems, because tendencies which existed before in moral speculations, in these schools became prominent and fixed. The Intuitive is sometimes called the Independent because it holds the right as an end, while the Utilitarian regards it simply as a means. The name Intuitive is used to give prominence to the fact that it holds to certain original principles of morals, while Utilitarianism, in contrast, is called Inductive because it regards all moral truth as secondary and derived. The Intuitive is also called Rational, and Utilitarianism is called Sentimental, because the one is founded upon the Reason and the other upon Feelings. Utilitarianism has also, without contrast, been termed Eudemonism or Happiness theory, Hedonism or Pleasure theory, and the Selfish theory.

Utilitarianism has within our century gained new importance. One reason is found in the general tendency of the age. The writers on the natural history of morals have shown that political institutions, geographical conditions, degrees of intelligence, intellectual habits, industrial pursuits, and various other influences modify the conceptions of a people not only in regard to specific duties but also in regard to the general principles of Ethics. The standard of virtue among savages is quite different from that among civilized nations. In a State struggling into existence heroism is a fundamental virtue, while among a commercial people it is honesty. Changes in moral sentiments may be traced largely to outward circumstances. The profound philosopher from the intellectual and material conditions of a



people can determine their moral state. The great characteristic of our age is devotion to the Practical. The study of the physical sciences, inventions and industrial enterprise mutually influence each other. The progress made within the century is marvelous. This influences moral systems in several different ways. The practical is necessarily the useful, and the great question before all others is, What use? Men seek fame, position, knowledge, everything, that they may obtain wealth, and the end of wealth is enjoyment. The young man wants a practical education, and learning is considered as a shorter road to business success. Utilitarianism is most in harmony with this business, enterprising spirit. Moral duties are urged because they pay. Honesty must be practiced because it is the best policy. Vices must be avoided because they bring disease, disgrace and ruin. A practical is never a reflecting age. Our age is too busy to stop to think profoundly on anything but practical bearings. Moral systems rest on metaphysical principles, and nothing is more common than to hear flings at metaphysics. Any treatment of a subject beyond the superficial and directly practical is pronounced metaphysical, and is neglected. Thoughtful books, unless they happily conceal the thoughts under a popular dress, find few readers. Utilitarianism lays hold of prominent facts and exalts them to a prime place among morals. Happiness seems to be the great end of existence. God is represented as all goodness. Morality, therefore, is only a means to happiness. It is a plausible and taking theory. These influences for Utilitarianism are still further promoted by the study of natural science. The means of physical and metaphysical studies are very different. The objects are different. The powers of mind employed are, therefore, different. The cultivation of the faculties necessary to success in physical is detrimental to those needed in intellectual studies. Naturalists complain that preachers meddle with science for which they have no capacity, and the preachers have an equal right to complain that naturalists meddle with theology for which they have no training and no ability. Educated men, on account of the greater attention given to physical sciences, study them more than the intellectual and thus lose proportionately their power of judg-

ing in questions pertaining to the ultimate grounds of moral systems. They fall in, therefore, with Utilitarianism which is most in harmony with the practical drift of the age, and which seems to accord best with the facts of human life.

There is another reason for the increased importance of Utilitarianism in our age found in the great impetus to evolution theories of life given by the writings of Charles Darwin. Even if it be true that faith in evolution is waning, yet it has such a hold on the educated public that it must still be fought; and if not true, there is the greater need of fair but earnest discussion. If evolution be shown to be the true theory of nature it must be proven sufficient to account for all the facts of the world. It can not be regarded as an established theory until it has shown clearly not only how our body was evolved from lower forms, but also how our intellect was developed from instinct, and our moral nature from animal sensibility. A failure anywhere along the line is a failure to raise it above a mere hypothesis. Evolutionists recognize this fact and have addressed themselves to the work. The increased attention given to the intelligence of animals, that has done so much to modify in a few years the theory of instinct, is intended to find the gap between the mind of man and that of the brute. Utilitarianism is the moral system which is offered by evolution. It is the only system which can be logically and consistently adjusted to a natural development theory. If Utilitarianism fails to explain our moral nature evolution breaks down at a vital point. The question, then, between the two systems is not one simply of the moralists in the schools but has an important bearing upon the great questions, Whence is life? What is our destiny?

There is another fact, of secondary importance yet influential enough to deserve mention, which tends to make Utilitarianism popular, found in the humane ideas of our age. We boast of our humanity. Some philosopher supposed that he found in this the key to the difference between ancient and modern civilization. We are proud that we have emancipated so many slaves and have driven slavery almost wholly from the boundaries of civilization. We wage a war against every thing that looks like caste. We reach out our sympathies to the lower orders of an-



imals and cry out against cruelty to the brute. Utilitarians, without stopping to adjust it with their general principles of morals, have been quite active in the movement in behalf of the animal. The intuitive moralist has a solid basis for humanity and is as earnest and devoted in all humane and charitable efforts as the Utilitarian. But the greatest-happiness principle catches the public ear because it harmonizes with a mere sentimental benevolence. Our popular humane ideas are very largely sentiment. They do not grow so much out of the conceptions of human rights as out of a feeling of sympathy. Our intellectual culture has developed our imaginative powers, and these are the powers of realization. We bring the sufferer before us and enter into his feelings but our interest in him goes no deeper than the sensibility. That system which proposes happiness as its immediate end is more accordant with this unreflecting sentiment than that which makes happiness subordinate to the right.

If the charge of selfishness can be made good against every form of Utilitarianism, then it is a dangerous system. Mr. Mill resents the charge. Men are often better than their speculative opinions, for their characters are usually formed before their theories. Noble men may advocate bad theories. Some Utilitarians whose early years were passed under the influence of Christianity have been self-sacrificing, disinterested. We look for the fruits of a theory, not in the founders but in subsequent generations. If Utilitarianism is rooted in selfishness, just so far as it is adopted and its influence is not counteracted, it will make men selfish. If it prevails as a theory in the schools, its debasing effects will work their way among the masses. Its ripe fruits will be an easy, pleasure-loving, selfish society destitute of all those elements which have made nations great and good. The question between the two systems is, then, a great practical one.

The intuitive moralist believes that the moral is ultimate. He holds to certain great principles known intuitively. He regards happiness as a good, but lower than moral perfection. He believes that obligation rests upon the worthiness of duty, and not upon utility. He draws a broad line between moral duty and

prudence. Mr. J. S. Mill, who is recognized as one of the ablest expositors and defenders of Utilitarianism, thus defines that scheme: "Actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to promote the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure." (Dissertations, vol. 3, p. 308). In the same connection and on the same page, he adds: "Supplementary explanations do not affect the theory of life on which this theory of morality is grounded,—namely, that pleasure and freedom from pain are the only things desirable as ends; and that all desirable things (which are as numerous in the utilitarian as in any other scheme) are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves or as means to the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain."

It will be profitable in several respects to review briefly the history of Utilitarianism during the last two centuries.

Hobbes (1588–1679) is the father of modern Utilitarianism. His philosophy was idealistic materialism. He believed that the only thing which exists is matter, but the only thing known is idea. His moral system can be characterized by no other term so well as by the word selfish. "I consider that when a man deliberates whether he shall do or not do a thing, he does nothing else but consider whether it be better for himself to do it or not do it." "No man giveth but with the intention of good to himself, because gift is voluntary; and of all voluntary acts the object to every man is his own good." "Good and evil are names that signify our appetites and desires." "These words of good and evil and contemptible, are ever used with relation to the person using them, there being nothing simply and absolutely so; nor any common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves but from the person of the man, where there is no commonwealth, or, in a commonwealth, from the person of him that represents it." He taught that ideas are images, the relicts of impressions made upon the sense; that imagination is a decaying sense, and that man is a creature of necessity. All these doctrines are reproduced by the more recent advocates of the Utilitarian scheme.

John Locke (1632–1704) by his *Essay on the Human Under-*



standing gave a new impulse to the study of philosophy in England, and was for a long time a master of philosophic thinking. He was not a consistent philosopher, and it may always remain a question how much he attributed to reflection which was one of his sources of ideas. But the leading feature and tendency of his philosophy was empiricism. His moral teaching was utilitarian. "Good and evil are nothing but pleasure and pain, or that which occasions or procures pleasure or pain to us. Moral good and evil, then, is only the conformity or disagreement of our voluntary actions to some law whereby good or evil is drawn on us by the will and power of the law-maker, which good and evil, pleasure or pain, attending our observance or breach of the law by the decree of the law-maker, is what we call reward or punishment."

David Hartley (1705–1757), a fellow at Cambridge, a physician, and an extensive author, took the theory of the association of ideas and applied it to the origin of moral ideas. He professed to believe in the immortality of the soul, but his philosophy was pure materialism. All ideas originated primarily in the material organism. The higher ideas were derived from sense impressions by association. He illustrated the origin of moral ideas by avarice and love of praise. Money is desired first as a means of securing desired objects, but after awhile it is sought as an end. The miser starves in the midst of his hoarded thousands. Men love praise because it evinces affection, and affection helps to gratify personal desire. But at length they love it as a means and will even sacrifice life to secure posthumous fame. So with moral ideas and sentiments. Men saw first the relation of the moral to happiness and sought it only as a means, but losing sight of it as a means, they exalted it into an end. They now regard virtue in itself as praiseworthy and vice as censurable. They feel a pleasure in practicing virtue and a pain in violating it. In this way, out of a mere prudent pursuit of happiness, conscience was generated. The scheme recognizes conscience as a distinct faculty, as a real and important element of our nature, and provides for moral education, but at the same time throws suspicion upon its authority.

Having clandestinely taken the throne, is it not a usurper? At best the scheme is only disguised selfishness.

Paley (1743–1805) was a Christian minister and imparted a much higher form to Utilitarianism. He gave great prominence to the religious motive. “Virtue is doing good to mankind according to the will of God for the sake of everlasting happiness.” He based obligation on authority. “Obligation is a violent motive resulting from the command of another.” His “doing good to mankind” is not disinterested, for he made private happiness the motive. “We can be obliged to nothing but what we ourselves are to gain or lose something by. As we should not be obliged to obey the laws or magistrate unless rewards or punishments, pleasure or pain somehow or other depended upon our obedience; so neither should we, without the same reason, be obliged to do what is right, to practice virtue or to obey the command of God.” He illustrated the difference between an act of duty and of prudence, and adds: “The difference, and the only difference, is this: that in the one case (prudence) we consider what we shall gain or lose in this world; in the other case we consider also what we shall gain or lose in the world to come.” He made no distinction among pleasures except in continuance and intensity, the lowest if sufficiently prolonged would be equal in value with the highest. His scheme relieves the Utilitarian system of one embarrassment. Without referring to the rewards and punishments of another life it cannot answer the question, What shall the duty of the man be whose only alternatives are death or the betrayal of a sacred trust.” But it remains under the charge of selfishness. If one obeys God and practices virtue simply to avoid pain and obtain reward, no matter whether they are administered in this world or the next, he is merely a prudent man. There is no virtue in such acts.

David Hume (1711–1776), because of his relation to subsequent moralists, deserves mention in this connection. He adopted Hutchison’s doctrine of a moral sense but discriminated between the functions of sense and reason. His ethical principle was “the feeling of the happiness and misery of mankind.” He held that man is capable of a disinterested regard for others. He emphasized the idea that utility is the funda-



mental characteristic of virtue. That which leads us to approve or disapprove moral actions is sympathy. "The crime or immorality is no particular fact or relation which can be the object of the understanding, but arises entirely from the sentiment of disapprobation, which by the structure of human nature we unavoidably feel on the apprehension of barbarity or treachery." "Reason instructs us in the several tendencies of actions, and humanity makes a distinction in favor of those which are useful and beneficial."

Adam Smith (1723–1790) adopted Hume's suggestion of sympathy and founded on it his scheme of morals. The idea of morality could not originate except in society. Propriety, merit, demerit, approbation and disapprobation grow out of the capacity in man to sympathize with the sentiments of others. Until the moral is created the only feelings are those of favor or injury, and merit and demerit are resolved into a sympathy with the gratitude of those who are benefited and the resentment of those who are injured. The man who would see a fellow betray a trust to one friend to confer a greater favor upon another would deserve both praise and blame for the same act at the same time, and the poor fellow would be in quandary to determine whether he had merit or demerit. The scheme fails to account for the origin of the idea of duty or to give any sufficient rule.

Jeremy Bentham (1747–1832) has been called the founder of the modern school of Utilitarianism. He is a recognized leader. He was a jurist but not a metaphysician, and his moral system shows plainly his legal training and habits of thoughts. He introduced the phrase, "the Greatest Happiness Principle." He defines utility as "that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question." The only good and evil which he recognizes are pleasure and pain. "Pleasure in itself is good; nay, setting aside immunity from pain, the only good: pain is in itself an evil and indeed without exception the only evil, or else the words good and evil have no meaning." "Take away pleasures and pains, not only happiness but justice and

duty and obligation and virtue, all of which have been so elaborately held up to view as independent of them, are so many empty sounds." The greatest happiness of the greatest number seems disinterested, but after all it is only disguised selfishness. "Dream not that men will move their little finger to serve you unless their advantage in so doing be obvious to them. Men never did so and never will while human nature is made of its present material." The rule of morality is a calculation of chances of pleasure and pain. "Weigh pains, weigh pleasures, and as the balance stands will stand the question of right and wrong." "Vice may be defined to be a miscalculation of chances, a mistake in estimating the value of pleasures and pains. It is false moral arithmetic." This pleasure and pain is that of the individual. Mr. Mill, who understood Bentham, says, "Bentham's idea of the world is that of a collection of persons pursuing each his separate interest or pleasure." He admits no liberty except that of freedom from the compulsion of the law. He dislikes the words ought and duty. He says, "It is idle to talk about duties; the word itself has something in it disagreeable and repulsive," and it "ought to be banished from the vocabulary of morals."

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) is to be ranked not only among the ablest but among the best of the Utilitarians. His scheme does not differ in its consequences very widely from that of Janet or Mark Hopkins, though it starts from different psychological principles. It is Utilitarianism in its very best form. His metaphysical ideas are substantially those of Hobbes, Hume and Comte. His ethical principles are closely related to those of Bentham, but he makes a very important addition in the distinction between the quality and quantity of pleasures. "Some kinds of pleasure are more desirable and more valuable than others. It would be absurd, that while in estimating all other things quality is considered as well as quantity, the estimation of pleasures should be supposed to depend on quantity alone." The test of the quality is the preference felt by competent judges. This is also the standard of morality. Moral ideas are derived from association. "What was once desired as an instrument for the attainment of happiness has come to be desired



for its own sake." "There was no original desire for virtue or motive to it save its conduciveness to pleasure and especially to protection from pain. But through the association thus formed it may be felt a good in itself." Happiness then "is the sole end of human action and the promotion of it the test by which to judge all human conduct." "Human nature is so constituted as to desire nothing which is not either a part of happiness or a means of happiness." Obligation is a personal feeling.

Herbert Spencer (1820—), the metaphysician of the Darwinian school, accounts for moral ideas by inheritance. The exercise of utility through past generations has produced corresponding nervous modifications which by continuous transmission and accumulation has become our moral nature. We feel under moral obligation to do certain things because our ancestors saw them useful.

Alexander Bain degrades the will into a collective name for all the impulses to motion. He degrades conscience into a mere imitation within us of the government without. He restricts obligation to the class of actions enforced by the sanctions of punishment. External authority is the source of duty.

These quotations serve both to give us the growth and main principles of Utilitarianism. We are prepared to examine them.

Every true ethical scheme must agree with the universal moral consciousness. It is folly to attempt to get a standpoint outside of consciousness. It is agreed also that the masses have fundamental truth. Cousin was accustomed to say that the peasant knows as much as the philosopher but never having reflected the peasant does not know that he knows it. Hamilton quotes approvingly the words of D'Alembert: "The truth in metaphysics, like truth in matters of taste, is a truth of which all minds have the germ within themselves;" and also those of Lichtenberg: "Philosophy, twist the matter as we may, is always a sort of chemistry. The peasant employs all the principles of abstract philosophy, only enveloped, latent, engaged as the men of physical science express it; the philosopher exhibits the pure principles." The moral system which contradicts the common judgment of men must be false.

Utility so far as it asserts our personal interests as a rule of

right contradicts the universal moral consciousness. In all language we have words meaning sacrifice, self-sacrifice, disinterestedness, devotion, duty, justice, right, in contrast with pleasure, interest, utility, happiness. Men have everywhere made a distinction between fortunate success and reward, innocent suffering and punishment, prudence and merit, grief and remorse. The great writers of the Intuitive school have so pressed this point that modern Utilitarians have been enforced to enlarge their scheme and admit the principle of disinterestedness. Adam Smith founds his system upon sympathy, and he modifies almost radically Hobbes' idea of it. Bentham made the greatest happiness of the greatest number the great principle and benevolence the greatest motive, but Jauffroy has shown that in making pleasures and pains the sovereign masters and in confounding private interests with public interests he abandoned the disinterested element and fell back under the selfish. John Stuart Mill claims for Utilitarianism a very high disinterested character. He says that when "any one can best serve the happiness of others by the absolute sacrifice of his own so long as the world is in its imperfect state," he fully acknowledges "the readiness to make such a sacrifice to be the highest virtue which can be found in man." "The Utilitarian morality does recognize in human beings the power of sacrificing their own greatest good for that of others." Utilitarianism in its latest advocates has abandoned its old ground. The question, however, must be asked, Has it the right, in consistency with its fundamental principles, to do so? How can it go from seeking the happiness of self to self-sacrifice? What is the end of life? They answer, happiness. Why is the selfish egotist ignoble in his own miserable individuality? Because there is a higher happiness. "Without public or private affections the excitements of life are much curtailed and in any case dwindle in value as the time approaches when all selfish interests must be left in the grave." Those who cultivate a fellow feeling with the collective interests of mankind retain a lively interest in life on the eve of death. Next after these public feelings a cultivated mind widens the sphere of happiness. "In a world in which there is so much to interest, so much to enjoy, and so much to improve



and correct every one who has this moderate amount of moral and intellectual requisite is capable of an existence which may be called enviable." The evils of life may be conquered by human care and effort, and though grievously slow be removed. "Every mind sufficiently intelligent and generous to bear a part, however small and unobtrusive in the endeavor, will draw a noble enjoyment from the contest itself which he would not for any bribe in the form of selfish indulgence consent to be without." Men can learn to do without happiness. At last they may heroically sacrifice it to promote the happiness of others. These are the stages of the elevation of the disinterested element of morals as given by Mr. Mill (p. 316-323). But has he not in passing from private to public interest either left a great chasm, or surreptitiously introduced a new principle. The selfish man seeks his own happiness. The man of private and public affections has a greater degree of personal happiness. The cultivated man enlarges the sphere of personal enjoyments. When he conquers the evils of the world it is still to secure personal happiness. He seeks to remove them at first because his own interest and then the interest of others are promoted. His own interest was the first cause of the public affection. When and how did the private interest become disinterested? His own higher happiness taught him how to do without the happiness which an imperfect world offers. How does he learn to do without happiness for the sake of others? Mr. Bain abandons the effort. "Such terms as unselfishness, disinterestedness, self-devotion are applied to the vicarious position wherein we seek our own pleasure in that of others." Starting with self-seeking we never can get to self-sacrifice without changing grounds.

But granting that Utilitarianism may be consistently disinterested, the Greatest Happiness principle is not the ultimate moral principle because it is founded on a wrong theory of life. Happiness is not the only good, nor the highest good. It is not the sole end of action.

The end of life must be determined by the nature of man. The animal has a lower end of existence because he has lower

capacities and faculties. The end of each faculty must be learned from its own nature. There is happiness connected with the proper exercise of the different powers, but that is not their end. There is pleasure in eating but nature's purpose is to afford nourishment. There is pleasure in the right activity of the senses, but the eye is for seeing, the ear for hearing, the touch for feeling, and all of them are intended as means of making us acquainted with the world around us. Our intellect is for knowing. Our emotions, affections, and desires are impulses to actions. Our will is for self-direction. Take any one of them—the intellect for example—the pleasure is not its direct purpose but it is merely an attendant. So soon as the pleasure is made the end the purpose is thwarted. When a man exercises his intellect simply because it is pleasant, his intellectual attainments are trifling. Our highest and governing powers are intellectual, and the end of our life, therefore, must be in harmony with their end. When one uses any power merely for its pleasure we feel that it is abused, and when all the powers are thus perverted the life is degraded. Life has some higher end than merely to subserve happiness.

Happiness is not the highest good. Hamilton divides the ultimate end into two classes: perfection and happiness. These are associated. If nature is benevolent and just the most perfect life will be the most happy. But if the two could possibly be antagonistic, which would be pronounced the higher by the universal judgment? We have nature using pains and pleasure as means of promoting perfection. It takes away one's happiness in order to make him seek perfection, but can we so clearly catch it taking perfection as a means of happiness? If a man would maintain his integrity and refuse to violate his own moral nature though it cost him everlasting misery all would pronounce him noble, but if he sacrificed the right for the sake of everlasting happiness all would judge him base. If happiness is not the greatest good of the individual the greatest happiness of the greatest number cannot be the greatest good of the world, for there cannot be in the result an element which was not in any of the factors.

Happiness is a good, and, therefore, it must be sought. We



must seek the happiness because we are under obligation to promote the good in whatever way possible. We must promote our happiness because it is one of our goods, but just because it is not the highest good we lose it whenever we leave the higher end to purposely pursue it. We may seek perfection and thus secure happiness but we cannot reverse it. Every individual may and should seek directly and purposely his own highest good. If not he is not a person, he is a mere tool. That he cannot seek his own happiness as his ultimate end shows the estimate which the order of the universe sets upon the relative value of perfection and happiness. We have here a ground for the obligation of self-sacrifice for universal good. It is not ultimately in the happiness of others but in our personal perfection.

Utilitarianism, founding itself on a false philosophy of the end of life and the nature of good, makes that an ultimate end which is only subordinate and converts the true end into a means, and its ethical principles are therefore necessarily false.

But Utilitarianism rests on a false psychological basis. Every scheme of ethics is founded on psychological principles and must be tried by them.

Utilitarianism has hitherto been based on Sensationalism. Hobbes, Hartley and Bain were materialists and sought to derive all knowledge from physical sensation. This is necessarily the doctrine of evolution, and it is plainly stated and defended by Spencer.

It has been frequently shown that there is a great gap between molecular movements in nerve tissue and sensation. There is another wide gap between sensation and thought. Sensation is in one sense the condition of perception but it is so far from being perception that they exist in inverse ratio. Pure sensation by no sort of persistence can be converted into an idea: Mr. Mill regards Self as a mere series of sensations conscious of itself. But not even this shadowy ego can be drawn from sensation, for every sensation implies two things: a Self and the sensation, or a Self having the sensation. The ego may not know itself prior to the sensation, but in knowing the sensation it must know itself. The formula of sensation is: I have a feel-

ing. Here is at least one idea that is intuitive, and the mind, therefore, is capable of intuitive knowledge. Space, time, cause are known also by intuition. Sensationalism has never been able to account for these ideas which condition all experience. Utilitarianism in assuming that all our ideas come from sensation assumes that which is psychologically false.

It can be shown that in the great leading principles of morals all men agree. It is enough for us to know that it is admitted that ethical ideas are found among all men above the lowest savages. The problem for Utilitarianism is to account for these ideas. The proximate source is association. This was proposed by Hartley and in it he is followed by Tucker, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Spencer and Bain. They try to show how the idea of duty is evolved out of an idea of utility by the elision of the idea of the end. The miser loves money at first as a means but after a while loves it as an end. So men loved virtue first as a means of happiness and then forgetting the relation loved it as worthy in itself. The analogy is plausible, but not real. Money is itself wealth. While it is held it has a great many possible uses and in a degree represents them all; when gone it has but one. The miser clings to the possibilities. Wealth is power. Money held seems to him the safest way of keeping that wealth. He starves himself to increase his power. He loved it at first as wealth, so he loves it still. There is in the result the same fact, only modified, that was in the source. Every one of Hartley's illustrations can be shown to be false analogies. The idea of duty is not a modified idea of utility but a wholly new one. Utilitarians cannot get the idea of the right by means of the principle of association. Association can never put a new element into the associated ideas. Among the judgments we pronounce upon action is this, that it is right or wrong. It is distinct in character—a judgment that belongs to a peculiar class. It is not compounded and cannot be drawn out of ideas of mere prudence.

Mr. Bain has defined conscience as “an imitation within of the government without us.” It is “a triple compound and begirds the action with a triple fear.” It grows out of the compulsory obedience of childhood. The child's susceptibility of



pleasure and pain is used to bring about obedience. That is followed by a sentiment of respect or love towards the superior. After awhile it takes notice of the meaning of the prohibitions and approves the end, and a new motive is added. Out of the arbitrary relation between disobedience and pain in childhood is born the law within. This supplements the associational theory by accounting in some measure for the element of authority in morals, but it fails to explain the fact that early in childhood there are questionings as to the legitimacy of many commands. The child often feels that it is wronged, and something protests against the requirements. It recognizes a right in parents to command, and denies the authority of a stranger. If morality is only utility made compulsory by external authority there is no way through which these ideas, by which it tests the legitimacy of authority and of commands, can be awakened. It fails also to account for the fact that there are no moral sentiments associated with many things enforced inexorably by pains and penalties. According to this theory all these ought to be included in conscience. It fails, further, to account for the uniformity of moral judgments in regard to matters not embraced under the civil law. There is great diversity in family government, some very indulgent never inflicting punishment, some emphasizing one thing and others quite different things, yet in the same community in respect to things not objects of civil legislation all have in a very large degree the same moral opinions. This theory does not explain the origin of the common moral standard.

Utilitarianism fails to answer the question, Whence does the moral standard derive its binding force? Mr. Mill says that "it is a necessary part of moral philosophy to answer this question." Hobbes and Bain agree that it is simply in external authority. The first said that the civil law was the ultimate rule and the ultimate reason was in the expediency of obeying it. The latter said that there is no obligation except in actions enforced by the sanction of punishment and that morality is an institution of society. Mr. Darwin held that it is found in persistent desire. Mr. Bentham denied that there is any obligation, any such thing as ought. Mr. Mill placed it in "a subjective feeling," "a feeling

in our own mind," "the conscientious feelings of mankind." After proposing the question, "What is the source of obligation?" he discusses "the sanctions" which is a quite different subject. But waiving that confusion, the question arises as to the man who has no subjective feeling, Is he under no obligation? The common judgment of men answers that he is. Where there is no obligation there is no guilt, and this theory would make the most hardened the least guilty. Starting with happiness, which is an object of desire, the way has not been found to that which is obligatory. The desirable may draw—it has not been shown how it may command. Neither the authority of the State, nor the quality of happiness has been sufficient to invest a mere subjective feeling going out after pleasure and shrinking from pain with the majesty of duty. So far as has yet appeared Utilitarianism is without warrant for the word ought.

Utilitarianism furnishes no sufficient rule of morals.

Utility and virtue are not coextensive. No one thinks of classing useful animals among virtuous beings. Inventors and discoverers are great benefactors but the world has not canonized them as saints. Alexander the great was a most important factor in the progress of civilization and contributed greatly to the greatest happiness of the world, but he was not therefore eminent in virtue. We judge his character by some standard not furnished by Utilitarian principles. Some things highly useful are pronounced wrong. Revenge was at one time the only safeguard against anarchy, but it was nevertheless wrong. Tyranny has built up great states yet it is always a vice. There was some truth in Mandeville's theory that private vices are public benefits, but they are vices.

Utilitarianism has no rule for secret sins. An assassin of a tyrant who could conceal the fact beyond suspicion would be a public benefactor, but he would be guilty of a crime. Sins of imagination may never find their way into action. They afford pleasure to those who indulge them. They give no public offense. Can Utilitarianism condemn them? Is infanticide in the case of the poor wrong? A mother gives birth to an illegitimate child. The fact is wholly unknown. It is deformed, and if it lives it is destined to life-long suffering. Its life will



disgrace her. Happiness demands its death. Utilitarianism must justify the deed. But has she done right?

Utilitarianism fails to distinguish between the degrees of crime. Here are two cases of theft. A clerk, who has been strictly honest, under financial embarrassment extracts a small sum from his employer's safe. He is deeply humiliated and weighed down under remorse. He proposes restitution, but before he can make it he is detected and dismissed. His family is impoverished and he is driven to drink and his wife is driven to degradation and his children ruined. Another clerk steals systematically and the aggregate is a large sum, but he escapes detection. He lives comfortably and his family happily. Utilitarianism must pronounce the latter, wretch as he is, the less guilty. Hume said that female infidelity when unknown is nothing. Utilitarianism will find it difficult to show that he was wrong. Many of the judgments pronounced upon specific acts could not be safely published.

Its rule at best is unwieldly. Men can not determine the tendency of many of their actions. The greatest good of the greatest number is an abstraction entirely too broad for the masses. It would have relieved poor Robinson Crusoe, until he found Friday, of all obligation. It contracts the sphere of many a peasant into an exceedingly small one. Even the philosopher staggers as he tries to apply it to every-day life. We want something to answer promptly—we cannot wait until by a wide induction we have ascertained its general tendency before we act. As a matter of common consciousness we decide upon the character of the action independently of any thought as to any such tendency.

Utilitarianism in its best forms as tried by ethical tests is false, and its general adoption will be ruinous.

## ARTICLE IV.

THE DIET OF SPEYER. THE RISE AND NECESSITY OF  
PROTESTANTISM.

By REV. C. S. ALBERT, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

The instinctive good sense of men in the consideration of history finds certain epochs wherein the race was advanced in truth, wisdom and goodness, and equally finds certain men who, greater than their fellows, were the efficient cause of this advance. It therefore justly honors them at the first and, as the centuries roll by and by their results attest favorably the quality of their work, extends to them an ever heartier and more reverential honor. It is the characteristic of the great that they are better understood by later generations than by their cotemporaries. They are too near their own age. Trivial faults are dwelt upon more than excellencies. The ordinary, that which they have in common with others, is more conspicuous than the extraordinary, which often they cannot comprehend. As time removes them from us, we reach the true view-point and the great character is revealed in its due proportions. All of us will recall the peculiar effect which a towering mountain has produced upon us. As we were near to it, its majesty was dwarfed, the foot-hills were almost its equals. Then as we receded from it, how it lifted itself up, rising in severe sublimity whilst the foot-hills were lost in the dim distance. Never, will we forget how a towering crest of the Rockies thus conveyed its majesty to us. We had looked up to it from the base, and, it had not seemed great, but, when the swift-moving train had carried us a score of miles away and still the stainless snowy crest against the deep blue of the sky seemed as new as when we left its foot, the majesty of the monarch revealed itself and at last we felt how immeasurably great it was. Thus has it been with Martin Luther. The centuries have not diminished the lustre of his genius, the nobility of his character, the surpassing excellency of his work. They have given us the true view-point, and, as



the towering peak, so he rises above his cotemporaries, and, reveals his greatness. Nor can the favorite doctrine of the day that of the Zeit-geist, the spirit of the age, account for him. It teaches, that circumstances make the man, man does not shape the circumstances. It is the age which produces, not the individual. There are no longer on this theory great, constructive, creative men, children of the dawn, bringers of the light to their fellows lying in the darkness of ignorance, but, empty vessels which are filled with any sort of spirit indifferently as the age may furnish. They have the capacity, but, the age furnishes all the material of thought and goodness, which they display. It is, it may safely be granted, quite true, that there are men who are representative of their times, in whom the inarticulate thoughts of the age are first clearly comprehended and plainly set forth in articulate words. In them the smouldering embers flash into a bright, steady light. What the mass felt, and struggled after and vainly tried to tell, in them finds expression and through them in turn, all the people come into the knowledge of truth. We may not clearly understand the nations or the times without these characteristic men. They are the mirror of their age. To study such individuals intelligently until they live again in our minds is to obtain a vivid conception of the people and their period. Their emotions, passions, thoughts, words and deeds will give us the key and unlock the the past in which they lived better than any array of dry facts and philosophical histories. Man alone can explain man. It is the never-failing charm of biography.

The age of Pericles, we say, not the age of Athens, for in Pericles that portion of Grecian history is best known. "Wonderful," says one, "is this power which an age has to select one of its men and crowd itself into him and hold him up before the world and say "know me by him!" Scottish life and religion of the sixteenth century is best interpreted by stern, grim, conscientious John Knox. Carlyle with shrewdest penetration fastens upon Cromwell as the embodiment of that Puritanic life which hated the rule of kings and loved freedom, yet, amazingly inconsistent, despotically crushed all who disagreed with it.

Few men so richly set forth this truth as Luther. In him, all that vast movement called the Reformation comes into clear, distinct, articulate life. The forces which accomplished the Reformation were already at work when he appears. The longing for a better, purer, more satisfactory faith, the hatred of hypocrisy, and unrighteousness, horror of false doctrine and of a corrupt church, the detestation of Romish abominations. His rich nature compasses all these. His inner religious life is the practical exemplification of the Reformation doctrines, the deep sense of sin, justification by faith, child-like trust, love and fidelity to the word of God. He lays hold upon these great fundamental truths more nearly than any man before or since. He gives them voice. Others may formulate; he first speaks. The Augsburg Confession is from the pen of Melanchthon; the thoughts are Luther's.

How eloquent is the testimony of Döllinger, the Old Catholic: "This force and strength of the Reformation was only in part due to the personality of the man who was its author and spokesman in Germany. It was Luther's overpowering greatness and wonderful many-sidedness of mind that made him the man of his age and his people. Nor was there a German who had such an intuitive knowledge of his countrymen and was again so completely possessed, not to say absorbed, by the national sentiment, as the Augustinian monk of Wittenberg. The mind and spirit of the Germans were in his hand what the lyre is in the hands of the skilled musician. He gave them more than any man in Christian days ever gave his people—language, popular manuals of instruction, Bibles, hymnology. All his opponents could offer in place of it, was insipid, colorless, and feeble, by the side of his transporting eloquence. They stammered; he spoke. He alone has impressed the indelible stamp of his mind on the German language and the German intellect, and even those among us who hold him in religious detestation as the great heresiarch and seducer of the nation, are constrained in spite of themselves to speak with his words and think with his thoughts."

Therefore, from such considerations, we do well as Protestants



to honor Martin Luther, for, all who love the Reformation must ever find in him its greatest and truest embodiment.

The man who believes in the providential guidance of this world cannot explain history by the spirit of the age, the zeit-geist. He does not simply accept great men as the exponents of their age. He believes that God expressly sends forth such men and that he fills them with wisdom. They become teachers not alone for their day, but for all time. They are creative as well as receptive. They rise higher than their age. On their faces shine the glory of the light of knowledge which comes in its fulness to after ages.

When men discuss great questions which are the subject of controversy, they investigate and examine the truths involved with untiring industry and under the white heat of intense conviction. Under such influence men see into the heart of these truths better than their successors. The later thinkers simply speculate with languid interest. Rigid dogma is reached. Definitions made with precision. They do not create. Sometimes they fail even to make the truth live.

There is a plant which is dry and dead in appearances which the careless looker-on might throw away as worthless. Placed in water it changes, its dry petals open and reveal the inward hidden beauty. So truth wrought out is seemingly dead to the Scribe and the Pharisee. The prophet's words are dissected, analyzed, and dogmatized. It needs the atmosphere of intense conviction and love of truth, to make them live and disclose their beauty.

There is an immense amount of foolish talk to-day. Great thinkers of the past are despised. It is asserted that a child on the shoulders of a man is taller than a man. The common man of the 19th century understands their peculiar truths better than the giants of the 16th century that wrought them out with toil of brain and heart-blood, because he has their knowledge to stand upon. Ah! there's the rub. Does he stand upon their knowledge? It reminds one of the old Scottish woman. She accused her minister, a young man, of preaching works. He took refuge in the sermon on the mount. "Ow, ay," answered the partisan, "but he was a varra young man when he preacht

that sermon." Our modern partisans are as bad when they try to underrate the great thinkers of the past by saying, "then the world was young."

Always and ever are these men worthy of study. They, in their loving trustfulness and loyalty to the truth, were led by the Spirit of God, who guides into all truth. Succeeding study may modify, cast other light upon these truths, and thus remove the human imperfections which cling to the essentials, but these men will ever be masters of assemblies and from their store-houses the Church will draw its wealth. The masters of Protestantism are not yet outgrown, nor are their contributions to truth to be lightly cast away.

It is not so much our purpose to dwell upon Luther, as to call to remembrance, these princes and laymen without whom the Reformation would not have been established, who are great also, but not so preëminently great as this colossal Luther. It has seemed good to us on this anniversary to take for our subject, The Diet of Speyer, where men were first called Protestants, to study what sort of men they were, why they felt it necessary to protest and then ask ourselves whether Protestantism was needed in those days, and is it needed now? The theme is therefore, The Diet of Speyer; The Rise and Necessity of Protestantism. Two Diets are preëminent in the Reformation-era, the Diet of Worms, the Diet of Augsburg. These overshadow the others. The Diet of Worms is the most attractive for the central figure is heroic in utterance and bearing, Luther the monk of Wittenberg, solitary, against emperor, ecclesiastics, potentates and princes, yet fearless to utter words of truth that may cost him his life, loyal to conscience and the word of God. It is the man on whom we look. "Here I stand, I can do no other, God help me." Principles find voice in the man. The Reformation humanly speaking depends upon the loyalty of Luther to the truth. Unquestionably great! A hero.

At the Diet of Augsburg there are men, but no central, overpowering person. Here principles precede men. Confession is made of doctrines and interest centres in that immortal document the Confession of Augsburg. Truth has been proclaimed and taught so clearly that she no longer depends upon one man



to vindicate her and in so doing be forever heroic and sublime. She has spoken and princes and common people have heard and understood her message.

In between these two great diets, the product of the first and the parent of the second, is a third, the Diet of Speyer. D'Aubigne eloquently says that "Speyer and Augsburg are names that shine forth with more immortal glory than Marathon, Pavia, or Marengo. They open a new era in the history of mankind. The transition from the middle ages to modern times is *here*."

It will be needful for clear comprehension to hastily review the events between the Diet of Worms, 1521, and the Diet of Speyer, 1529. Luther, after his magnificent confession at Worms, is declared an outlaw. The friendly capture and subsequent imprisonment in Wartburg castle preserve him from arrest and violent death. In this brief period of captivity, political complications arose which gave the nascent Reformation cessation from oppression and time in which to extend itself and gather strength for battle.

The age of the Reformation is the age of great men. Seldom has there been a period in which so many splendidly endowed men have been grouped together. Charles the Vth, Francis the 1st, Henry the VIIIth, Solyman the Magnificent, Leo the Xth, are the prominent rulers. Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Erasmus, Cranmer, the theologians. It is the era of great artists, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and a host of others. Navigators and discoverers, like Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Cabot, penetrate with their frail shallops across the untraversed deeps to unknown worlds. Inventors abound. Whilst a host of men who would have been considered great at any other period crowd the stage of action.

The great monarchs were so evenly balanced by their abilities and resources that in their wars they needed the good-will of all their subjects, and thus perforce protected even the adherents of the Reformation. Under this enforced protection they increased mightily. After the Diet of Worms, 1521, Luther was indeed under the ban of the empire, but upon his return from the Wartburg, remained peacefully in Wittenberg where he continued his herculean labors as a preacher, teacher, author. "The Council

of Regency, who managed the government in the absence of the Emperor, steadily declined to adopt measures to extirpate the Lutherans. The ground was taken that the religious movement was too much a matter of conscience; it had taken root in the minds of too great a number to allow its suppression by force; an attempt to do so would breed disturbances of a dangerous character."

The arms and policy of Charles the Vth were, however, successful. In the disastrous battle of Pavia, Feb. 25, 1523, Francis his great rival was captured and his army almost annihilated. Francis, captive in Spain, anxious to return to his beloved France, concluded (with mental reservation however) the peace of Madrid with the emperor, and thus Charles freed from entangling wars, could devote his attention to the religious condition of Germany. A Diet was called at Speyer, June 25, 1526, through which Charles, a haughty victor, determined to crush, using his own words, "the abominable pest of Wittenberg."

To the astonishment of all, the evangelical princes showed unexpected firmness and strength. They came forward, cheerful and composed, surrounded by the ministers of God's word. They asked for places of worship, and when indignantly refused by the Bishop of Speyer, held services in the halls of their palaces. These were attended by immense crowds. The cathedral, despite the attractions of its imposing services and the presence of King Ferdinand and the Catholic potentates with their gorgeous retinues, was deserted by the common people.

The result of the Diet after months of deliberation was the promulgation of a decree by which the ban of the empire was put upon the Reformers, their writings and their adherents. But the hour of persecution was not yet come. Pope Clement the VIIth, hardy, warlike, ambitious formed the Holy League against Charles. He drew into it the Venetians and Francis of France and immediately declared war. Charles at once counseled mildness, and approached the evangelical princes with great promises that he might secure their support. The First Diet of Speyer therefore ended in a decree of toleration whereby each state was permitted to behave on its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and the Em-



peror. On the 25th of June, 1528, a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope was concluded at Barcelona, based on the destruction of heresy, and in November a diet was convoked to meet at Speyer on the 21st of February, 1529. The Catholic princes both spiritual and lay were equally determined to crush the Reformation. They preponderated in the Diet. Out of nine electors, five spiritual and three lay were Catholic. The greatest of all in power, John the Constant, of Saxony, was the only elector in favor of Luther's doctrine. It may be said however that what they lacked in numbers was made up by the character of the men who were Lutherans.

They were men grounded in the faith, noble in their lives, ready to yield all, riches, power, position, life rather than the truth. It was at Augsburg a year later that the Elector of Saxony replied thus to Melanchthon's objection to his signature to the Confession lest it should bring him into danger: "God forbid that you should exclude me. I am resolved to do my duty without being troubled about my crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My electoral hat and robes are not so precious to me as the cross of Jesus Christ."

Philip of Hesse, ardent, bold, intelligent, a man of the sword, thus declared the depth of his convictions when he said to the Elector John, "As for me I would rather die than renounce the word of God and allow myself to be driven from the throne.

"If the honor of my Lord Jesus Christ requires it I am ready to leave my goods and life behind me;" and wrote his name to the Confession of Augsburg, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. "Rather would I renounce my subjects and my states," he added, "rather would I quit the country of my fathers, staff in hand; rather would I gain my bread by cleaning the shoes of foreigners, than to receive any other doctrine than that which is contained in the Confession."

Such men are not easily defeated. They must be exterminated to be beaten.

Intense and bitter hostility was displayed by the Catholics at Speyer. John of Saxony was visited by none of the chiefs of the other party. The Elector and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse were forbidden to have the gospel preached in their palaces.

Faber, the Catholic preached, "The Turks are better than the Lutherans, for they fast and these do not. He even went so far as to say, if he had his choice, he would rather throw away the Bible, than the ancient errors of the Church. A sentiment in substance repeated by eminent prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in late years.\* The Roman party determined first, to revoke the decree of religious liberty that had existed for three years and revive the ban of 1521. It was effected by the imperial commissioners declaring that the Emperor annulled it by virtue of his supreme power. The act was arbitrary, without precedent, contrary to the laws of the Empire, despotic. When this was referred to a commission, the majority brought forward a resolution virtually forbidding the progress of the Reformation in the states which had not accepted it and at the same time giving liberty to Catholics to celebrate their rites with freedom in the reformed states amenable to no authority in them. If this became a law, the Reformation could not be extended, the truth no longer be preached, no further conversions made, in the states that were Catholic, nor could the Reformation be built upon solid foundations in those states where it already existed.

The evangelical princes might have accepted the decree, as they were apparently left free in the exercise of their own faith, but, should they suffer the word of God to be bound? Should they legalize the scaffold and the stake for their brethren in the faith in Catholic countries? "Let us reject this decree" said the princes. "In matters of conscience the majority has no power."

The majority pushed forward regardless. A vote was reached. By threats and bribes 21 free cities voted for the resolution, 14 boldly voted against it. Said one, "we must either deny the word of God—or burn." They chose the word of God, even if they burned. Ferdinand of Austria hastily and haughtily pushed forward the matter. He announced to the Elector of Saxony and his friends that they must submit to the majority. He did not even give them time to deliberate. When the evangelical princes, according to custom, retired into an adjoining chamber to consult, he rose with the imperial commissioners. They tried to detain him. His reply was, "I have received an

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\*See *Our Country*. Strong, p. 53.



order from his imperial majesty, I have executed it. All is over Submission is all that remains."

It is well to recall the arbitrary and despotical conduct which produced the great Protest. It was when law was despised, the precedents of the Empire set at nought, the rights of conscience trampled under foot, that the Protestants stood forth for law, justice, conscience and the faith once delivered to the saints. When naught else was left against arrogant strength, they resolved to appeal. Therefore the Elector and his allies returned to the common hall of the Diet, bringing with them the famous protest which has given the name Protestant to the Church. If this be the beginning of schism, the fault is with Rome and not with us.

The Protest is as follows: \* "Dear lords, cousins, uncles and friends! Having repaired to the Diet at the summons of his majesty and for the common good of the empire and Christendom, we have heard and learnt that the decisions of the last diet concerning our holy Christian faith are to be repealed, and that it is proposed to substitute for them certain restrictive and onerous resolutions.

King Ferdinand and the other imperial commissaries, by affixing their seal to the last *Recess* of Speyer, had promised however in the name of the Emperor, to carry out sincerely and inviolably all that it contained and to permit nothing that was contrary to it. In like manner, also, you and we, electors, princes, prelates, lords and deputies of the empire bound ourselves to maintain always and with our whole might every article of that decree.

We cannot therefore consent to its repeal—Firstly, because we believe that his imperial majesty (as well as you and we) is called to maintain firmly what has been unanimously and solemnly resolved.

Secondly, because it concerns the glory of God and the salvation of our souls, and that in such matters we ought to have

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\*A protest of the laity, it is not quite certain whether a theologian assisted in its construction. Melanchthon was present and these clear sentences may have been his.

regard above all, to the commandment of God who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords; each of us rendering Him an account for himself, without caring the least in the world about majority or minority.

We form no judgment on that which concerns you, most dear lords; and we are content to pray God daily that he will bring us all to unity of faith, in truth, charity and holiness through Jesus Christ, our throne of grace and our only mediator.

But, in what concerns ourselves, adhesion to your resolution (and let every honest man be judge!) would be acting against our conscience, condemning a doctrine that we maintain to be Christian and pronouncing that it ought to be abolished in our states, if we could do so without any trouble. This would be to deny our Lord Jesus Christ, to reject his holy Word and thus give him just reason to deny us in turn before his Father, as he has threatened.

What! We ratify this edict! *We* assert that when Almighty God calls a man to His knowledge, this man cannot however receive the knowledge of God! Oh! of what deadly backslidings should we not thus become the accomplices, not only among our own subjects, but also among yours! For this reason we reject the yoke that is imposed upon us.

Moreover the new edict declaring the ministers shall preach the Gospel, explaining it according to the writings accepted by the holy Christian Church: we think that, for this regulation to have any value, we should first agree on what is meant by the true and holy Church, how seeing that there is great diversity of opinion in this respect; that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the word of God; that the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine; that each text of the Holy Scriptures ought to be explained by other and clearer texts; that this holy book is in all things necessary to the Christian, easy of understanding and calculated to scatter the darkness; we are resolved, with the grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive preaching of his holy Word, such as it is contained in the biblical books of the Old and New Testament, without adding anything thereto that may be contrary to it. This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of doctrine and



of all life and can never fail or deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the powers of hell, whilst all the human vanities that are set up against it shall fall before the face of God.

For these reasons, most dear lords, uncles, cousins and friends, we earnestly entreat you to weigh carefully our grievances and motives. If you do not yield to our request, we PROTEST by these presents, before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, and who will one day be our judge, as well as before all men and all creatures, that we, for us and our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree, in anything that is contrary to God, to his holy word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls and to the last decree of Speyer."

Such are the admirable words of these defenders of the truth, weighty in wisdom, and far-reaching in results beneficial to the world. They breath throughout unaffected piety, devotion to God, faith and consecration, deep knowledge of the truth, rich comprehension of doctrine. They protest against two abuses of man in matters of faith; the first is the intrusion of the civil magistrate, the second the arbitrary authority of the Church. Instead of these abuses, Protestantism sets the power of conscience above the magistrate; the authority of the word of God above the visible Church.

We must obey God rather than man. The Lord Jesus rather than lords of the earth. All human teaching must be subordinate to the Holy Scriptures.

There has arisen in our day the question whether Protestantism was necessary *then*. And many lamenting schism in the Church are convinced that it was entirely unnecessary.

It depends upon the reply we are ready to give to questions like these. Were there evils of practice and errors of doctrine then? If there were, was the Romish Church willing to correct these? If there were and she protected and nourished them, Protestantism became a necessity. Against evil and error protest must ever be made. Every prophet of the Jewish Church was a Protestant against the corrupt practices and false teachings of the priesthood. Our Lord was emphatically a Protest-

ant, for it was his daily work to protest against the evils which the traditions and teachings of the Scribes and Pharisees had brought upon the Church, to denounce their lives and their corruption and as a Protestant, positively to explain the scriptures of the Law and the Prophets. Paul, the greatest apostle, was a Protestant against the Judaism of some of the early Christians, and under his leadership the Christian Church came out of the Jewish, for truth confessed is better than uniformity. Him Luther followed and out of the storehouse of his epistles drew the doctrines against that Church which had almost stifled Christianity by its legalism, Judaic spirit and dreadful corruptions.

These men of Speyer could do naught else. There was no other resource, if they would be faithful to the word of God and their conscience. They were asking that a General Council might be convened, which should consider the state of the Church. This was steadily denied them. Then, as ever since, Italy, one land, ruled the Church which claims to be Catholic.

In the Diet, we consider, they were robbed of their rights, arbitrarily and despotically. Would any sober-minded man claim that they were to yield everything to the Catholics, to act against their conscience, to condemn a doctrine that they maintained to be Christian? Were they to desert shamelessly their brethren in the faith, permit their own dominions to be filled with a designing and crafty priesthood, amenable to no law? They could do nothing but *protest*.

Otherwise, it would have meant that they acknowledged the right of the civil power to exalt itself above God, to stifle the voice of truth and the dictates of conscience. Religious freedom would have been impossible and religious corruption the inevitable consequence.

It would have meant that God's word should be bound, that human traditions and errors with all their dreadful train of evils, religious ignorance, false methods of salvation, legalism, should be permitted to rest their unbearable yoke upon men.

Therefore, they could say no other than they did say. If you do not yield to our request, we *Protest* by these presents before God that we neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree, in anything that is contrary to God,



to his holy word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls. Liberty of thought and conscience were then conquered for ages to come. Men in every quarter beheld in it not a mere political event, but a Christian action, and the youthful electoral prince John Frederic, in this respect the organ of his age, cried to the Protestants of Speyer: "May the Almighty who has given you grace to confess energetically, freely and fearlessly, preserve you in that Christian firmness until the day of eternity."

It has however been maintained that Protestantism is negative and its tendency is to skepticism. It is crafty warfare to seek thus to blind men to the real issues concerned, to represent Protestantism as protest perpetually against truth, not as protest against error. Protestantism is positive, aggressively so. Without it skepticism, then abounding among the dignitaries of the Church, would have pervaded all Christendom. It saved even the Catholic Church, reformed that and raised up in its ranks men loving righteousness.

It is preëminently positive and aggressive in this famous protest of Speyer. It offers truth to build upon. It laid down positive principles. It places before all men the word of God, as it is contained in the biblical works of the Old and New Testament, maintaining that it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life and can never fail us or deceive us.

On this it stands, securely and firmly over against human additions to the word as in the Romish Church, on the one side, over against all rationalism that would make the word of God a human book, on the other. It rests on the promise of the Lord with quiet confidence, "Heaven and earth may pass away but my words shall never pass away." The present necessity of Protestantism lies in the truth that is its own, in the saving doctrines it confesses. So long as the Roman Catholic Church does not admit these, so long is it vital that Protestantism be maintained and that it be active and aggressive.

Its past history declares this. The era in which Protestantism appears is significant to the believer in God's providence. The hand of the Lord fosters it that through it the world might be lifted up and the kingdom of Christ extended.

Protestantism comes when the world is to be doubled in ex-

tent. The discovery of America was, as though communication with another planet had been established, and its territory acquired. This new world is to be the outlet for man's energies, the home of a new humanity, the theatre for new governments which could have been established in Europe only by blood, after centuries of struggle. This land is kept in darkness until the Reformation. Its fairest portion was given to Protestant thought and life. Its government founds itself on the cardinal principles of the Reformation. It has remained Protestant to this day, and under that rule has become the nation of the world. A portion of this new world was occupied by the Catholics as though to emphasize the necessity of Protestantism, for the prosperity and well-being of mankind. Macaulay wrote, who certainly may not be charged with undue love to the dogmatic system of Protestantism: "The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk into poverty, political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes, statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round about Rome with the country round about Edinburgh will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal Domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages; to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise.



The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people. But this apparent exception when examined will be found to confirm the rule; for in no country that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church, during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France." "Exception," says Fisher, "may be taken to some particulars in the foregoing extract; but still the spectacle of the physical power, the industry and thrift, the intelligence, good government and average morality of the Protestant nations, is in the highest degree significant and impressive."

"In our country," writes Freeman Clarke,\* "the cities most difficult to manage are those where the Catholic population is most numerous, for it is the principle of the Church to deny her members education, and they lack the intelligence which is so necessary to the continuance of our free government. We do not make the charge wantonly, but simply point to Ireland, Italy and Spain as witnesses to the ignorance which she imposes upon her people." In Italy 73 per cent., in Spain 80, in Mexico 93 are illiterate. "Her theology teaches that education might lead them into heresy and so take them out of the true Church and that ignorance in the Church is infinitely better than any amount of intellectual and moral culture out of it."

There can be no question that the doctrine of Protestantism of the right of private judgment is favorable to civil liberty. It is this habit of mind which is productive of personal independence and self-government without which political freedom is impossible. The results of these centuries declare that the free nations were first Protestant nations. With them constitutional freedom was first inaugurated. They have shown the highest self-restraint in political affairs and have grappled with intelligence the government by the people for the people. To name the freest nations of the world would be to name almost without exception the Protestant nations, and from them has the influence gone which now leavens Catholic lands, and inspires them with desire for constitutional freedom.

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\*Christianity and Modern Thought, p. 45.

Towards this, the desire to educate the people has been a great factor. Education was absolutely necessary as Protestantism seeks to put the Bible in every man's hand and train his faculties so that he may rightly judge its teachings.

The marvelous advances of knowledge in our modern times date from the Reformation and are most conspicuous in Protestant lands. "Modern science, with the great names of Bacon and Newton, Descartes and Leibnitz, Goethe and Humboldt, is the legitimate child of Protestant theology." It would be valuable to trace, had we time, the fatal blight which under the Romish Church, has fallen upon the literature of Spain and Italy. Were we to give\* the list of the books which are in its *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, we would be astonished at the names and works there recorded and discover how careful Rome is to give her people nothing which may enlarge their ideas, or permit them to consider the claims of Protestantism. On the other hand, wherever there is a Protestant country, there literature has flourished. There thought has been quickened and the people inspired with desire for knowledge. Let me quote from Döllinger† the Old Catholic. "Meanwhile, speaking of Germany, the numerical proportion of the members of the different Churches is not the main point. Far more important is the relative proportion of powers and capabilities which can neither be counted nor weighed; and this leads to the observation that in Germany the overwhelming preponderance, or rather domination, in science and literature, is on the Protestant side. Our belles-lettres and nearly all our scientific literature, if we except some medical

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\*On the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (1870) are the names of such historians as Hallam, Burnet, Hume, Gibbon, Mosheim, Sismondi, Bayle, Prideaux, Botta, Sarpi, Ranke; of such philosophical writers as Malebranche, Spinoza, Kant, Locke, Bacon, Descartes, Whately, Cousin; of publicists like Montesquieu and Gutius; of eminent poets as Ariosto and Milton. The writings of the Reformers, Protestant versions of the Bible, all Protestant catechisms, creeds, publications of synodal acts, of conferences and of disputations, liturgies; also dictionaries and lexicons—like the lexicon of Stephanus—unless they have been previously purged of heretical passages, are prohibited *en masse*.—Fisher, History of Reformation.

†Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches, p. 36.



works, is almost entirely Protestant. In theology especially the disproportion is so great that the Protestant theology is at least six times richer than the Catholic in quantity and quality. The main cause of this is unquestionably to be found in the former condition of the Catholic schools and universities; in the oppressive Latin influence fatal to intellectual life, which lay like a dead weight on the culture and education of Catholic countries and the defective character of the schools entrusted to a foreign and essentially un-German order, which through its systematic neglect and contempt of the German language, its inadequate classical teaching and its formal method, failed to implant in its scholars either the capacity or the materials of thought, either style or power of expression, thirst for knowledge, or perseverance in seeking it."

We may rest upon this testimony and find necessity for Protestantism in the world to-day, wherever men value free government, education and knowledge. That we may rivet this more firmly, the final proof is found in the famous Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX., Dec. 8, 1864. Gladstone has clearly shown how incompatible its declarations are with constitutional freedom, if its principles would be enforced, whereby allegiance to the Pope is held to be higher even in civil affairs than to the powers that be of the country. In that Syllabus the Pope anathematizes, "that the Church has no power to employ force." He anathematizes, "that men emigrating to Catholic countries should be permitted the public exercise of their own several forms of worship." He anathematizes, "that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile and harmonize himself with progress, liberalism and modern civilization." Under these and similar premises, we perceive that civil and religious freedom would be impossible, and that had the Romish Church the power, it might be necessary once more, as at the Diet of Speyer, to protest against her injustice and tyranny.

Protestantism is better fitted to maintain the religion of Christ to-day, in this age of search, inquiry and discovery of new truth, because of its superior adaptability. It has been held significant of the divine character of Christ that his teachings are neither

local nor temporary. They do not belong merely to his country or age. The centuries have passed and he is as real and living to the men of our day as he was to the Jew who saw him in the temple at Jerusalem, or by the sea of Galilee. He is for every age and all men. We weary not of the sky with its changing clouds, its alternations of day and night, the deep blue over which the soft sun-light glows, or the brilliant firmament with the gleam of the stars. The infinite is there, the same, yet ever new. Christ rises thus before men, ever the same, yet ever new. Near to every man, yet beyond every man, depths below his deepest thought, heights above the imagination's utmost flight.

So it is with the word of God. It has a local coloring. It is for all time. It remains the one book which has never been outgrown. Interpretations change as knowledge advances, but, it is seen, the Book was true, the interpreters were mistaken.

Herein is Protestantism strong. It builds upon Christ, divine-human, the only mediator. Its material principle is Justification by Faith. Its formal principle, by which all doctrine and every confession must be tested anew from generation to generation, the word of God. It demands of every Christian, right relation to God in Christ. It rests upon doctrines that are wrought out of the word of God alone. In these are both its conservatism and progress, its adaptability, whereby it retains the truth of past ages, and yet may modify itself to harmony with knowledge gained through research and study of science and philosophy.

The Roman Catholic Church is not flexible to the same extent. It has a tremendous weight to carry in its traditions, in doctrines without basis in the word of God, but alas! to be held to the bitter end because of its doctrine of Infallibility which has sanctioned them. It cannot change or modify the imperfect utterances of past centuries, and men, who love truth, either cannot remain or only remain by suspension of judgment and reason, which is fatal to religious life and progress.

The necessity of Protestantism is manifest when we consider that through it largely since its existence, the kingdom of Christ has been spread. There is forgetfulness on the part of many



concerning the advance of Christianity since its beginning. At the commencement of the 5th century there were 15,000,000 of Christians. About that period papal domination begins. After five centuries in the year 1000 there were 50,000,000 of Christians. In the year 1500 it is estimated there were 100,000,000 of Christians after ten centuries of Rome, 85,000,000 of an increase. Of these 80,000,000 were Catholics, 20,000,000 adhered to the Greek Church.

A little more than three centuries and a half have elapsed since Protestantism began and in 1887 the number of Christians in the world are 450,000,000, more than four times as many as in the 15th century. Of these the Roman Catholics have 210,000,000, the Protestants 150,000,000, the Greek Church 90,000,000. The Catholics have increased 130,000,000, but wherever they are, their increase has not kept pace with the Protestant Church in this nineteenth century.\* The successful and abiding foreign-mission work of the world is Protestant more than Catholic. Protestantism possesses the fairest of the nations, and she rules much more the millions of the earth. There are 180,000,000 under Roman Catholic rule, over 400,000,000 under Protestant. The three great branches of Christianity control half the population of the world, but the most powerful and progressive nations are Protestant, England, Germany and the United States.

Therefore, we say, that for the spread of Christ's kingdom, Protestantism is necessary. It has quickened even Rome. It has possessed the earth, and opened doors for the gospel into heathen lands. It lavishes treasures and men for their conversion. It assimilates the culture and knowledge of modern times and yet brings it into obedience to Christ, and therefore, we say, that naught would be more disastrous to the spread of Christ's kingdom than the decline of Protestantism and the rise of Catholicism as it is to-day.

Once more, Protestantism is the truest exponent of Christianity. It is not said that Rome does not possess fundamental doctrines and is not Christian. She has great truth and is a

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\*Dorchester, Religious Progress.

Church of Christ, but she combines this truth with dangerous errors. And so long as these errors are held a man cannot find satisfaction in her teachings and peace with God, save as he is inconsistent with her doctrine, whilst her errors unchecked would again bring the corruptions of the era preceding the Reformation.

That there are members who pass from the Catholic Church into the kingdom of heaven, God forbid that we should deny, but there is not there the higher truth, the deeper understanding of the word of God which Protestantism has. Well has it been said the Reformation, viewed in its most general character, was "the reaction of Christianity as gospel against Christianity as law." The Reformers could find no satisfaction or peace in penances, mortifications of flesh, scourgings and works of their own righteousness. Sin crushed them to the earth. There was no hope before an angry God. Then, to Luther came the word of truth which removed the darkness, brought him into personal relation with Christ the Saviour and filled his soul with sweet peace, "the just shall live by faith." They were rescued from the yoke of tradition by the clear teachings of the word of God and from the unbearable tyranny of Rome, by the doctrine of the true Church. We may not yield these precious truths which are the very heart of the Gospel.

In vain they urge that Protestantism is skepticism. Protestantism with its claim of the right of private judgment does appear at first sight to put the interests of religion in peril. "But this right is, in another aspect, a duty; this freedom imposes a responsibility; and in relegating religion to the individual, Protestantism does not call into question the validity of religious feelings and obligations. Protestantism fosters a spirit of inquiry; but a religion which like Christianity relies upon persuasion and appeals to the reason and the conscience, is in the long run profited by the full investigation of its claims and doctrines, whatever temporary evils may arise from the perverse or superficial application of the understanding to questions in the solution of which moral and religious feeling must have a part."\*

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\*Fisher, History of Reformation.



A close examination fails to disclose Protestant nations more skeptical than Catholic but reveals a vigor and strength, a breadth of knowledge which ever triumph over the adversaries of faith.

There is no time to speak of other things. Three hundred and seventy years ago the monk of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, began the Reformation, when he protested by his theses against the abuses and corruptions of the Romish Church. The sound of the hammer which nailed the theses to the door of the Castle Church still reverberates throughout the world. The truths he proclaimed are as essential now as then. We may not yield them. It would be, to use the language of the Protest of Speyer, "to condemn doctrines we maintain to be Christian. This would be to deny our Lord Jesus, to reject his holy word and thus give him just reason to deny us in turn before his Father as he has threatened." Like them, "we neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to anything that is contrary to God, to his holy word, to our right conscience and the salvation of our souls."

Beautiful as Christian unity is, ardently to be desired, we must obey God rather than man, the truth must be cherished before aught else. Like Luther, we must say, "Away with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, Peace, peace, and there is no peace." We may cease to be Protestants, when in the Romish Church errors are banished and the truth of Christ as written in God's word accepted. Then and only then.

## ARTICLE V.

## THE BENEFIT OF CLERGY.

By REV. PROF. M. H. RICHARDS, A. M., Allentown, Pa.

The queen is the most powerful piece in the game of chess. Not only does its power extend over any continuous number of unoccupied squares, but it has two methods of moving: it may proceed in right lines across the squares of alternate color, or diagonally through those of the same. In the game of Life, Man is the most powerful piece, and has likewise a double mode of activity for defence or attack: he may move as a physical force, or act as an intellectual power. Grand as is the board upon which he moves, it is hard to predicate over how many continuous squares of it his influence can be exerted; for in each successive development of the centuries the radius of his potential presence is lengthened.

One might imagine a player of chess who, for some occult reason, preferred to move his queen, as a rule, in the oblique lines rather than in right ones; or the supposition might be reversed as to the preference. We would then have representatives of two classes of players, and the difference in their play would give rise to discussion as to absolute or comparative advantage therefrom. What might occur in chess, does occur in life. In life work, whilst all men must use some physical force and some intellectual power, capabilities and faculties differ so vastly that they elect their possessors to one or the other of the two classes: their success in life is conditioned as depending upon the material or the intellectual move.

This truth is not disproved by the difficulty that may arise in classifying certain persons as hand or brain workers. Such difficulty is always found in all kindred classifications. The point is not intellectual toil to the utter exclusion of physical labor, but the preponderance of the one or the other as the rule, and not the exception, of action. It is clearly very certain that some



men deal in and produce intellectual results as their occupation, while others deal in and produce material results as their life pursuit. The separate classes may be defined, perhaps, by that in which and with which they deal, more distinctly than by their own actual personal deeds. A general is a soldier who very seldom fires off a musket; he is, nevertheless, a soldier. So a man may deal in a wholesale way in building railroads, and never handle pick or shovel; still he is an excavator and builder as much as the actual laborer in the trenches. There are officers and privates in the army of material things, and indeed also in the intellectual or spiritual host.

The relative share that each of these classes derives of those things which make up "a living," from the peculiar line of its predominant activity, is certainly an interesting question. What wages will I get if I join the one or the other? Even on the supposition that I belong to that group whose calling is manifestly picked out already for it, and not to the doubtful one, uncertain as to their tastes and abilities, it is better for me to know at the outset what I am to expect. I will not be disappointed if I know this in advance; I will school myself to a neglect and disdain of that which I cannot hope to enjoy. I can cut off correspondences in that direction as useless, and try to throw out others in the lines that are more promising of fair results.

A much more difficult problem is presented in the question, What do these classes respectively *deserve* to have? We do not intend to discuss that! Hear either as to the deserts of the other, consider their views as extreme, and strike a mean between them. You will not be far from the truth then, and the truth will not be far from the facts as to what each class gets. In God's world, in spite of sin and the devil, all men get very nearly what they deserve; as they sow, so they reap, and that too do they reap which they have sown. The trouble is that too often men misname what they sow and are amazed that it springs up true to its nature and not to the name they have falsely given it. To call a rose by any other name does not impair its odor; to plant thorns and thistles is not to harvest grapes and figs.

What renders the problem of expectancy more interesting, is

the fact that the hand workers in our day show such a decided tendency toward organization, while the brain workers, or those whose products are purely intellectual, show very little of this tendency. Indeed it is unlikely that the latter class ever will organize for such an end; it is perhaps incompatible with their calling that they should,—they exist rather as separate stars than as nebulous masses.

Now because of the difficulty of saying in an abstract way what should be the share or reward of separate classes of workers, it is very possible that one class may force up its share by union, combination, conspiracy, or whatever you please to call a common effort under selected leaders. The result would necessarily be a diminished share for the rest. Where all classes increase their share, the result is only a change of denominators to correspond to the increased numerator, leaving the fraction of the same value as before; but where one class obtains more while others remain the same, or receive but small additions, the result is very different. Ministers and teachers can illustrate this truth by referring back to their experiences during “war times.” They will remember how the slight advances in their salaries left them worse off than they were before the inflation of prices.

Now if a general increase of wages takes place among these producers of material things and all who handle their products make themselves “good” by raising prices, can or will the brain workers strike back? If they do not, how will they procure as large and as thick a slice of the bread and butter as heretofore? What of the future “benefit of clergy?” Is there to be a scaling down? Will the time come when no man can expect a comfortable share of material things if his capital consists solely of intellectual powers and his wares are only intellectual products? These are serious matters, and their possibility is not so slight as to make them night-mares. There are elements in sight which furnish data for a working hypothesis, at least, whose basis is not far removed from the proposition that intellectual values will ultimately become utilities and therefore cease to have any market price at all.

Let us remind ourselves that questions such as this must be



decided upon the basis of science and not of sentiment. "*Ought to be*" is a deceiving argument! It does not work any better than those famous plans of building seminaries and colleges by a contribution of one dollar a piece by one hundred thousand church members. It looks well on paper; so does the plan of the building to be erected; but there both scheme and building remain. We must not ask how men *ought* to exchange material results for intellectual ones, but how facts strewn all along the historical pathway show them to have done it, and how facts in the present show them to be doing it. It is a question of values and prices, and not one of utilities. The point is not which is of the greatest benefit, but which will fetch the more in the market. What quantity and quality of groceries and clothes can I obtain in exchange for my poetry, my theology, my philosophy, my fictions?

"Value" is a term implying difficulty of attainment, the desire of possession, supply and demand, and such other kindred elements. Whatever is without such "value" is without price. Air to breathe, water to drink, are indispensable things for human life; but usually, especially as to the first mentioned, they have no value, because there is no difficulty of attainment. As to the latter, only its conveyance into our houses is at a fixed price, since we both desire it to be there and find it difficult to attain it thus, where, for other reasons, we wish to locate a residence. The "benefit of clergy," taken as a name for the value of intellectual products in general, will vary therefore according to the same factors which must be taken into account in forecasting the prices of wheat, pork, and cotton, excluding, perhaps, the artificial flurries of "corners" and speculations.

In its historical sense, the benefit of clergy was the right of appeal of the priest and spiritual brother from the secular to the ecclesiastical court, which generally resulted in acquittal. Then, confounding clerk and clerical, since both were usually found in one and the same calling, it meant the forgiveness of a first offence because a man could read and write. Later on it was extended so widely among all classes that it ceased to have value and was thereupon abolished altogether. Notice, there-

fore, that when only a class of men were clerks, or clerical, there was a certain value in the ability; but as ability to read and write became general there ceased to be any value in it, although the utility of the accomplishment by no means ceased.

There was a time when men earned a fair living as "letter writers; but in our land such intellectual employment would hardly support the scribe of this day and generation. There was a time when the copyist was kept busy multiplying manuscripts; now the printer and the press defy his competition. There *was*, one might almost say, a time when the ability to write legibly was worth its price; but now the typewriter casts a foreboding gloom upon the fortunes of the writing-master and his favorite pupils. There was a time when all this border-land of the intellectual product-producing territory was sparsely settled, and those who cultivated it had a fine market for their wares, these being such as men desired and needed, and, living outside of the territory, could not produce for themselves. Now everybody lives inside the territory and raises all he pleases of that sort of crop: it is no longer sold, although occasionally given away.

But while the increase of general education is unfavorable to the value of these lower forms of intellectual product, it has increased the demand for higher forms in certain directions. Again, while inventions, labor-saving, have operated adversely here as well as against the hand-worker, they have also tended to increase the demand by widening out the market of purchasers immensely. For instance, fifty years ago the illustrated weekly and monthly magazine were impossibilities because of bad roads, miserable mail facilities, lack of cheap and quick transportation, and the like. The publisher could not pay the author any considerable sum, since the amount of pay depends upon the circulation. A cent a line costs relatively more than twice as much for a circulation of ten thousand as for one of twenty thousand. Increase the circulation, and the publisher can pay more for his articles and make a larger profit for himself, while lowering the subscription rates.

This state of affairs favors those whose "clergy" is of the highest order; which means, most popular with the class of



purchasers in view. It throws out all others of the subordinate grades, by reason of the competition resulting from the handsome prices bestowed upon the best. Many keep on writing, accepting mere pittances or thankful for gratuitous insertion as a favor, in the faint hope that they may rise to fame and remuneration. Here again the element of demand and supply reigns supreme. The demand has become more fastidious; the supply that suits it is repaid fairly, even generously. But the very nature of the demand is discouraging to the intellectual laborer because it is fastidious and fickle, capricious as the luck of a mining camp. The money rewards of authorship resemble somewhat the fortunes of the gaming table. The best writers in the judgment of the most discriminating critics are not paid the most; often while the critics are sneering at others their editions are moving off the shelves at a rate which gladdens publisher and author.

Moreover, still considering this department of intellectual work, authorship, what are we to say of the money rewards of its severest application, as it takes up historical, philosophical, scientific labors? How well do you suppose such men have been paid? How many purchasers are there of such works? What is the demand for them compared to that for the latest sensational novel? Consider those volumes in your library which are "standard," and ask yourself as to the average money returns of their authors! Here is a miracle too often, in that those books that are lightest in thought are best paid for, while the veritable well-springs of wisdom have little market value.

Still all this is in accord with the law. Your "standards" have been printed again and again; second-hand shops are full of them, copyrights have expired upon them, the rights of ownership are extinguished, there is little difficulty of attainment and hence little price. If you want that new, trashy novel right off, you must pay for it according to the demand, or wait a year or so, when it will be sold for the price of last week's daily papers. The question of intellectual worth does not enter at all into the market price; it is the demand of the dear public according to its present peculiarity or imitation of the fashion set by its leaders. You must give it what *it wants*, not what it "ought to

read." The same truth deals severely with the pulpit. The popular preacher commands the highest salary, not the man of most solid worth and spirituality. The test is to hear him preach! If his sermon *pleases*, it matters little to many congregations what truth or error is in it, providing that the former is not too personal or the latter too gross. Even the question of honest originality seems to be taken very little into account, and plagiarism is shaded off into as fine points as a professional game of base-ball. Of course the state of the case results from the fact that sermon hearing, and church going, is a respectable Sunday recreation for some people, as well as an act of religious life for some other people. Those who are willing to pay the most and able to do so, or those who make the greatest disturbance about a choice, elect their man. Like and like usually get together, and fashion pays the "fancy prices."

Again, increasing education and the enlarged dissemination of religious books and papers have raised the standard of ability as to style and thought in the sermon. When the pious, but often heavy, fathers provided colleges and seminaries and superior advantages for the coming ministers of their church, they signed their own abdications in many cases. As to increased spirituality or benefit, there is no question raised; the question is as to increased intellectual ability and superiority in literary finish. If our schools have not produced these results it would be hard to find a reason for their existence. What is called the "dead line" in the clerical profession means just this, or else it signifies a lack of that practical talent so very necessary in the ministry, that of "uncommon common-sense."

Just as in the earlier periods the value of "clergy" consisted in doing for the illiterate certain things they needed but could not do for themselves, and which were largely associated with material pursuits and products, so the gains of "clergy" are largest now when it is engaged in the same partnership. Pure science as a pursuit does not pay; but science engaged to discover and patent a process for producing a cheaper sugar does pay, if it succeeds. Scientific study of law is not especially lucrative, but the practice of law when the attorney gains a case involving large sums of money, does pay. There must be some



material gain in the purchase of the intellectual product or there is very little material value given for it. In other words, the suspicion is raised that intellectual products as such simply and purely, are paid for very scantily ; they must have "money" or amusement in them, there must be something sensuous, something material to result from the bargain.

We see this same thing in the pay of the teacher, and the popular view of education. The common branches must be learned, since without them the material line of occupations cannot be profitably pursued. They have come almost into the same category as sound health, properly formed limbs, good sight and hearing. Hence the State provides for teachers and schools, and even adds schools to teach the teachers, all at the lowest outlay for the individual, or free entirely. Beyond this the State does not go ; private charities must provide for the education which deals with the purely intellectual, as though it were a luxury.

Again, contrast the pay of a professor with that of a head cook, a railroad superintendent of some department, the head of a manufacturing concern, or the more responsible subordinates in any activity whose products are material ! The inevitable conclusion is that the intellectual worker cannot get anything like the same returns of money, for equal expenditures of time and toil upon his peculiar products, which that man receives who lends his time and toil to the yoke of material enterprise. The world is very worldly ; matter is the great matter, and unless intellect will bow the knee, wear its enslaving collar, humbly help it to increase its material gains, intellect must be content to accept a pittance and not expect to receive share and share alike.

Another consideration dare not be forgotten. Intellectual products are practically imperishable ; material products are constantly perishing in the using. One book can be read by one hundred readers, and is as available as ever for the next hundred. The same cannot be said of shoes, of bread, of coal, of machinery. We are in constant danger in the intellectual market of a glut ; we are oftener in fear of scarcity in the material one. It is something of a wonder that new books are read when there are

so many old ones. The publisher's ingenuity is tasked to make it appear that the new is better than the old; the author, or compiler, is likewise tasked to produce something new in thought or, as is more frequently the case, in arrangement, illustration, convenience of grouping. No wonder that men will not pay out of that which is so perishable and toilsome to replace more than they must when just as good a product is already stored up and to be had for the asking. The world prefers to beg or borrow its intellectual products, rather than buy them. It well nigh refuses to consider them salable at all. The more purely intellectual they are, the less is paid; witness the prices of poetry and philosophy.

But our immediate day and land, suggest another phase of the question under consideration. There is no inconsiderable number of men, organized into bodies acting under despotic obedience to orders from headquarters, whose confessed purpose is to put the hand worker upon an equality with the brain worker in material products. Of the brain worker in intellectual products they say nothing, and it may be that they care nothing for him! Now if these succeed, then in the lowest deep there is yet to be a lower deep! Does any author, preacher, teacher, poet, or philosopher expect a higher income if the "laboring man" becomes a dictatorial partner of his employer? But, as already stated, if the other numerators are raised and ours is not, when the denominators are increased, our fractional share becomes sadly less! Whatever our opinion therefore as to the permanent success of these combinations, we cannot be without solicitude as to the temporary adverse effects that must follow them. Whether employer or employed comes off conqueror, the waste of the battle will leave little enough for bread and meat; pay and purchase of purely intellectual wares will be out of the question. If men must have such trifles then, they will start a new theory of the common rights of all men to the thoughts and inspirations of every man. Genius and learning will be commanded to give freely of their best, and in exchange for it be told that they shall still account themselves as unprofitable servants, since they toil not nor spin. Intellect and land must alike have no private owner; there is no right of



property except in hand work! There must no longer be two hosts of workers coöperating and mutually assisting; there must be but one host, the army of hand workers, privates and captains, and the intellectuals will be enlisted as musicians to enliven and amuse the regiments, or cheer them on to their battles with "anti-poverty" blasts.

But enough of this! There is a benefit of clergy that no man can take away, worth more than all the material products. Even if none of these are given in exchange for that which is the flowering and fruitage of the soul, and the body thereby perish, the loss is but slight. One old sage has taught us that such a fate would but anticipate death by a few years anyhow, and another comforts us with the consideration that we can go on thinking and evolving thought just as well in pain as in comfort; let us add, better, out of the body, than in it.

Let it be granted that the penalty of clergy is the necessity of plain living. "Plain living and high thinking," is not a combination to be dreaded. High living and plain thinking is a far worse combination; and the engrossing pursuit of material things has that penalty annexed to it. Besides, sensuous pleasures soon pall, and physical organs become impaired as life moves onward. What is the good sense in creating a physical want just for the pleasure of satisfying it? Are not most of the luxuries of the materialistic life artificial wants, fostered and coaxed into the condition of habits? Is not the greatest part of its enjoyment found in satisfying such habits?

Herein the brain worker has a great advantage. His luxuries are of a kind requiring little outlay of money in comparison. His expenditures are really interest bearing investments. His books last him a life time and are an inheritance for his offspring. Yet they cost him less than the furnishings of a luxurious drawing room, which after sundry years are tawdry and thread-bare. He acquires an education sufficient to introduce him to his professional or chosen studies, ample enough to make him no mean citizen of the republic of letters, for less money than one fashionable entertainment costs the princes of plutocracy. He has invested, they have squandered. Habit, which makes high thinking easier and more delightful for him, makes their costly

surroundings seem mean and common to them, and urges new expenditures with less satisfying results. For them the world becomes more stupid every year; for him new wonders in it are constantly brought to view. High living is low living; high thinking is the only real high living.

Plain living is not necessarily ugly living, sordid living, stinted living. You will find this among those hand-workers whose practical motto is: Give us the luxuries and we will do without the decencies. In a manufacturing town may be found clergymen whose yearly salaries are less than the annual earnings of workers in iron. Yet the clergyman lives in a neat, comely house while the iron-worker dwells in "Puddlers' Row," in squalor and discomfort. What is the cause of the difference? The different nature of their luxuries. The clergyman subscribes for his Church papers and a magazine or so; the puddler gets drunk every Saturday night, or, at least, every pay day. It costs more to get drunk once a month than to subscribe for the papers and the magazine or two. The clergyman's wife, as a rule, has had a better home training and is more economical in her house keeping than the matron of "the Row," and there again the advantage is on the brain worker's side. Plain living implies the decencies and refinements, which high living in the Row, or on the Avenue, does not always include but rather imperils. A man may have many dollars and many virtues, but the combination is unusual; the one possession antagonizes the other, and only men of more than ordinary character are able to endure the strain.

There is indeed a positive gain for the brain worker that he be under some stress of necessity to alternate his toil in purely intellectual products with efforts of a physical kind, or with those having material results in view. He is a man, a soul and body being. While in the body he dare not ignore it. To "keep the body under" does not mean to neglect it. To neglect it means that it will interfere with the soul, color its thinking and feeling and distort its work. Visionary and impracticable thoughts spring out of such a life; heresy and dyspepsia are first-cousins. The ideal and the real are both necessary, but no ideal is safe to follow that did not grow out of the real. This



scheme of evolving every thing out of one's inner consciousness is like the celebrated stone-soup,—it works well only when to the inner consciousness, the stone, are added many scraps and seasonings of experience and observation, the vegetables and condiments of the soup. Intellectual products may be of inferior quality as well as material ones; the looms of thought drop threads too at times.

Nevertheless the intellectual is a higher life than the material one. Rank in life is graded by complexity of correspondences and differentiation of faculties. The creature of one faculty is the lowest; the being of most faculties is the highest. The intellectual man therefore outranks him whose questions are confined to eating and drinking, raiment and residence, money-making and money-spending. The intellectual man has correspondences with all these problems and a great many more besides: there are many more things for him in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in this materialistic living.

The attainment of this higher rank is the true reward. The benefit of clergy is that it is clergy! Nature gives all her rewards and her punishments in the corresponding lines of the merit or the crime. To him who attains is given more of that which he has attained; from him who wastes is taken away more of that which he wastes. To the man who toils for spiritual things a nobler spirituality is the reward; from him who debauches or starves the little spirituality he has, is taken away even that little until none of it is left. It would indeed be an unnatural proceeding to reward the man who evolves intellectual products by loading him down with material riches.

If therefore any one is disposed to join the clergy for the sake of gaining material riches, his very attitude declares him to be a Judas among the disciples. When the scientist ceases to devote himself to the study of science and follows after the material gains of some discovery, he soon ceases to be anything more of a scientist. Accident and incident may indeed enrich him, but when he decides "to make money" he has deserted his career. When the preacher or the teacher begins to look out for salary above all other things, he likewise deteriorates rapidly.

Salary both must have, as an incident of their career, but not as the grand essential of aim and ambition. The intellectual man must desire intellectual rewards, and having food and raiment be therewith content.

A liberal education is, therefore, no mistake after all! It does not give to man that fox-like craftiness nor magpie acquisitiveness which enables him to amass riches whose true use he is incapable of fathoming or enjoying, but it does make more of a man out of him. To be a true man is better than to be a rich man. Often it is the only saving element which rescues a man from becoming mean and sordid and contracted while gaining a livelihood in pursuits associated with material products. It furnishes him opportunities of companionship with those who keep his soul alive and turns him eagerly in the intervals of business to such activities as are intellectual and remedial. In the footing he thus has in both of the possible activities, he becomes a friend and adviser to both.

The man who thinks, and not the man who guzzles and stuffs is the hope of the republic and its safeguard. Ill fares the land where manhood decays; its corpse is equally powerless whether pauper rags or glittering raiment be the pall. Liberty has slowly gathered momentum as the masses have risen in the intellectual and spiritual scale. The incidental benefits of clergy have been the salting and the leavening of the entire lump. The producers of material results can well afford to provide for the necessities and refined decencies of their intellectual coadjutors, since without their intellectual products the material riches would soon deliquesce. Bread is not life, and abundance of bread is not abounding life. When we forget the old truth that "man does not live by bread alone" we are perilously near dying. How near we are to such forgetfulness, we may read for ourselves in the signs of the times. For "the clergy" themselves to understand clearly what the real benefit of clergy is, will at all events be one more rampart against the restless materialism whose waves thunder constantly upon the dykes divine grace has enabled the spiritual man to erect for the protection of human life from the lethal wave, until that same grace raise us to the security of a higher plane.



## ARTICLE VI.

## SOME LESSONS ON HOME MISSIONS FROM THE EARLY CHURCH.

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“Nothing new can be written on Home Missions.” The subject, certainly, is not new—especially to the readers of the *QUARTERLY*—yet it is invested with sufficient importance to be lifted out of its familiarity and translated into new language and studied with renewed attention—if *that can be done*.

In the concluding sentence of St. Mark’s gospel we are brought face to face with the first missionary efforts of the witnesses of the Resurrection and their immediate successors. “And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs that followed.”

With the ascension of Jesus the evangelistic history ends and the apostolic history begins. The words of the evangelist are consequently a brief summary of the ministry of the apostles who were commissioned by the Holy Spirit, to execute through the instrumentality of the Church the last command of the risen Saviour. The single expression of John Mark comprises and compresses the outgrowth of years. It is the acts of the apostles in a nut-shell—the essence of the entire book contained in a masterly sentence. It is a condensed history of Home Missions in the early Church.

The discussion of that history, however, belongs to those whose province it is to unfold the fascinating story of the new religion; it would not answer the present purpose as well as to emphasize some of the lessons which lie on the surface. These lessons cover the actuating motives of these early missionaries, the scope of their activities, the source of their encouragement and the testimony of their faithfulness.

THE CHARACTERISTIC MISSIONARY SPIRIT.

What should it be in any age? What was it preëminently

in the apostolic age? The terse expression: "they went forth and preached," embodies a concise statement of the method and purpose of the early Church in extending the blessings of the Gospel. "Going forth" implies *confidence*—confidence in themselves, in their cause, in their Master; it implies unconditional consecration to the mighty undertaking; it implies the truest and freest devotion of purpose. For them it was self-sacrifice, indeed, to forsake all that is dear to a true man—home, friends, pleasant associations, tenderest attachments, certainties for uncertainties, ease and comfort for incessant toil and bitter persecution. But that side of the question apparently never disturbed them. They rose like heroes who have a noble cause to defend, a true "prophetic word" to speak, a saving message to announce. They went forth, so to say, from the narrow limits of their own home pastorates like broad-minded and great-hearted philanthropists to all; they quitted themselves like men of faith, courage, hope; they were afraid of no dangers; they braved death in every form; in short they were full of *enthusiasm* for their calling—the first and vital requirement of all genuine mission enterprise.

And, it is not at all difficult to imagine, even at this late day, how enthusiastic those who remained at home were for the promotion and enlargement of the cause. Not only the missionaries but those who commissioned them and supported them, were actuated by the same burning zeal to make known the Christ unto all peoples. The new religion, of which they had become the believing advocates and from which they gathered such comfort and inspiration, such joy and satisfaction, had a far broader meaning for them than the local application and narrow compass of Judaism. I take it, that at their synods and conferences "the reports on the state of religion" as an item of consideration, consumed very little time. Home demands, enterprises, wants, needs had not assumed the trying magnitude of the present day. There was no quibbling, or dickering or scheming about apportionments. The Christians of that day needed no such statistical and mechanical incentive to spur them on to the measure of their abilities. Paul's stirring appeal in 1 Corinthians, chapters viii. and ix., was sufficient to insure good collec-



tions and the only receipt they wanted for their liberal contributions was such a letter as that to the Philippians. Indeed there is nowhere the remotest hint about the modern littleness of liquidating church debts, paying pastors' salaries or making home improvements, as excuses for doing so small a share or nothing at all, in carrying the blessings of salvation to the destitute. How mighty and broad-souled and all-encompassing was the spirit of this young Christianity in going forth and preaching and organizing and building and making the religion of Christ Jesus a *reality* at home and abroad! And no wonder; for that spirit was not born of blind impulse and wild fanaticism on the one hand or sleepy formalism and fashionable sectarianism, on the other. It was *first* the response of the early Christians to the saving power of the Gospel within themselves, and *secondly* their unbounded faith in the Gospel as the power of God unto the salvation of others. They were themselves consciously saved by the Gospel and therefore the willing instruments to bear the joyful message of salvation to their fellowmen.

The great secret of their wonderful devotion, consecration, fortitude, is revealed in these two profoundly essential elements of successful Home Mission work in any age, namely: consciousness of personal salvation by faith in the personal Redeemer and an intense conviction that the same way of being saved is necessary and possible for all. These lie at the root of the matter and without either it is both impracticable and impossible.

Theodore Parker, when a boy, was much impressed with a sermon on eternal punishment. On coming out of church he awaited everybody to be similarly affected. But all acted as if no one believed the doctrine. "Why then shall I believe it, if they do not?" was the self-complaisant answer. Thus it may be true that we are simply "playing at missions." If it is, the reason is found either in that we have no living faith ourselves—no comfort, no consolation in the Gospel; or in that we have lost our confidence in the power of Christ to save. How then can we have genuine enthusiasm for the work? He only is an enthusiast whose soul is *en rapport* with the consciousness that in his idea there is embodied his own blessedness and the bless-

edness of all whom he can influence. His thought is to him a personal reality, saving, ennobling, transforming. Says Emerson: "Every great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm." Yet many, who pronounce the Concord philosopher a semi-heathen, often lack the very element which has played so great a part in the redemption of the world. We think and talk too much of results and not enough of forces and vital energies. We address ourselves too much to the purses of the people and not enough to their hearts. We try to propel the machinery by pulling at the wheels instead of seeing to the fire under the boiler and the generating of steam. It has been well said that our Home Mission work will come to a firm footing in proportion as we labor unto the growth and perfection of this apostolic missionary spirit. May we not long for it—the unction and fervor of their faith—so rich in the knowledge of salvation, so mighty in love—so enthusiastic in hope—so lofty in devotion—so profound in humility.

#### THE FIELD OF THEIR OPERATIONS.

"Thus they went forth and preached everywhere." The "everywhere" was virtually the Roman Empire, the temporal government of which they were subjects, and which was, in justice and by virtue of a boasted magnanimity towards its citizens, bound to protect them from violence. This was practically and legitimately their Home Mission field. Their purpose included the whole country, but their greatest enterprise lay *westward*. That vast region had especial claims on the new religion and offered special inducements for its propagation.

It is generally taken for granted, said the eloquent Dr. George P. Hays at the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1885, that the work of the apostles was Foreign Mission work and that Paul was the typical foreign missionary. As a matter of fact, however, there was no foreign missionary field for westward-moving Christianity, and the great apostle never set foot on foreign soil. The Roman Empire, of which he was a free-born citizen, in that day encircled the Mediterranean sea; it reached from the Rhine and the Danube to the African desert, and from the Solway



Frith to the Euphrates. Within this vast region of manifold nationality and varied types of civilization, all the mission stations, of which we have authentic information, were founded. In reality, Paul, though burdened with the care of the home churches, may be called the original Secretary of the Home Board. His territory was the world which acknowledged the rulership of the Cæsars—immense, indeed almost limitless; yet when he stood on the shores of the Hellespont and listened to the cry of that Macedonian soldier, he was not as far from Antioch or Jerusalem, the location of the Home Board, as is Secretary Clutz from Baltimore, when, on the banks of the Mississippi, he attempts to measure the boundless empire beyond which God has committed to the Lutheran General Synod's missionary endeavor more than to that of any other Christian denomination. The apostles went forth into the "everywhere" with the firm conviction that their brother man needed the gospel of the Kingdom. We are to go forth into our domain in answer to the urgent appeal of our brother in the faith as well as to the unconscious need of our brother man. They heeded especially the unuttered cry of souls in spiritual darkness; what if we fail to understand the conscious longing of those who are our own?

And what a colossal heritage it is which Christ commands us to view and occupy! It was, after all, not so much of an exaggeration when that Englishman bounded it by the pole, the equator, the rising sun and the day of judgment. If the entire country were as thickly settled as Connecticut, we would have about four hundred millions of inhabitants and could give fifty acres of land to every one of them. What was the Roman Empire as mission territory, compared with our mission field? Pennsylvania has probably more than one hundred and sixty thousand Lutherans in the enjoyment of everything that Christianity signifies, yet Kansas is twice as large as Pennsylvania; so is Nebraska; so is Minnesota—States which have a comparatively larger nominal Lutheran population, but in no adequate sense organized into congregations according to the command of Christ and the ability of the Church. Yea many of them lapsing into semi-heathenism, if we are to credit the information of interested observers. And the case becomes all the more

startling when we remember that Colorado is three times as large as the Keystone State ; Dakota four, California five and Texas six times, and that the General Synod has just five missionaries in these four magnificent states, though scores of thousands of our own household of faith are calling upon us to at least gather their children into the English Lutheran fold. Paul everywhere projects his shadow over the entire dominion where the Roman eagles are the emblem of authority ; what are we doing—preachers and missionaries of a day beside such a man as he ?

But the people are tired of geography and statistics ; and we are told that there is no encouragement in such a presentation of the subject. The field is too vast even for embodiment in our thoughts ; the outlook is far beyond the grasp of the imagination ; the work is too overwhelming in its demands and responsibilities for a single generation to consider. And yet the apostles in their day went forth everywhere—those few undaunted men—two of them undertaking Europe as their charge ; without railroads, or telegraphs, or mail facilities ; without recognition or protection from civil powers ; without the promise of specified salaries, or assurance of help from any church-extension board, or any financial guaranty from the General Synod at Jerusalem. They went forth solely in response to the call of duty and the command of Christ. Timidity, hesitation, mistrust have no place in the work of God entrusted to his Church. It is unreasonable and unmanly as well as unchristian to speak of difficulties, invent objections, manufacture opposition. A primary quality of the human mind is to search out and seize upon opportunity, create opportunity if there is none ready at hand. In the affairs of the world this mental faculty is always performing its functions. Men long for openings to afford a chance for the development of business, trade, commerce, invention, mining, railroading, manufacturing. Witness the wild rush westward for such opportunities, to discover, to utilize, to enjoy. How much wiser the children of this world are in their generation than the children of light ! Yet the children of light need not seek for opportunities ; there they are ; the cities and large towns on all the great railroad arteries “from the river unto the sea.” And it was the cities and large towns which the apostles uniformly



occupied as the centres to which the populations flow and whence the influences of power must emanate. There are open places "everywhere." The entire country from the Northern Pacific to the "Atlantic and Pacific" and the great Santa Fé route—the territory between the 30° and 50° of north latitude which has always been the very belt of power in all ages, for all civilizations, invites us to its magnificent rivers, to its grand physical features of mountain and valley, its fields of most productive soil, its mines stocked with the most precious ores—and all these interests are but the scaffolding of the Church of God!

#### THE ONE GREAT ARGUMENT.

The apostles sustained themselves and justified every new advance into "the everywhere" by one unfailing source of encouragement: The coöperative presence of their divine master. "The Lord was working with them." He did for them what they could not do. He left them to do that for which he had qualified and commissioned them and he never abandoned them to labor in the least uncertainty about supernatural coöperation. It may be true enough that they could not refer to a visible presence; but that did not trouble them for a moment, because ocular testimony is not the surest or most satisfactory. They had the safer testimony of their faith—in the promise: "Lo, I have sent you and I will be with you"—a testimony which can not be contradicted or rebutted by failures, or discouragements or persecutions. They could go everywhere without raising the question of material support, or immediate success or favorable reception, because they were fully persuaded that the inspiration of the whole missionary movement was from the ascended Redeemer, and not the product of their own inventions. How could any one say that Jesus is the Christ, except it be given him by the Spirit? The beginning of their Christianity was not "to him that runneth but to him that obeyeth the call." Not by might, nor by power, but by his Spirit. Born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Their individual salvation was the work of the first Missionary who dwelt within them by his Spirit the hope of glory, who con-

strained them to go forth and preach the word of life. *They* stayed themselves upon this conscious presence.

Where the spirit of God is there will be genuine mission work ; and the absence of such work unmistakably argues the absence of the Holy Spirit. The argument may be trite but none the less emphatic. And it will help us immensely to remember this most essential truth when we are planning our work, organizing our societies, setting into operation our systems. There is an immeasurable satisfaction in knowing that all this is not "ministerial trickery," but the genius of an aggressive Christianity, the richest fruit of the religion of Jesus Christ. And when the indifferent and unfriendly ask : "what new thing is this again," to be able to rebuke them "lest haply they be fighting against God and sinning against the Holy Ghost," is a potent answer to the weak-kneed as well as the stiff-necked within the walls of Zion.

Why it is God's work and who shall hinder it? Assured of the divine coöperation in *going forth* to their work, the apostles knew that the Lord was working with them in the execution of their arduous labors. Why should they ever falter or faint?

Doubtless there is good reason to suspect that we make too little of this divine coöperation in our Home Missionary work. Ours is so much a mere theoretical dependence upon supernatural agencies and forces. At the expense of these we talk of human instrumentalities—resolutions, societies, organizations, systems, methods. Certainly, we need well-marshalled forces. They can not be too efficiently organized and disciplined, but even a heathen emperor would not lead his magnificent army into battle until he heard the thunder clap on his right which to him was the signal of his god. Every one knows that Constantine would not open the contest which was to decide whether heathenism or Christianity should prevail in the Roman Empire until he saw the cross shaped cloud or the real emblem of salvation across the face of the sun and read over it in letters of light the inscription *Touto Nika*, "by this sign conquer." And the Lord said unto David : "when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself: for then shall the Lord go out before thee to smite



the host of the Philistines." But the signal was not vouchsafed David without the asking. The indications of the divine coöperation are clear to them alone who put themselves into communication with him who promises; and he who truly prays for Home Missions is a prophet, for in his petition he foretells the things which are to be; he projects himself into the future and gives voice to the promised achievements; and he who works as well as prays is the fulfiller of his own prophecies—at least the instrumentality of their fulfilment.

“Up to thy Master’s work ! for thou art called  
To do his bidding, till the hand of death  
Strike off thine armor. Noble field is thine—  
The soul thy province ; that mysterious thing  
Which has no limit from the walls of sense.  
\* \* \* \* Oh live the life of prayer,—  
The life of tireless labor for his sake ;  
So may the angel of the Covenant bring  
Thee to thy home in bliss, with many a gem  
To glow forever in thy Master’s crown.”

#### THE RESULTS OF THE UNDERTAKING.

Those which fully justified the apostles in their noble enterprises and richly compensated them for all their wearisome labors, were the practical seals of their ministry. “The Lord confirmed the word by the signs that followed.” Miraculous attestations accompanied them. Miracles were necessary to establish the divinity of J  sus Christ; and they were essential to attest the authority of his apostles; these they had in abundant confirmation, but it was not these to which they referred; there were other signs as testimony to their high appointment and for their constant encouragement—signs which could not be attributed to superstition or fanaticism.

For instance, it soon became manifest to them that the gospel was the absolute power to win the soul of man from any power of evil, to conquer his moral, intellectual and spiritual enemies, and elevate him from the brute to a regenerate human being. They saw the spiritually blind enlightened; those who had been held by the power of Satan, breaking their shackles and rising into liberty; the spiritually dead quickened; the spiritually deaf

and dumb made to hear devoutly and speak piously ; the spiritually lame made righteously industrious and active ; the spiritually leprous cleansed from their sins ; and seeing these they had the confirmation of signs greater than any physical changes. To convert a man is a greater miracle than to cure him of leprosy ; it is the greatest of all miracles, unless it be the miracle of reclaiming him who was once a Christian worker in the East and is now a thorough worldling of the West. Yet this even is one of the miracles of these latter days—a sign in the province of Home Mission work that witnesses to the power of the gospel as much as any other result. Who has not wondered what could be done with those western miners and cow-boys—those semi-infidels who left their eastern homes and are now blinded by the money-god—those restless, roving fortune hunters and border settlers, especially those Scandinavians with their strange language, who only sought our shores for temporal good, or those Germans with their deeply-rooted prejudices ? Well, some of them were once our neighbors, our friends, our brothers and sisters. We may feel sure that they at least will become rich in God even though they are now seeking temporal enrichment. Was not Bunyan once nothing but the profane tinker—he who afterwards painted for us in his dreams the pilgrimage from the town of destruction to the celestial city ? And as to those foreigners—are they not from the homes of our ancestors ? And do we not remember what those ancestral homes were in the fifth century and what they are in the nineteenth—then the homes of beastliness, ignorance, drunkenness and unnamable vices, now the homes of highest culture and refinement surrounded by universities and sources of intellectual and moral greatness ? When we recall the facts there is no reason to become either skeptically inquisitive or financially doubtful. All the greater is the encouragement because these meet us with open mind and heart whilst their ancestors assassinated Boniface who came to them on a mission similar to ours. The old “signs” are ours as well as they were of primitive Christianity.

The complaint was heard : How long must we wait for more positive results to justify the expenditure of our time, means, sympathies—our men so much needed at home ? That is not



a question for believers to ask. The interval between the faith of the apostles and the divine effects was not appreciable; and it need not be to-day. Effects are always following true faith; they are the signals that faith has gone on before and is speeding on errands of mercy. Our streams do not wait until the country becomes beautiful before they go on their mission; they run in among the valleys and over the plains to make them beautiful. The evidences of our faith are the missions and the missionaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast—so many outposts and videttes on the field of operations—the harbingers of the coming army.

It is needless to call up the statistics, though they are plentiful, truly inspiring, most convincing—veritable “signs and wonders,” to prove that the church is “thinking God’s thoughts after him.” The rich fruitage would fill volumes, could they only be published for the benefit of the doubting and indifferent in the church. A “sign” of profound significance is manifest among those who “go forth,” and send forth the blessed agencies. Any one who compares the day at Washington in 1867 when the work was first seriously under discussion, with “Home Mission day” at Omaha in 1887, may tell what “wonders” have been wrought. Think of that earlier day with its few devoted men planning, counseling, praying, devising, whilst the majority of the General Synod were absent from the floor engaged in “sight seeing;” then think of the crowded church of the later day—the enthusiasm—the emblems of victory—the words of hope and cheer. And this is no greater “wonder” than that which is annually witnessed at our district synods—especially at *one* of them. What a “thinning out” there used to be when it was known that the representatives of the Boards would appear! What indifference and drowsiness and incredulous questionings and solicitous disputations! But the gloom of those unbelieving days is past. Since the Church has entered upon Home Mission work with an earnest will Lutheranism has gained new life in all its relations and purposes. Indeed, God is fulfilling his promise: “He that watereth shall be watered also himself.” When after the Reformation the internal and external conflicts of the Church had filled the nations with unbelief, missionary

work was inaugurated by a few consecrated men and that became the refuge of true believers. The Church enjoys such a revival to-day. The promotion of the great cause has given reality to our religion—comfort, satisfaction, efficiency.

It is a noble work to preach abstract apologetics—defend the faith—marshal the evidences of Christianity; people will admire the learning of it and its orthodoxy, but may fail to appreciate the purpose. It is a nobler work to preach relative apologetics—interpret and present the religion of Jesus so as to make it stand before the living reason and common sense—an intelligible and inspiring reality—which conquers our western cities and towns for Christ, weaves a net-work of rail-roads to connect village and hamlet, sows the widespread prairies with wheat and corn and makes the deserts blossom as the rose. Then infidelity must give way and the entire Church will, with joy, draw water from the wells of salvation.

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XL. Nos. 1 and 2 (Jan.—Mar., April—June, 1887) thus far received has 70 pages of contents. Annual subscription only 65 cents. Each number is delivered immediately after publication and may be procured through any foreign bookseller.

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**SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL.**—*The Missing Sense*, and the Hidden Things which it might reveal—spiritual Philosophy treated on a rational basis, by C. W. Wooldridge, B. S., M. D. *Elementary Psychology and Education*, by Jos. Baldwin. *The Elements of Political Economy*, by J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph. D. *Science Sketches*, by David Star Jordon. *The New Astronomy*, by Samuel Pierpont Langley, Ph. D., LL. D. *Egyptian Archæology*, by G. Maspero, D. C. L. Oxon, Translated from the French by Amelia B. Edwards. *Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History*, an Exposition, by Geo. S. Morris, Prof. of Philosophy in the University of Michigan.

**HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.**—*The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day*, by Wm. M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D. *Witnesses for Christ and Memorials of Church Life*, by Edward Backfouse and

Charles Taylor, in two volumes. *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany*, by the Rev. James I. Good, D. D. *A History of the University of Oxford*, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1530, by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, M. A., F. S. A. *The Gnostics and their Remains*, ancient and mediæval, by C. W. King. *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*, by George W. Williams. *The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips*, by George Lowell Austin. *The History of the Christian Church*, by George Park Fisher, D. D., LL. D. Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, Vol. II.

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## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

### I.—BIBLICAL.

*Critical and Exegetical Handbook of the Revelation of St. John*. By Friederich Düsterdieck, D. D., Ober-Consistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Third Edition of the German, and Edited with Notes, by Henry E. Jacobs, D. D., Norton Professor of Systematic Theology, Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Penn. 8vo. pp. 494. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

It was a great loss to Biblical Interpretation that Meyer, the prince of modern exegetes, was not able personally to complete his splendid Handbook. On account of the constant demand for new editions of the volumes which had appeared, and his relentless honesty in revising and correcting them, he was constrained to commit Thessalonians and Hebrews to Lüneman, the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles to Huther, and the Apocalypse to Düsterdieck.



It is noticeable that the work by Düsterdieck was not included in the English translation published by the Clarks' and it accordingly for the first time appears in English dress. The present publishers have in this respect surpassed the great Edinburg house and the latter will doubtless reissue this American translation as partial compensation for the use of their translation in the American edition.

In his theory of Inspiration Dr. Düsterdieck shows no improvement on Meyer; in his province as commentator he lacks Meyer's masterful grasp of the sense and his luminous exposition, although in scholarship and in suggestiveness his work makes a fit companion to the volumes of the latter, and happily Dr. Jacobs' theological and philological attainments have succeeded in making this last English volume equal in merit to any of its predecessors. His notes are not only valuable in themselves but render the commentary itself much safer and more useful to students. Düsterdieck represents in this volume the praeterist class of interpreters, who hold mostly that the prophecies of this book have in large measure been already fulfilled. He denies Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse without denying its inspiration.

*Word Studies in the New Testament.* By Marvin R. Vincent, D. D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James and Jude. 8vo. pp. xxiii., 822. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Dr. Vincent has recently received the high distinction of being chosen to the Chair of New Testament Exegesis in Union Theological Seminary, the position held by Prof. Schaff until his transfer, after the decease of Dr. Hitchcock, to the department of Ecclesiastical History. The quality of the work here offered to the public attests the wisdom of that election. Dr. Vincent is a biblical scholar and this volume reveals not only breadth of learning, tact and ability as an expositor, but also that rare faculty of adaptation which keeps in view the relatively meagre attainments of a large number of earnest students of the Bible. The man who knows no Greek or who is but a beginner in the study of the Greek Testament, or who has "saved a little Greek out of the wreck of his classical studies," may here learn a great deal of the variations of meaning in the original terms, of Greek idioms and synonyms, of the reasons for many changes of rendering from an older version, he may grasp the simpler distinctions between the Greek tenses, the force of the Greek article and other philological features of the sacred text, which add at once pleasure and profit to its devout examination. One can readily perceive page after page that the author's aim is to be helpful rather than to display his erudition.

And the more learned will find it a very convenient auxiliary to Bible interpretation. It is a word commentary rather than one that is concerned with the sense of a passage or the scope of a chapter or book,

save where a given word is the point on which the meaning of the entire passage turns. It may be called a new departure in exegesis, covering a field which so far as we know has not been worked up in any one book, taking a position midway between the exegetical commentary and the lexicon and grammar, dealing with individual terms as they occur in the course of the authorized English version (the original always in parentheses), opening up the native force of the separate words in their lexical sense, their etymology, their history, their inflection, and the peculiarities of their usage by different evangelists and apostles. And, what will be found very acceptable, the reader is not treated to lengthy discussions and processes, but to a direct exhibition of results, the only thing for which most men can find time.

It is evident that the author's task has been one of laborious research and his modest manner, his conservative and discriminating methods, and his use of standard writers must commend his work to all scholars. Not a few, however, will be surprised that an American should endorse as correct the Revisers' rendering of "corn-fields" in Matt. 12 : 1. Why not say "grain-fields," which, unlike the Revisers' term, needs no farther explanation in England or America?

Besides the general contents covering respectively the different books treated, additional value is found in the Introduction to each of them, a list of Greek words peculiar to the individual writers, an index of English words and one of Greek words, the two combined furnishing an English-Greek Concordance to the volume.

A like volume containing the writings of John and Paul is promised in due time. We give the author notice that those who are so fortunate as to obtain the present volume will be very impatient for the appearance of its companion, and we predict that where they have this great work in complete form they will prize it as one of the most convenient and practical aids to the Bible ever published.

*People's Lesson Book* on the Gospel of Matthew to aid Sabbath-Schools, Families and Individuals in the Study of the Bible. By Rev. Edwin W. Rice, D. D. pp. 220. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

This is a grateful reminder of Sunday School methods years ago, and it raises the question whether the present system is really an improvement. It contains 76 lessons, which include every verse of Matthew's Gospel, and give brief explanations, questions and applications, with questions for a weekly review. It also contains Orders of Service, Lord's Prayer, Bible Dictionary and Hymns.

*A Day in Capernaum.* By Dr. Franz Delitzsch, Professor in the University of Leipzig. Translated from the Third German Edition by



Rev. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D., Professor in Capital University. pp. 166. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

It is surprising that a theologian like Delitzsch, whose great services to Biblical and Theological learning have given him a preëminent name among Christian scholars should write a work of this character—a work in which poetic fervor and the vivid imagination of genius unite with historic lore in drawing a picture of the life of our Lord in “his own city.” It is an exceptional production, marked no less by warmth of piety and devout love to the Saviour than by unparalleled learning and by a masterly literary skill which puts the reader side by side with the Lord on the shores of Galilee, watching his every movement and listening intently to every utterance from his lips.

The translator, whose flowing English often adorns the pages of the QUARTERLY, has done the translation conscientiously and neatly, and has given us a little volume that deserves to go into every Christian home and into every Sunday School library.

As the Lutheran Publication Society issued a translation of this volume, from the pen of Dr. Morris, just twelve years ago, it is somewhat remarkable to see another Lutheran publisher take the pains of bringing out a new translation made by another Lutheran divine. Somebody must have been asleep.

*The Psalms in History and Biography.* By the Rev. John Ker, D. D. pp. 219. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Both the author and subject warrant us in expecting a strong Scottish flavor in these pages, the Covenanters like the Huguenots being the stern soldiers whom their foes ever recognized as “the men who sing psalms and pray.” But the historic association of the psalms with the lives of eminent saints and with the occurrence of great events in other lands is also brought out in numerous thrilling instances—as for instance, the energetic power of the 46th Psalm, the *Marseillaise* of the Reformation, in upholding the Protestant cause throughout Germany.

While the volume is not intended as a commentary of the Psalms, yet by the illustrations which are derived from their influence upon the lives of men a strong light is thrown upon many of these inspired songs. It is a commentary after all, the best kind of a commentary, that which is given from the examples of living experience. The record which these Psalms have made in human héarts and the power they have exerted in the most remarkable movements of the Church are to be prized more than the most learned exegetical volume ever written on them. The griefs which a Psalm has comforted, the doubt which it has solved, the deliverance it has wrought, are a better exposition of its meaning than the most masterful grappling with Hebrew roots.

The historical and biographical incidents are not confined to the Christian circle, but instances are quoted from strange places, and tes-

timonies from unlikely lips. Note among others the eloquent tribute from Heine: "What a Book! Vast and wide as the world, rooted in the abysses of creation, and towering up beyond the blue secrets of heaven. Sunrise and sunset, promise and fulfilment, birth and death, the whole drama of humanity, all are in this Book. It is the Book of books—BIBLION. The Jews may easily console themselves for having lost Jerusalem, and the Temple, and the Ark of the Covenant, and the golden vessels and the precious things of Solomon. Such a loss is insignificant compared with the Bible, the imperishable treasure which they have rescued."

*Neue Folge der Sammlung von Beispielen über Hauptbegriffe, &c., in Alphabetischer Reihenfolge. Ein Handbuch für Geistliche, Lehrer, Sonntagsschullehrer und die Familie von A. Rodemeyer. Basel: Ferd. Riehm.*

Schaefer & Koradi, of Philadelphia, send us two more numbers, 2. 3. u. 4. Lieferung, of this excellent Encyclopædia of Illustrations bearing on the more important topics of Scripture, a notice of which appeared in the July issue of the QUARTERLY. The last number extends to *Gelübde*. We are very much pleased with this work and hope it will be rapidly completed. It will be found a valuable auxiliary to those engaged in teaching the vital truths of the Gospel. It is pervaded by the spirit of orthodoxy and is none the less clever for that. We give a brief example which furnishes an illustration of Original Sin: "The worm in the apple had its birth in the blossom. A fly deposited there the germinal egg. This found its bed in the growing apple where the egg was developed into a worm. The worm lives and from within works its way gradually to the surface of the apple."

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## II.—THEOLOGICAL.

*Theologia Germanica*: Edited by Dr. Pfeiffer, from the only complete Manuscript yet known. Translated from the German by Susannah Winkworth. With a Preface by Rev. Charles Kingsley. pp. 159. Philadelphia: George W. McCalla.

This quaint little treatise has a peculiar interest in its having been discovered by Luther and first brought into notice by an edition which he published in 1516. He says of it: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book has ever come into my hands, whence I have learned or would wish to learn more of what God, and Christ, and man, and all things are." Seventeen editions of it appeared during Luther's lifetime and it has passed altogether through more than sixty editions. In its profound and noble conceptions of righteousness and of sin, of the believer's union with Christ and his absolute self-negation, the work is



far from being out of date and is well adapted to serve as a stimulus to holy living, although the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith is by no means clearly contained in it. We are surprised to find on p. 13 the word "defied" twice occurring for "deified."

*Is there Salvation after Death?* A Treatise on the Gospel in the Intermediate State. By E. D. Morris, D. D., LL. D., Lane Theological Seminary. pp. 325. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Here is another contribution to "the burning question." Dr. Morris writes with a strong and steady hand—and though he would claim nothing new for this volume, the treatment of the most threadbare subject with the learning, vigor and clearness employed upon this, cannot fail to give the reader a better grasp of it and a stronger conviction.

The discussion of the problem propounded is divided into six chapters, The Question Stated, Testimony of Particular Scriptures, General Testimony of Scripture, The Witness of Christian Symbolism, The Witness of Christian Theology, and The Witness of Christian Experience. The evidence, it will be seen, is drawn not from the misty realm of speculation but from the direct and indirect testimony of revelation and the consciousness which is determined by revelation. Subjected to such a test the answer to the question will readily be anticipated by every one who has made a study of the subject. These witnesses are a unit on the doctrine that probation begins and ends with the present life. Jesus Christ came *into the world* to save sinners, and he gave the Holy Ghost to the Church which he founded here and for the explicit purpose of rescuing men from the wrath to come.

Dr. Morris is especially successful in sweeping away the claims made for the Christian consciousness on this question. So far from the Church being moved by it toward the acceptance of this assuming dogma of a future probation, "the truth rather is that the Church is still intelligently standing steadfastly by her ancient and certified faith, and this not on traditional grounds merely or mainly, as is so often alleged, but rather because her present study of the inspired Word leads her directly and only to the old conclusion."

As might have been expected, an able scholar like Prof. Morris is acquainted with Lutheran theology and presents very correctly and fairly its unequivocal position on this doctrine. He shows what "the grand Confession of Augsburg, in which the symbolism of the Reformation takes its rise," teaches, article for article, on the conditions and limitations of salvation and maintains that nothing appears in any Lutheran symbol "which is at variance with the Creed of Augsburg on this point." Instead of charging as some on the same side of this question have ignorantly or recklessly asserted, that the Lutheran doctrine of the necessity of the means of grace to salvation gives the strongest support to the Andover view, the author declares: "The historic position of Luther-

anism in opposition to the notion of purgatorial purification in the case of imperfect believers, and to prayers and masses offered for the purpose of improving the condition of the dead, is from first to last utterly irreconcilable with the dogma of a Gospel to be proclaimed to mankind in the intermediate state. Had such a notion found any measure of currency in that period, it would certainly have been noticed in the commentary in the Formula Concord (Art. IX.) on the *Descensus ad Inferos*. \* \* Had the writers of the Formula had any glimpse of the modern theory of a salvation after death to be obtained through the *Descensus*, they would certainly have made the fact manifest in their formal statement of conflicting opinions." The work is in every way worthy of commendation and is well calculated to counteract certain current errors that are causing serious distractions in some quarters.

*The Ethical Import of Darwinism.* By Jacob Gould Schurman, M. A., D. Sc., Sage Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. pp. 264. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

It is interesting to see an author who makes the extraordinary concession "that the results of evolutionary science in the domain of matter and in the domain of life are everywhere taken for granted" make a merciless and fatal dissection of Darwinian Ethics. This very concession, however, gives him a vantage ground which makes his good work all the more effective.

The first chapter is an exhibit of the various methods of ethics, the second gives an exposition of the Darwinian theory, comparing and contrasting it with the more general doctrine of evolutionism, the third the philosophical interpretation of the Darwinian Hypothesis, the fourth its relation to the foundation of morals, the fifth is devoted to an examination of the ethical speculations which Darwin grafted upon his biological science, and the last chapter following the historical method as the only basis of a scientific ethic, traces the actual development of moral ideals and institutions.

The scope of the volume gives a satisfactory survey of the whole problem, and the discussion is calm, luminous and forcible, showing to every intelligent reader not only the distinction between guesses and facts, between speculation and science, but also the essential contrast between Darwin's treatment of the phenomena of morals and his treatment of the phenomena of life and of intelligence.

In the latter sphere there is one life common to man and the animals, and according to Darwin there is no fundamental difference between human and animal intelligence. The only question here is how, beginning with the lower forms, the advance in physical and psychical organization had been effected. "Given the lower phases, there is somehow



a progress to higher phases, the best of which natural selection is constantly preserving.

"But in the moral world he finds no such common starting-point. He does not pretend that the phenomena of conscience, like those of life and mind, are alike exhibited by man and brute." He finds no animal conscience. And since there is no animal conscience to begin with, and man's has to be "accounted for," one must be manufactured as its antecedent. This is done by combining the elements of sociability common to man and beast, with the element of high intelligence peculiar to man. The product of this psychological chemistry is the primitive conscience. There is "a metamorphosis of the absolutely non-moral into the moral." But this is a purely imaginary psychology—imaginary facts and imaginary processes, which have no other warrant than his own preconception of the derivative character of the moral faculty. He has deserted the kingdom of fact and embarked upon the barren seas of speculation with all their shoals and quicksands.

The author's conclusion is, and he brings the reader to the same conclusion, that Darwinian biology has no more logical connection with the metaphysical and ethical views which have been engrafted upon it by Darwin and others than with the opposite views. It is an able and valuable contribution to a subject of current interest and of momentous import.

*Katholicismus und Protestantismus gegenüber der Socialen Frage.* Von Gerhard Uhlhorn, Dr. th. Abs. zu Loccum. Zweite Auflage. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht. 1887. pp. 60.

The author of this solid brochure is one of the leading theologians in the Lutheran church of Hannover. He discusses the social question and its solution in the light of the fundamental principles of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. The special phase of the social question he here presents is to a large measure peculiar to Germany, but its underlying thought is at the bottom of the agitation everywhere. Dr. Uhlhorn develops with fine logical acuteness the difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in their teachings concerning the world and the work of this world in its relation to the Christian faith, and shows that a legitimate solution of the problem must proceed from the standpoint of Biblical ideas as taught by Evangelical dogmatics and ethics. This discussion of principle is magnificent and is well worthy of close study aside of its application to the immediate problem before the author. He brings out with remarkable clearness and precision the far-reaching antagonism of the two systems, especially in their application to daily life and duties. In detail, doubtless, not all readers will agree with the author; but in his fundamental idea, namely that only from the gospel principles as taught by the Evangelical Church, can the

burning social questions of the times be solved, all clear-minded readers will agree. This thought itself has indeed been often expressed in late years, but one never before saw it developed as an ethical and social problem as thoroughly as is the case here.

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### III.—HISTORICAL.

*History of the Christian Church.* By George Park Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With Maps. 8vo, pp. 701. 1887. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A great and long felt want is at last satisfactorily met. The ponderous and inestimable works of Neander, Gieseler, and Schaff have supplied scholars with the immense treasures that have accrued to the history of the Christian Church, but they are not adapted to the class-room and are even not suited to the large number of busy ministers who have neither the time nor the purse requisite for the enjoyment of works of that character. And Kurtz, although long and generally in use as a text-book owes its distinction not to the assumption of its satisfying our needs, but simply to the fact that nothing better has thus far been available. Whatever the merits of foreign authors, they rarely answer the requisites of the class-room. They were not written for American Theological Seminaries.

Prof. Fisher, with a fund of learning not surpassed by any living German historian, has a practical mind. He adapts himself to the moderate attainments of the American divinity student. From the immensity of material at his command he has made a most judicious selection, and he disposes of this with a skill of arrangement, with a compactness of form, with a clearness of statement, with a consecutiveness of narration, with a gracefulness of style, and with a mastery of analysis that entitle his book to the rank of a model in literature.

It is not surprising that the Middle class in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg was ready, on learning of the great merits of this volume, to exchange text-books in the middle of the term, and that though parting affectionately with Kurtz—for the tone which pervades that work must endear it to all spiritual minds—the study of Dr. Fisher's work has awakened fresh enthusiasm in the subject of Church history.

The main divisions adopted by the author are the Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Eras. These are subdivided into Periods, nine in all, the lines of which are strikingly natural and logical. The first Period terminates with the Apostolic Age, the second with Constantine, the third with Gregory I., the fourth with Charlemagne, the fifth with Gregory VII., the sixth with Boniface VIII., the seventh with the Posting of Luther's Theses, the eighth with the Peace of Westphalia, and the ninth



is continued to the year 1887. Under each of these periods the different elements that enter into Church history are discussed under the principal subjects of The Extension of Christianity, The Polity of the Church, Christian Life, Christian Worship, Christian Doctrine. Under the latter head there can be of course nothing more than a brief succinct outline, but the author's clear grasp of a doctrine and his felicity of statement enable him to tell often in a few lines what others have spread out on half a dozen obscure pages. Take for an instance his observation on the Eucharist during the third period (312-590), "The prevailing tenet respecting the Lord's Supper was that the glorified Christ unites himself with the bread and wine, as the Logos once entered into humanity." It is doubtful whether a clearer, a more correct or a more satisfactory definition of the doctrine of the Eucharist in that period could possibly be given.

That Dr. Fisher was governed by a supreme purpose to avoid all unfairness will hardly be questioned by any fair-minded reader. Of course many of the subjects which must necessarily be discussed are still more or less in dispute and the agreement of all parties with the author's representations could not be expected. He is honestly concerned for the truth and is to be commended for frankly expressing the conclusions to which his investigations have led him, rather than resorting to the expediency of ambiguity or silence. He is undoubtedly a Protestant, but the Roman Catholics will be pleased with his admissions. He is a non-Lutheran, but the Lutherans will find little to criticise in his presentation of their history or their doctrines. Some of the Episcopalians will not like his statements on the historic Episcopate but their learned men will hardly pronounce them untrue.

He has indeed placed all the Churches under bonds of gratitude and he will without doubt have his reward in seeing his most excellent work made the text-book of Church History in almost all the Protestant theological institutions of the English-speaking world.

*Martin Luther: His Life and Work.* By Peter Bayne, LL. D. 2 Vols. pp. 518, 583. New York: Cassel & Company.

After reading biographies of Luther from our earliest youth we are fain to confess that we never found anything that compares in vivid interest, philosophical analysis and literary beauty with this magnificent work of Bayne. By means of lively, spirited, sympathetic and majestic portrayal the great Reformer moves before the eye in heroic and colossal form, marked at the same time by the tenderness and innocence of a child, standing out as the most extraordinary uninspired man known to history. That Mr. Bayne has no connection with the Church which perpetuates Luther's theology, that he is in fact a layman, does not in the least abate from his admiration for the personal character of the

Reformer, nor has it disqualified him for appreciating his initiative central relation to the mighty Reformation and, in general, his doctrinal views. It has evidently in his own words, been pleasant and spiritually vitalizing for him to live for years in most intimate converse with a soul intensely imbued with faith in God. While the grand sweep of his periods is never interrupted by long footnotes and references to original documents, the intelligent reader is never left to doubt that the author has himself made a careful investigation of authorities.

The scene at Worms, justly held to be the greatest in modern history, has never been handled with greater dramatic force. Besides the great issues at stake there Mr. Bayne brings out especially, what very few have heretofore done, the *slightness* of the concession Luther was required to make. Eck at Leipzig had declared his willingness to accept, to all lengths and breadths, the doctrine of the omnipotence of grace, and to abjure, with all emphasis, the Pelagian theory of human merit. Of Glapio, Aleandro, and Charles himself, it may be confidently stated that they had no mind to refuse toleration to Luther's high Augustinian doctrine. All would be forgiven Luther, and recognition would be vouchsafed to his genius and reforming zeal, if he would but make the *amende honorable* to the Pope, disown the peccant utterances which connected him with Huss and Wickliffe, and bow to the authority of the Roman See. Why should he not? This was the question which for two hours continued to be pressed upon Luther. He could not but feel the stress of the temptation to yield. One word of submission from his lips—one whisper of confession that he had spoken unadvisedly of the Pope—would have made the emperor his patron, and the Papal Nuncio his friend. The Prince Archbishop Albert would have been eloquent in praise. Frederick, whom he knew to yearn inexpressibly for conciliation, would have been kind and glad. Luther was deeply agitated. In the glare of the torches we can see the beads of sweat gather on his brow. But no subtlety of plausible self-deception—no adroit hocus-pocus of the intellect, obliterating the line between truth and falsehood, between life and death, and teaching conscience to equivocate, moved him from his steadfastness.

The dispute as to the precise words used by Luther on his final declination to recant, is ingeniously settled by giving the plain English of his language: "I am ready to die. Kill me if you dare. I shall carry my appeal to the court of God; but I can own the authority of no earthly power to dictate law to conscience." "Had he said less than this, he might have been the means of inaugurating a period of much theological disputation within the Church of Rome, and of pruning various abuses in worship and discipline. But he would not have broken the chains of Christendom, or started the magnificent procession of the Protestant nations, and introduced a new era of mental activity, industrial energy, political expansion, and universal progress."



In common with all Zwinglians Mr. Bayne fails to grasp the true inwardness of the scene at Marburg, where Luther's greatness, wisdom and loyalty to conviction are as conspicuous as on the wider stage at Worms. The key to the situation in both cases is found in the author's statement, "Luther set his face as a flint against compromise." The spirit which undaunted repelled every temptation to make concession at Worms could not possibly yield at Marburg. Luther must have lost his identity if he could sacrifice truth at Marburg after showing himself ready to die for it at Worms. There, as here, a slight concession was all that was asked. In the former case it would have insured a united Christendom, in the latter a united Protestantdom. But Luther was fighting not for union but for truth, and it constitutes the unrivaled greatness of the man that he contended for this greatest boon on earth toward the left as well as toward the right, that he stood like a rock against Zwingli and all Anabaptists as well as against the Papists. "The corporeal presence was in his view, part of God's truth, and to enter into fellowship with those who rejected it would be sin"—no better defense of his position is required.

The author's treatment of Luther's connection with the Landgrave's bigamy will doubtless provoke unfavorable criticism. His stout defence of Luther in this unhappy circumstance is indeed a noble evidence of his desire to shield the Reformer from misrepresentation and injustice. Allowing that "the secrecy of the transaction sticks more deeply in the modern imagination" than the theology which permitted it, he claims that the reader, "unless he will do cruel injustice to Luther, is bound to attend to the ground on which the frank Doctor defended the concealment practised in the affair." Luther's case was not that of one who did a sly thing and was ashamed of it, and tried to hide it. The secrecy was, in his view, an integral part of the business. He was dealing with a case of personal conscience, and, unless the application of his judgment were confined to the personal conscience—unless it were prevented from becoming a precedent for general observance—the rightness of it would be vitiated. "It does not hold," says Luther, "that what you do of necessity, I may do of right."

No review can adequately set forth the many merits of this latest life of the Church's greatest Reformer. Not the least feature of its excellence is its practical bearing upon the relentless antagonism which still rages between Romanism and Protestantism. Its literary character will, we predict, gain for it a rank among the modern classics. Its mechanical execution is in every way charming. The jewel has a setting which rivals its own lustre.

*The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day.* By William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., author of "Peter the Apostle," "Elijah the Prophet," etc. pp. 287. New York: Harper & Bros.

These sketches of a number of the eminent divines of Scotland were delivered as the "Lyman Beecher Lectures" at Yale University in the year 1886. They are not intended to furnish complete biographies, but rather to put the preachers in the environment of their times, to bring out the characteristics by which they were distinguished, and to give point to such lessons from their work as may be useful in our own age.

For a work like this no one is better qualified than Dr. Taylor. Himself a Scotchman worthy of a place beside the foremost of those whom he has specified, and thoroughly alive to the needs of the pulpit of the present day, he has given us in these sketches a volume which, in its portraiture of the Scotch character, and especially of the individuality of the most famous Scotch divines, will be found of absorbing interest to the general reader, while to the clergy it will prove exceedingly valuable as a study of pulpit requirements and pulpit possibilities.

*Romanism and the Reformation.* From the Standpoint of Prophecy. By H. Grattan Guinness, F. R. G. S. pp. 396. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price \$1.50. On Sale by J. B. Lippincott Co.

This is a polemic of unusual vigor. Should an anti-Romanist political campaign arise, it would furnish all the thunder required for the stump. The absence of discrimination and moderation, and the somewhat free use of supposed facts, would render it for such purposes all the more serviceable.

But it is a question whether this is the most effective method of contending against the errors and evils of the Papacy. It may have been the method of the Reformers; but they were in the thick of the fight, and the smoke and the storm of battle did not produce in them the clearest judgment of their deadly foe. It is hardly wise for us, at this day, to accept either their arguments or their sweeping conclusions.

Thus, while the author has good backing in his merciless onslaught on Romanism, the sober, cool and critical mind of the period will not be convinced by his eloquent and ingenious logic, unless it can accept his interpretation of Daniel, Paul and John, and assent to his conception of Romanism as just and historical.

Some concessions to the great services rendered by Rome in the Christianizing, civilizing and conserving of mediæval society throughout Europe would, to our mind, like the admissions in the argument of a great lawyer, have made the author's laborious blows all the more forceful and crushing.

*Stories of Great Painters, or Religion in Art.* By Edwin W. Rice, D. D. pp. 247. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

This appears at first sight to be a new departure in the literature of



the Sunday School Union. Yet as it deals with the great masters mainly in connection with their preëminent services to religion, it is after all in the line of the specific mission of this publishing house. The most famous painters owe indeed their immortality largely to their noble work of opening the Bible in an age when it was a sealed book, and unfolding, in a language intelligible to all, the great facts of God's moral government, and the principle events which underlie our redemption, the annunciation, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of our Lord. The volume is written in a readable style, its illustrations are good reproductions of a few of the most famous paintings, it offers instructive sketches of some of the most renowned names in the history of art, and is handsomely bound.

*Drum-Beat of the Nation.* The first period of the War of the Rebellion from its Outbreak to the close of 1862. By Charles Carleton Coffin, Author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," "Old Times in the Colonies," &c. pp. 478. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

The story of the great conflict which saved the Union will ever form a prominent factor in our national literature. It is fortunate for our youth that one who has already captivated their affection by his other historical works, and who as an army correspondent was often an eyewitness of the terrible and glorious incidents of the war, should devote his graphic pen to the writing of a series of books detailing the never-to-be-forgotten struggle. The mere announcement of such a series is sure to bring orders from intelligent parents who desire both to gratify and to benefit their children, and who at the same time keep an eye open for a good thing for themselves.

The *Drum-Beat of the Nation* is occupied with the causes and influences which brought on the war and the stirring and tragic events which crowded the years of 1861 and 1862. The author's standpoint is of course that of one true to the Union, and this work may not yet be wanted by those who fought against it, but it is not written with a partisan spirit and it duly recognizes their sincerity of conviction and adherence to the idea that the authority of the state was above that of the general government, and freely accords to their armies the praise of their bravery and endurance.

The volume abounds in illustrations of a high order of engraving and is a beautiful specimen of the book-maker's art.

*Life of Henry Clay.* By Carl Schurz. In two volumes. Third Edition. pp. 383, 424. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These volumes belong to the "American Statesmen Series." They are second in importance and interest to none of those already issued. Here is an opportunity to get, in a small compass, the legislative his-

tory of our country from 1806 to 1850, and incidentally the leading features of the whole history, for Mr. Clay's public life touched the history of the nation at nearly every point. For many years he was the idol of a large part of the American people, but his destiny never reached the presidency, the leading object of his ambition, for which he was several times a candidate.

Mr. Schurz undoubtedly tries to be fair in his estimates of Clay and his contemporaries, but we cannot say that he always succeeds. There is evidently an antipathy to Andrew Jackson. While not utterly blind to Clay's faults or Jackson's merits, he is so much in sympathy with Clay politically and against Jackson, that his judgment must be taken with more than one grain of allowance. He speaks unsparingly of Jackson's tyranny as a party leader, and yet can any one say that Clay was less imperious or despotic. Each was the pet of his party and each used the power that his relation gave him.

Mr. Schurz had a good subject and he has written a most interesting book. There is not a dull chapter in either volume.

*Patrick Henry.* By Moses Coit Tyler. American Statesmen Series. pp. 398. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Here at last we have a biography of Patrick Henry that shows discrimination. Thus far we have been dependent mainly upon Wirt's portrayal of this remarkable man, and have had him presented to us chiefly as the stirring orator, with meagre credit for literary attainments and statesmanlike ability. Prof. Tyler, however, shows that, while not conspicuous as a literary man, there was more in his speeches than the mere display of flashing oratory, and that, as a statesman, he showed remarkable acuteness and foresight as well as a keen appreciation of the unusual political questions of his time. The author goes to original sources and estimates the character of the man, not by the laudatory traditions of his power as a public speaker, but by what he said and did in the trying times in which he lived. The book gives the reader an insight into the affairs of the colonies and their relations with Great Britain from 1765 to the close of the Revolutionary War, and of the condition and trials of the infant republic during its first years. It is interesting reading from beginning to end.

*Memoirs of Rev. Jacob Gøering, Rev. George Lochman, D. D., and Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., LL. D.* By Charles A. Hay, D. D. pp. 211. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

Our enterprising publication house is doing a good work in giving to the Church sketches of deceased Lutheran ministers. An excellent beginning was made in the first book on the three Storks, and this one, on the three worthies names above, fitly follows. We trust there will be



encouragement enough, in the way of sales, for the managers to continue the series.

These sketches are exceedingly interesting to a Lutheran reader. They throw light, too, upon the history, early and recent, of the Lutheran Church in this country. They admit the reader behind the scenes, in some degree, and give him a view of the methods of our fathers and their inner lives. Some of these things we are sorry to see, especially some of the marked deviations from Lutheran doctrines and usages. Some of the examples of sermonizing are quite entertaining. In the sketch of Dr. Kurtz special interest attaches to his mission to Europe in 1826 in behalf of the General Synod's Theological Seminary, his relation to the "Definite Platform," and his attitude toward "New Measures."

*A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* By Henry Charles Lea, author of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Studies in Church History," "Superstition and Force." In Three Volumes, 8vo. Cloth. Gilt Tops. \$3.00 a volume. Vol. I. pp. 583. New York: Harper & Brothers. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

The Inquisition has been justly characterized as the most formidable of all the formidable engines devised by popery to subdue the souls and bodies, the reason and the conscience of men to its sovereign will. It is surprising that hitherto no comprehensive work on this dark and momentous chapter of mediæval history has been attempted by modern scholarship, especially when one considers the profound interest it possesses, not only to general readers, but to students of civilization and philosophy. Spanish and Italian writers, and a few Germans, have produced works of greater or less scope and value, but no historian on the Inquisition has thus far presented an exhaustive investigation of the social, the spiritual, and the intellectual condition of Mediæval Europe, out of which arose, as a necessary development of the forces at work, that portentous institution which for so many centuries sought, with more or less success, to fetter the human mind.

Our national pride is gratified to see such a task undertaken by one of our own authors and to have our country credited with another prize among the historical trophies of the world. What with our unequaled contributions to the history of Spain, that of the Huguenots, and that of the Dutch, America will not be long in claiming the palm in historical literature which has long ago been awarded to her in the mechanic arts and in national prosperity.

Among our scholars we can name no one who is better fitted to write a great work like this, no one in fact who possesses in so high a degree that combination of industry, learning, courage, fairness and judicial

discrimination requisite for a history that shall meet the demands of this sober and critical age and endure the tests to which time will subject every literary, and especially every historical product. His previous writings indicate that he has a fertile predilection for the study of Mediæval institutions, and offer a genuine foretaste of the very interesting and sterling quality of the present huge work, for the preparation of which he has been gathering material for fifteen years, material which researches of recent scholars have made prodigious, and which has not heretofore been coördinated and utilized for such purpose. Besides this he has had correspondents at work in all the libraries and archives where unprinted records are to be found, obtaining thus a larger amount of new matter, much of which throws valuable light on many hitherto obscure points. He has devoted special attention to the peculiar legal processes devised and introduced by the Inquisition, and in these has found an explanation of much that has hitherto been imperfectly understood, as in the cases of the Templars and of John Huss, and in the development and persecution of sorcery and witchcraft. We are not dependent on his own assurance that he has made, as far as possible, an examination of original sources. Well-read historical students will find, we are sure, in these volumes, a surprising amount of information which they have found no where else.

Vol. I. is occupied with the "Origin and Organization of the Inquisition," and divided into fourteen chapters with an Appendix of important Documents in the original. Vol. II., which was promised to be ready "about December," treats "The Inquisition in the Several Lands of Christendom," under eight chapters, with an Appendix of Documents. Vol. III., to appear in February, 1888, will cover "Special Fields of Inquisitorial Activity," with nine chapters, an Appendix of Documents and an Index to the entire work.

A nobler addition to literature has not issued from the press for many days, and a finer specimen of the book-maker's art we have not seen.

*A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By James Eliot Cabot. With Steel Portrait. 2 Vols. Gilt top., \$3.50. pp. 809. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A noble biography of one of the noblest personages of our age. Mr. Cabot was appointed his literary executor by Mr. Emerson, and he enjoyed accordingly exceptional facilities in obtaining access to the rich material for his memoir, especially Mr. Emerson's unpublished writings—among them one hundred and seventy-one sermons which he requested should never be published,—many letters of some of his most valued correspondents, and the memories of persons who knew him in his early years in his home. The volumes are thus largely made up of letters and extracts from Mr. Emerson's journals and other remains, and these, along with the details of his life, combine to produce a portrait of rare



faithfulness, a model biography, seeking to be just to the man as he was and to trace the influences which were potent in moulding him. It is obvious, page after page, that the author's work is one of care, conscientiousness and affection.

We are thankful for this addition to the Emerson literature without which his works and lives will hereafter not be complete. We find it perfectly charming. And it possesses the happy merit so grateful to busy minds, that one can pick it up at any leisure moment and open it on any page and find it of absorbing interest, while to those who have the time for it, the study of his lofty character and the review of the inspiring products of his genius as here given, will form a most pleasing and salutary occupation for days. For, his religious creed apart,—shall we say lack of creed?—Mr. Emerson's life and writings possess an undying interest for the best class of readers, and both of these factors are destined to exercise, for a long time to come, a powerful influence upon the intellectual life of this country and of England.

The occasion of Emerson's withdrawal from the only church he ever served as pastor—and as it turned out, the termination of his ministerial career, has peculiar interest to most of our readers. The bare form of the ceremony of the Lord's Supper was to him so void and useless that he was unwilling to continue this sacramental service, unless "*the use of the elements* was dropped and the rite made merely one of commemoration." He resigned his office rather than administer an ordinance which was held to be nothing more than a symbol or commemoration. The decision of this matter caused him serious internal conflicts. He saw the inconsistency of charging others with exalting forms above the moon while he feared forms himself with extravagant dislike. He knew very well that it is a bad sign in a man to be too conscientious and to stick at gnats. "The most desperate scoundrels have been over refiners. Without accommodation society is impracticable."

Let us yet add here his glowing tribute to the early Puritans from whose doctrines he had drifted far away: "Great, grim, earnest men, I belong by natural affinity to other thoughts and schools than yours, but my affection hovers respectfully about your retiring footsteps, your unpainted churches, strict platforms and sad offices; the iron-gray deacon, and the wearisome prayer, rich with the diction of ages." \* \* "I cannot hear the young men whose theological instruction is exclusively owed to Cambridge and to public institutions without feeling how much happier was my star, which rained on me influences of ancestral religion."

## IV.—PRACTICAL.

*The Children for Christ.* Thoughts for Christian Parents on the Consecration of the Home Life. By the Rev. Andrew Murray, Author of "Abide in Christ," "Like Christ," &c. pp. 448. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

To put this precious volume into the hands of every Christian parent would be a greater benefaction to mankind than the success of any or even all the social reforms now being agitated. It strikes at the root of all true reform and in its very title lays down the only sure principles of reform. "The Children for Christ," let that be the motto, and let that be the supreme concern in every Christian household, and the regeneration of society will be suprisingly simplified and marvelously accelerated. The author shows not only great zeal in urging a sanctified home-life, but he shows very clearly how this may be brought about, and with entire freedom from cant lays down sound, reasonable and scriptural methods.

Without any approach to extreme views on Baptism, this initiating sacrament "which brings and seals to an infant nothing less than to an adult," is rightly made the starting-point of a child's education. And very truly are parents told: "The deeper our insight into the spiritual blessings which the sacrament seals, the more we shall value the grace which secures them to our infants."

One is reminded very much of Bushnell's "Christian Nurture" in reading the present work, but it is less philosophical than that, it gives more emphasis to objective truth and the "heavenly element," and it is calculated to prove more generally helpful to earnest parents, revealing to them not only their great responsibility but offering them liberal help in meeting it.

*Adventspredigten.* Auslegung der vornehmsten Weissagungen des Alten Testaments. Von G. Stöckhardt, Professor am Concordia Seminar zu St. Louis. 1887. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House.

Rev. G. Stöckhardt, formerly pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Cross in St. Louis, and now professor in the Concordia Seminary of that city, presents us here with a series of sermons preached by him during successive advent seasons, now revised and partly rewritten.

The subjects of these discourses are the leading Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. He discusses them not in a scientifically apologetic or polemic vein; but, assuming the traditional interpretation of them, as always held by the Church, to be correct, he develops their meaning in a plain, practical way, and in a style of beautiful clearness and vigor.



In these days of carping and destructive criticism it is refreshing to take in hand a volume breathing such a simple, childlike faith, and revealing such a cheerful, joyous, self-appropriating spirit, strikingly reflecting the true genius and temper of primitive Lutheranism.

Very properly ignoring the efforts of modern rationalistic interpreters to strip these precious promises and predictions of their Christological significance, he reiterates in a forceful way the inspired utterances of the New Testament concerning them; nor does he overstrain the sacred text when he asserts that those holy men of old, as moved by the Holy Ghost, often wrote better than they knew.

C. A. H.

*The World to Come.* By William Burnet Wright, Author of "Ancient Cities." pp. 307. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

This is not, as some might anticipate, another addition to the accumulating Future Probation literature. The more spiritual idea of "The World to Come" is what is here set forth in a number of brief discourses, marked by freshness of style, by the flow of genuine eloquence and a sunny earnestness of feeling. "For its coming all men hope. For its coming all good men toil."

These sermons, accordingly, do not deal with questions of current debate, or with the ephemeral phases of human speculation, but they are pitched on the keynote that man "can reach heaven only by walking the steep and narrow way," and that the essential conditions of all joy are deliverance from our sins and possession of the virtues which the Gospel inspires. The bright little volume will be found effectually helpful in the struggles of the Christian life and will serve preachers as a model. Sermons like these both seize the attention and enter the heart. The closing chapter, a familiar talk on Christmas, is herewith commended to the International S. S. Lesson Committee, the last survivors of the opposition to Christmas observance.

*Morning Family Prayers for a Year.* Founded on Select Passages of Scripture from the Old and New Testament. By J. R. Macduff. pp. 598. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A practical book that can claim the tests of age and continued popularity must in large measure meet the wants of those for whom it was prepared. This volume of "Family Prayers" was first published thirty years ago and it has now reached a circulation of 55,000.

References to select passages of Scripture are given at the head of each prayer, to be read from the Bible of course before the prayer is offered. The prayer then to a considerable extent turns upon this scripture lesson, sometimes by way of commentary. It is not a slight and easy task to formulate prayers for the use of others, especially of families. A peculiar gift appears to be required, and Dr. Macduff,

who excels in other departments of Christian literature, can hardly be said to possess this gift, notwithstanding the continual demand for this work. There is for us too much of the didactic element in the prayers, and they are often too subjective, too general and occasionally lacking in simplicity of language. The English speaking Christian people have accustomed themselves to pray in the terminology of the sixteenth century, or rather the terminology of Scripture. And we would find more help and satisfaction in the use of this volume if its forms of expression were more generally conformed to the familiar and fervent ejaculations of Holy Writ.

However, if it does not reach the highest excellence as a model, it must be said that very few if any similar works surpass it. Of "Songs of the Ages" there are many that survive, but "the prayers of the ages" are so few that a few pages can contain them all, and Christians have still occasion to ask "Lord, teach us to pray."

*The 'Come' and 'Go' Family Text Book.* Containing 'Come' and 'Go' Texts for every day in the year. Also Spaces for Births, Deaths, and Marriages. Compiled by John Strathesk, Author of "Bits from Blinkbonny," etc. Sq. 12mo, pp. 220. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The unique character of this beautiful, illuminated volume is sufficiently indicated by its extensive title. A scripture text with a 'come' and another with a 'go' are connected with every day of the year, two days being placed on each page, and the remainder of the page left blank to note births, marriages and deaths. It will prove a welcome and serviceable book to devout people who appreciate the value in Christian experience of the law of association. A familiar passage of the Bible can here be connected not only with a particular day of the year, but with the birth, the marriage or the decease of a dear friend, and thus holy truths will ever come to mind along with the memory of those we love.

Stiff card paper, gilt-edged and most tastefully embellished and beautiful binding, altogether make up a very attractive volume for the centre table and one that will grow more precious the longer it is used.

*A Few Thoughts for a Young Man.* By Horace Mann. New Edition. pp. 89. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Horace Mann's Lecture to a Young Man is one of those good things that never grow old. Delivered times without number by the author from the platform, it has passed through scores of editions and remains to this day one of those universally popular books that defy criticism. Its cost is only a trifle but scarcely any work of greater practical value can be placed into the hands of young men.



## V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Science of Thought.* By F. Max Müller. Two Volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 656. \$4.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

One takes up a new book from Max Müller with the confidence in advance that he is a master of the subject he treats, that he has honest and well-founded convictions in regard to it, and that his discussion of it is sure to furnish both entertainment and instruction. Though the author modestly assumes that the subject of this work has had its day and believes that the views advocated in it run counter to the public opinion of the hour, his brilliant reputation will no doubt insure for it a wide circle of select readers from the ranks of philologists, psychologists and naturalists.

According to Mr. Müller the theory of evolution held by Darwin does not at all necessitate the historical descent of the animal man from some other kind of animal, and he believes that Darwin himself, had he been acquainted with Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason," would have seen that there is something in man which he could not have inherited from the monkey. He also quotes Haeckel as admitting that the majority of the Darwinian School "and among it some famous biologists of the first class, are still of opinion that the problem of origin of species has only been opened by Darwin, *but by no means solved.*"

That something which imparts to man a character entirely different from all other living beings, the specific difference, is language. (This is the *proprium* of man.) No effort of the understanding, no stretch of the imagination, will enable one to explain how language could have grown out of anything which animals possess, even if we granted them millions of years for that purpose. Taking all that is called animal on one side, and man on the other, Mr. M. calls it inconceivable that any known animal could ever develop language. Both man and monkey, it is true, are born without language: "but the real problem which this remark places before us is why a man always learns to speak, a monkey never; why a Fuegian savage, though when caught only able to cluck like a hen (teste Darwin), learns, when brought to England, to talk a little English (teste Darwin), but a gorilla never."

We find it simulating and invigorating to sit with this great master, who is not hampered by theological prejudices, and view him demolishing the various towering hypotheses which like certain proverbial castles have been constructed of scanty and often aeriform material. The two substantial volumes with their unsurpassed letter-press are uniform with "The Science of Language," "The Science of Religion," "The Origin and Growth of Religion," and will be welcomed as a fitting companion to those classics.

*Philosophy of Theism.* By Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, Author of "Metaphysics," "Introduction to Psychological Theory," etc. pp. 269. 1887. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square.

The skeptical turn given to much of the recent speculative science and philosophy is giving our day an unusual richness in able defenses of theistic truth. The scientific and philosophic progress which has brought the need of works of this sort has also supplied a before unknown wealth of evidence and reasoning for vindication of the theistic view of the world. Among these able works Prof. Bowne's volume must take a prominent place. His thorough acquaintance with the results of modern investigation has given him special qualification for a notable handling of the subject, and his discussion is marked by great vigor and freshness.

Prof. Bowne does not reject the old well-established principles of the theistic conclusion, but recognizing the need of re-statement growing out of the changed view which modern science takes of the natural system, he has sought to throw these principles into new shape and thus exclude the criticisms and objections which have been so often alleged against the older and common form of argument. Instead of reasoning from effects to a Cause, from contingent to independent Existence, or from design to Intelligence, he finds his starting point in the postulates of *interaction, law and system*. He begins with these because they are conceded by science, all its investigations resting on them and absurd without them. From these he reasons to the *unity* of the world-ground or source of nature. A system of interacting members cannot be construed by thought without the assumption of a unitary being which is the fundamental reality of the system. From this fact of unity, he proceeds to trace the necessity and evidence of *intelligence*. Under this he draws arguments from Order and Intelligibility, from Design, and from the Theory of Knowledge. He thus shows that the facts of human intelligence and of cosmic law and order demand intelligence in the world-ground as their only sufficient explanation. The argument then shows that the world-ground must be *personal*. In this the pantheistic theories are examined and their absurdities exposed. Following this body of theistic evidence are chapters discussing the metaphysical attributes of the world-ground, the relations of God to the cosmos, his ethical character, and the practical bearings of theistic conception and belief.

This book is an original and most valuable presentation of this great subject, a triumphant vindication of the theistic conclusion against skeptical thought. It deserves a wide reading, and doubtless will win it. The style is full of happy vigor, often turned with trenchant force against the bold absurdities of error.

Amidst all this excellence, however, some things are found which are fairly open to criticism. Prof. Bowne's view of the relativity of knowl-



edge lead him sometimes into expressions and reasonings which tend to impair confidence in the real trustworthiness of our cognitive faculties and the objective correctness of our necessary knowledge. Nor are we ready for the absolute assertion: "We know nothing directly of causes." We are surprised, too, at the loose gratuitous criticism, on p. 179, of the old aphorism of the world being made "out of nothing," as though any person ever inserted into the word "nothing" the idea of something as the "pre-existent stuff" for the creational action. But these and other incidental things may well be waived as nothing against the great and substantial excellence of this welcome work. M. V.

*Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History.* An Exposition. By George S. Morris, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1887. pp. 306.

We have had frequent occasions to commend to the readers of the QUARTERLY the series of "German Philosophical Classics for English readers and students," edited by Prof. Morris and published by the enterprising house of S. C. Griggs & Co. As the series advances its merits become more and more apparent, as a means of interpreting to American readers the substance of the great philosophical works of Germany. The volume before us is the sixth in the series, and comes from the competent hand and graceful pen of the editor. The aim of the volume is to present the substance, with but little comment or criticism, of the two great master-pieces of German philosophy named. This condensed presentation, marked throughout by Prof. Morris' recognized ability and care, deserves the careful reading of all American students. Its publication is specially opportune now, when social problems are claiming the attention and exciting the interest of our people.

M. V.

*Early and Late Poems of Alice and Phoebe Carey.* pp. 321. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

A new volume of Alice and Phoebe Cary's poems will have a grateful welcome from the public. The present volume is entirely independent of the Household Edition, long accepted as the treasury of the poetical writings of the two gifted sisters, hence no poem is common to both volumes. It is made up of selections not accessible to readers, containing their early and their late poems, such as have acquired a special hold upon the public and such as represent the ripest powers of their authors. Many readers will say that the publishers have reserved the best wine for the last. The topical division has been followed as far as regards Alice Carey, whose poems make up all but twenty-five pages of the volume. There is an index of first lines and a general index of titles. The printer and the bookbinder's art, as is always the case with publications from this house, leave nothing to be desired.

*The Boy Travellers on the Congo.* Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey with Henry M. Stanley "Through the dark Continent." By Thomas W. Knox, Author of "Boy Travellers in the Far East," "in South America," and "in Russia," "The Young Nimrods," etc. Illustrated. Square 8vo, pp. 463. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This beautiful volume with its profuse illustrations is nothing less than a new edition of Stanley's great work "Through the Dark Continent" adapted to juvenile readers. It was at Mr. Stanley's request that Col. Knox, who in his popular "Boy Traveller" Series has shown an eminent gift for writing instructive books of absorbing interest to boys and girls, undertook the condensation of those two volumes on the Congo, and he has made such a decided success of it, that many adult readers will prefer his work to the original, sustaining but little loss of information and finding the style more entertaining. The present work contains not only the illustrations which formed so striking a feature in "Through the Dark Continent" but also many others taken from the various volumes of African travel and exploration published by the Harpers. The large and bright volume in binding, type and paper is as pleasing to the eye as the contents are engaging to the mind, the whole execution bringing out a work that will be welcomed wherever parents have a care for the healthy education of children as well as for their innocent enjoyment.

*Die Spinnstube*, ein Volksbuch für das Jahr 1888.

Besides the usual contents of an almanac this annual, now in its 43d year, contains a number of entertaining and healthful stories, written by the editor W. G. von Horn and other eminent popular writers. It has numerous well-executed wood-cuts and makes altogether a desirable addition to the books on the family table.

*The Gospel Story; Or the Story of Christ for the Young.* With Illustrations. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

This little volume is neatly and substantially gotten up, printed in large type and on stiff, strong paper. It aims to present to the young a sustained life of our Saviour, in a simple, life-like, comprehensible form. It is a style of book very much wanted to-day, in order to familiarize the little ones with the blessed gospel story, and one of its chief excellencies is the use, very largely, of the language employed by the sacred writers. Like all the books of the Sunday School Union, it claims to have been "revised by the Committee of Publication." It may be safely vouched for that no Lutheran serves on that committee. Why in so small a work on the Gospel Story, intended to be as simple as possible, being confined to words of one and two syllables, and published, too, by a Society that claims to be undenominational, the author should go far out of his way to teach the baldest Zwinglianism on the Lord's



Supper, is a question which ought to have a straightforward and public answer. A book which teaches the children with the emphasis of repetition and illustration that "the bread and wine are pictures of his body and blood" is not wanted in the schools or homes of any Church which holds to a creed as old as the Reformation. If the Sunday School Union is set for the diffusion of such teachings we may have no right to object, but it can no longer claim recognition as a society embracing all Evangelical Churches.

*Barbara's Brothers.* By Evelyn Everett Green. 12mo, pp. 447. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

This is a story of life in a quiet country town in the west of England. There is quite a diversity of characters and the plot of the story will be found interesting. Trying experiences are delineated and noble instances of self-sacrifice and helpfulness. The volume shows the power of true religion in shaping beautiful characters, and ennobles and dignifies Christian service done in loyalty to the Master. It is tastefully and substantially gotten up and will make an acceptable addition to Sunday School libraries.

*Pearl's Light.* By Ruby. 16mo, pp. 138. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

A bright, pure and wholesome story, the modest first effort of an unknown authoress and calculated to inspire thoughtless or discontented young people with noble Christian aspirations. The scenes and conversations have nothing extravagant or unnatural, and the young reader's conscience is more likely to be awakened than his imagination.

*The People's Hymn Book.* A Selection of the most popular *Psalms*, *Hymns* and *Spiritual Songs*, with their appropriate tunes. By Samuel B. Schieffelin. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

This book contains 350 hymns and over 200 tunes. The selection of both will commend itself as superior to most of the Sunday School Hymnbooks of which there has been such fecundity. Every new book in this line is a confession of the unsatisfactory and ephemeral character of the great mass that has preceded it, and we welcome new ones having the merits of the present collection primarily because they are destined to put away the frivolous balderdash which had the run for a season. The most taking feature of both the hymns and tunes here given is not that they are new but that they have been long tested and have found a place in the hearts of all evangelical Christians. We miss "I need Thee every hour" and a few of like preciousness, but we see so many of the sweetest and best songs of Zion that we can not find fault for the omission of a few. The best version of the hymns is given, and the mechanical make-up is such as to make it convenient and attractive for use in the family and in devotional meetings generally.

*Of the Doctrine of Morality in its Relation to the Grace of Redemption.*

By Robert B. Fairbairn, D. D., LL. D., Warden of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. New York: Thomas Whittaker. pp. 324. 1887.

Dr. Fairbairn has done a good service in giving to the public these lectures, which were first read to classes in Moral Philosophy. There has been room and need for such a work—a need well supplied by this clear and instructive discussion. The aim has been to bring out clearly the relation between morality and redemption, especially as that relation ought to be understood by those who are called to preach and apply the Gospel for the true Christian life. The author shows the primary adaptation of the human constitution for the perfectly ethical life, and traces how, even since the fall and under the disorder of sin, moral distinctions and judgments and systems of duty are necessarily developed. All nations recognize more or less clearly the cardinal virtues and duties required in human relations. He points out the helplessness of human nature, under depravity, to actualize the moral life and character for which it was made and to which it sees itself obligated. He calls attention to the way in which redemption by the Son of God, along with atonement and reconciliation, brings renewal grace and enabling power for the otherwise unattainable life of virtue and holiness. It gives the only effective dynamic for the true morality. It regenerates the soul and gives strength to live in obedience to the demands of duty. "The Gospel meets the morality which comes from the nature of man, and gives it power." It meets man as he is, with all his natural abilities, functions, desires and sentiments, sheds fresh and fuller light on his path and on all his relations, and then supplies the motives and the ability to walk in holiness. The aim of redemption is supremely ethical. "This is the will of God, even your sanctification."

While not agreeing with all the views and sentiments of the author, we welcome the work as emphasizing an important truth, especially for the consideration of ministers of the Gospel and students of theology. Two extremes have often been illustrated in the pulpit. One is, slighting the distinctively *religious* doctrines of the atonement, pardon, conversion, and service of Christ, to preach scarcely anything else than the moralities of life. The other is such a one-sided dwelling on the great doctrines of redemption, in their theological aspects, as to fail to keep men properly impressed with the necessity of a pure, holy life, the highest type of moral character, in which alone those doctrines, by the Holy Spirit, are made truly saving. Neither extreme can work the true, full work of the ministry. The preaching of redemption and grace has been often characterized by much unreality, in pictures of Christian experience and salvation, with scarcely any adaptation to the actual wants of human nature as it is and the reality of a genuine recovery of the soul's life to its true activities in righteousness. The truths to which



attention is here called will have wholesome influence in directing how to preach "Christ crucified" so as to lift men into the virtues for which he calls in the sermon on the mount.

Dr. Fairbairn's representation of the tendency of Luther's teaching concerning justification by faith, needs some qualification. That teaching did most clearly disconnect good works, or moralities, from forming any part of the *ground of justification* before God, but it just as clearly maintained that the only justifying faith was that which was marked by obedience and holy living. This was a necessary fruit and test of a true faith. The Roman Catholics, indeed, charged the evangelical doctrine with a tendency to relax morality. Perhaps, too, here and there one-sided expressions of justification by faith may be found in writers of the Lutheran name, not fully guarded against antinomian liberty. But the Lutheran teaching, correctly apprehended, is not justly open to such charge, and the tendency referred to can take place only by misconception, perversion or abuse of that teaching. M. V.

*The Elements of Political Economy*, with some Applications to Questions of the Day. By J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. pp. xxiv., 363. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This work is a clear and condensed treatment of the science of Political Economy from the standpoint of the English school of economists. The familiar doctrines of that school are accepted without much modification and made to bear a modern aspect by illustrations drawn from recent experience. The treatment of the money question is sound and worthy of much commendation. Foreign trade is viewed from the position of the free-trader, though with less feeling than some have manifested on the subject. Questions and problems are added to some of the chapters to test the student's mastery of principles. It has many excellent qualities as a text book for young students. Some of the distinctions, however, may be a little too refined for the common intellect, as when (p. 36) the coat worn by a laborer is said to be capital while that worn by a man who does not work is not. Such a statement would suggest some puzzling questions to the mind of a bright boy. There will be some hesitation in accepting the dictum (p. 115) that "where the cost of production is least, there wages and interest are highest," even after the unusual meaning given to the phrase, "cost of production," is understood. But the chief defects of the book are those of the school to which it belongs. Only a few, and those perhaps not always the most important, factors of the industrial problem are taken into the account. Professor Laughlin recognizes the insufficiency of his own discussion so far as to say that no one can become an economist by studying this book alone. We may also add that the advancing student will

afterward find not only much to learn and much to question, but also something to unlearn.

*The Lollards: A Story of the Wiclifites.* By Minnie K. Davis. pp. 366. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

A story of marked interest, portraying events in England, early in the 15th century, connected with the so-called heresy of the Wickliffites. The hypocrisy and fanaticism of the ecclesiastics, together with their carnal modes of life, and the cruelties practiced in exterminating the followers of Wiclif are woven in with a story of well-sustained interest and of excellent religious teaching. It claims a genuine historical basis, which the reader of the history of that period will readily concede. It is a story of exceptional excellence both as a story and on account of its good lessons.

*Celestial Empires.* By Rev. E. F. Burr, D. D., Author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Ad Fidem," "Pater Mundi," "Tempted to Unbelief," etc. pp. 302. New York: American Tract Society, 150 Nassau St.

Here is rhetoric—glowing, delightful rhetoric; but here too is astronomy—attractive, accurate, devout astronomy. A man speaks who has diligently and carefully studied his subject—a man who, although he may not be a practical astronomer, has learned and understands the ways of practical astronomers, and has the skill to put in print what he has learned in a far more readable and delightful way than more than half the practical astronomers ever thought of. We have been impressed with this before, especially in reading the author's "Ecce Cœlum." The methods and results of astromical science seem to set his heart and mind aglow, and this appears even when his thoughts come to us in the "cold type" of the printed page.

We like this book. We like it for the scientific facts it gives; for the interesting way in which it gives these facts; for the devout, religious spirit it reveals; for the grip with which it takes hold of the mad, undevout astronomers; in short, for the vigorous handling of its subject throughout. Even in the chapter on "Populations," though we cannot accept all his conclusions, we like the author's reasoning as to the habitability of other heavenly bodies. His book will do good wherever it is read.

*Gray's Elegy* illustrated by Birket Foster. *That Glorious Song of Old* illustrated by Alfred Fredericks. Two dainty gems of Lee & Shepard's new series of Golden Miniatures. Unique, small quarto, finest card paper, gilt edged, the covers stamped with appropriate golden emblems surrounded with delicate tracery. These beautiful publications have become general favorites and although inexpensive are sure to be appreciated as holiday gifts.



*From Shore to Shore.* (Sunday School Union). These verses portraying the voyage of life are by the unknown author of "Didley Dumps the Newsboy." The name of the artist to whom we owe the impressive illustrations is not given. The whole is tastefully gotten up in quarto form, card paper, cloth gilt covers.

The "*How I Was Educated*" Papers. From the Forum Magazine. pp. 126. New York: D. Appleton & Co. It is a public benefit to have these interesting and valuable papers, which excited widespread interest on their appearance in the *Forum*, appear in this convenient and inexpensive form. With all the humbuggery that masquerades under the garb of education it is a matter of very practical import to learn how scholars like Edward E. Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Presidents Barnard, Dwight, Angell, White and others reached the intellectual heights which they so conspicuously hold.

Another reprint, made accessible to all by this house which is preëminent for its educational publications, is Prof. Huxley's celebrated paper on "*The Advance of Science in the Last Half Century.*" From "The Reign of Queen Victoria," a Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Edited by Thomas Humphrey Wood, M. A., London. This brochure is a duodecimo of 139 beautifully printed pages and is a notable specimen of *multum in parvo*. It is something that will be eagerly sought for by all who take an interest in science. Price 25 cents.

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#### PAMPHLETS.

*Evangelical Lutheran Almanac for 1888.* Published by the Lutheran Book Concern of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and other States. Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, J. L. Trauger, Manager.

*The Lutheran Almanac and Year Book for 1888.* Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. For sale also by T. Newton Kurtz & Son, Baltimore, Md. This annual appears in its 38th year and under the editorship of Dr. Sheeleigh is constantly improving.

*Der Lutherischer Kalender, Auf das Jahr unseres Herrn Jesu Christi 1888.* German Publication Board, Chicago, Ill. It contains 54 pages of statistical and reading matter besides portraits of Drs. H. M. Mühlenthal, Keller, Sprecher and others. Like the Almanac of the Philadelphia Publishing House, the cover is ornamented with a Luther, a sample of ecclesiastical taste which we have heretofore criticised but in vain.

*Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner auf das Jahr 1888 nach der Geburt unseres Herrn Jesu Christi.* St. Louis, Mo.: Lutherischer Concordia-verlag, M. C. Barthel, agent. Besides a considerable amount of excellent religious reading this "Missouri" Almanac

contains a striking portrait of the sainted Dr. Walther. Its clerical register is restricted to "die Evangelisch-Lutherische Synodal Conferenz von Nord-America."

*The Church's Triumph in the Formation and Adoption of the Augsburg Confession.* Together with extracts from the most eminent authorities; and a complete analysis of the confession. By Rev. G. C. H. Hasskarl, author of "Evolution as taught in the Bible," etc., etc., pp. 36. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. Students will find here matters of great interest in connection with the fundamental creed of Protestantism.

*Proceedings of the Thirty-third Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.* In session at Omaha, Neb., June 1st-13th, 1887. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. Any one interested in the development of the Lutheran Church in this country will want a copy of these minutes, the execution of which is a credit both to the secretary and to the publisher.

*The Model Class Record.* Rev. P. A. Heilman, of Denver, Colo. sends us a *quarterly class card* which is likely to command the approval of Sunday School workers.

The Christmas number of the *Lutheran Home* is very attractive externally, and suitable as well as interesting in contents.

☞ Notices of the following books have been unavoidably crowded out of this issue:

*The Humiliation of Christ.* In its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The sixth series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D. D., Second Edition Revised and enlarged., pp. 457. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

*One Hundred Days in Europe.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Eighth Thousand. pp. 329. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Company.

*The Book of Folk Stories.* Rewritten by Horace E. Scudder. pp. 152. The same.

*The Fire of God's Anger,* or Light from the Old Testament upon the New Testament Teaching concerning Future Punishment. By L. C. Baker, author of "Mystery of Creation and of Man," Editor of "Words of Reconciliation." Published at office of "Words of Reconciliation," 2022 Delancey Place, Philadelphia, Pa.

*The Gist of it: a Philosophy of Human Life.* By Rev. Thomas E. Barr, B. A. With an Introductory Note by Rev. D. S. Gregory, D. D., ex-President of Lake Forest University. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.

*Baldwin Lectures 1886. Institutes of Christian History.* An Introduction to Historic Reading and study. By A. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York. A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago.



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ARTICLE I.

THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY.

By PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D., Springfield, Ohio.

I.

The *terminus a quo* from which to study the Sacramentarian Controversy is the position occupied by Luther on the Lord's Supper when the memorable strife began. But that we may gain a clear and intelligible view of this position, we must recount the steps by which the Great Reformer reached this position:

In 1518 Eck said in the *Obolisci* :\* "The sacraments of the new law effect what they signify." Luther replied in the *Asterisci* : "The sacraments of the new law do not effect the grace which they signify. But faith is required before the sacraments. Moreover faith is grace. Therefore faith always precedes the sacrament, according to the well-known saying, Not the sacrament but faith in the sacrament justifies. Luther also calls the sentiment of Eck "a most shocking heresy," "an infernal poison which mocks and subverts all the sacraments of the Church." In the same year he preached a sermon on "the worthy preparation of the heart for the reception of the eucharist," in which he declares: "Faith alone, the highest and most immediate

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\*Luther's Opera Jen. I., p. 34.

preparation, makes us worthy, because it does not depend upon works, but on the word of Christ.”\*

Here, it will be observed, Luther opposes the *opus operatum* which then prevailed in the Romish Church.

In the year 1519 he preached a sermon on the Sacrament of the Altar.† Here he takes the position that both species (bread and wine) are to be used, as instituted by Christ, and that whoever wishes to confess Christ must take both species. This proposition to submit the cup to the laity was vigorously assailed by “a more than most learned friar of Leipzig.” Luther now re-examined the whole subject and gave the “result of his meditations in the ministry of this sacrament” in the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*. Here he asserts in the most positive terms the right of the laity to the cup, based on 1 Cor. xi., and gives these three irrefutable arguments: (a) The words and example of Christ in the institution; (b) The words, “Shed for you and for many.” The “many” cannot be the priests, and yet the command is, “Drink ye all;” (c) The words of Paul, 1 Cor. xi., “must close every mouth. The sacrament does not belong to the priests, but to all.” The priests are not lords, but servants, whose duty it is to give the sacrament in both species to all. Here also he attacks transubstantiation, which he calls a figment of human opinion, having no support of reason or of Scripture; and the sacrifice of the Mass he calls the most impious bondage of all. He declares both here and in his tract on the Abrogation of Private Mass (1521) that the Eucharist is not a benefit offered to God, but a benefit bestowed on man who receives it and returns thanks. The only work is eating and drinking. We offer nothing, but we receive something. In 1522 he published his *Reply to Henry VIII.*‡ in which he *completely* abandons the doctrine of transubstantiation, and declares the presence of the body of Christ in and with the bread: “I am therefore able to say that the body of Christ is present with the unchanged bread in the sacrament as fire is in the iron without changing the substance of the iron, as God is in man without the human nature being changed; and in both cases its own

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\*Op. Jen. I., p. 174.

†Op. Jen. I., p. 346.

‡Op. Jen. p. 476.



work and nature remain in each, and yet they constitute one thing, *unum aliquid*. Paul stands invincible against the transubstantiationists, when he says, 'The bread which we break.'

Thus in the short space of four years (1518-1522) Luther had abandoned every specific doctrine of Romanism as touching the Lord's Supper, viz., the *opus operatum*, the denial of the cup to the laity, the sacrifice of the Mass and transubstantiation, and had asserted and reiterated every distinctive principle which subsequently appeared in the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. But up to this time he had not constructed any theory or dogma of the Lord's Supper. He had sought only practical and ethical ends, and was strongly inclined to a subjective view of the Lord's Supper, as the following extract from his letter to the Strasburgers, Dec. 15, 1524, (*De Wette's Luther's Briefe, II., 577*), plainly shows:\*

"I frankly confess that if Dr. Carlstadt, or any one else, had convinced me five years ago that there is nothing in the Eucharist, except bread and wine, he would have greatly obliged me. I have had the greatest anxiety over the matter, and have labored and tried with all my might to extricate myself, since I plainly saw that in that way I could have given a dreadful blow to the papacy. Yea, if even at this day it might happen that a man prove with sound arguments, that mere bread and wine were present, there would be no need to assail me with so much wrath. I am, alas! all too much inclined to this view, so much of the old Adam do I feel within. But Carlstadt's fanaticism on this subject is so far from convincing me, that my opinion is only strengthened thereby, and if I had not entertained it before, I should have concluded at once, from such lame and foolish trickery, without any scripture, founded only upon reason and reflection, that this view could not be true."

Here doubtless Luther, who was now completely separated from Rome, and was under the ban of the empire, would have been content to have left the whole matter. But from a quarter wholly unsuspected an attack was made upon him which started THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY, the effects of which are

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\*Kurtz, Ch. Hist. II., §11.

still felt in the Church, but for the *origin of which Luther was in no sense responsible*, as is frankly acknowledged by Bucer (*see letter, Geiseler, Ec. Hist., IV., p. 109, n.*) who regrets that anything had ever been written against Luther or the Eucharist, by Carlstadt, himself, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, all of whom he confesses attributed to Luther views which he never held.\*

## II.

Andrew Bodenstein (Carlstadt) whose fanaticism had led to his removal, first from Wittenberg, then from Orlamunde, went to Strasburg where he poisoned the minds of Bucer and Capito against Luther, and afterwards settled at Basle where he began a furious attack against Luther and the whole Wittenberg movement. But his fury concentrated itself against Luther's view of the Lord's Supper, which, be it distinctly understood, was at this time strongly subjective, as every reader of the *Babylonish Captivity* and of the *Reply to Henry VIII.* and of the *Letter to the Strasburgers*, well knows, and which had not yet been formulated into any dogmatic or confessional statement, but which presented simply and in a practical way the evangelical doctrine of the sacrament as over against the "tyrannies" of Rome. Carlstadt's tractates, in which he "bitterly and contumeliously rages against Luther," (Walch) were issued at Basle in the years 1524-5, and are entitled: "Of the Antichristian Abuse of the Bread and Cup of the Lord," "Dialogue on the Abominable Idolatrous Abuse of the Sacrament of Jesus Christ;" "An Explanation of the Words: This is My Body."† Says Walch,

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\*"Hoc ego, fratres, ingenue dico, et coram Domino sic sentio, optandum piis ut nihil unquam contra Lutherum de Eucharistia scriptum esset,—Jam in spirituales manducationem posuerat omnia, corporalem ultro admodum extenuabat, fiduciam in externum opus submovebat: ubi autem Carolostadius virum commovit, sicut persuaserat sibi, Carolostadium velle externum verbum et Sacramenta penitus e medio tollere, ita totus erat in evehendis istis, sicut nihil in eo non vehemens: indeque factum, ut nos ipsi, et nostri Œcolampadius et Zwinglius putaremus, cum externis rursus justificandi vim tribuere, quod ille tamen nunquam sensit."

†Melanchthon in a letter to Frederick Myconius thus describes the origin of this controversy and the character of Carlstadt: "Carlstadt first



(*Bibliotheca Theologica*, II., p. 419): "In these he attacked the true and essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, and explained the words of Christ, *This is my body*, so that the pronoun *this* should refer to the body of Christ, in the sentence: *Eat bread: For this my body* (pointed at as it were by the finger) *is given for you.*" In addition to this, Carlstadt also denied that the sacrament as instituted by Christ was in any way a warrant or pledge of our redemption by Christ, but maintained that it was only a memorial of the body and blood of Christ.

This furious and fanatical attack of Carlstadt, called forth Luther's celebrated writing against the Heavenly Prophets, the first part of which, written in January 1525, is devoted to pictures and to the Mass; the second part is given to a discussion of the Lord's Supper, in which Luther refutes Carlstadt's unwarranted interpretation of the words of institution, and shows the fallacy of his reasoning throughout. He here asserts more distinctly

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excited this tumult. He is a man without talents, without learning, without common sense, who, I consider, never either, knew or discharged a single office of courtesy; yea, so far was he from showing any work of the Holy Spirit, he actually manifested signs of impiety. In all his teaching he was peculiar and quarrelsome. He started the controversy on the Lord's Supper purely out of hatred against Luther, and not because he had any regard for religion. For when his iconoclasm was disapproved by Luther, inflamed with an unnatural thirst for revenge, he sought some justifiable reason for utterly blasting Luther's reputation. A large part of Germany could testify that I have not drawn on my imagination in this matter. \* \* \* \* He takes up much of his books with violent reproaches; and, stupid man, he tries to destroy a regard for culture. He has come to this so great cause with so little preparation that he shows that he is carried along by some blind passion, and is not influenced by reason, or by a zeal for piety. He is the chief actor in this drama." *Quoted by Gerhard in Loci XXI. Cap. X. §. LXXXII.* Zwingli in his letter to Matt. Alber (1524), says: "Carlstadt offends more than he edifies. Carlstadt's speech does not meet what the case requires." Walch (*Biblioth. Theol.* II. p. 420,) says: "Carlstadt composed a writing in which he confessed that he had attacked the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the supper without cause (*sine causa*), and sent it to Luther and asked him to have it published, which he did with a preface." Luther afterwards baptized Corlstadt's wife and child, Melancthon acting as sponsor.

and positively than ever before, the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the supper *in* and *with* the bread and wine, and enunciates the conclusion, which is inseparable from his premises, that in the supper, the worthy and the unworthy alike receive with the mouth exactly the same thing, viz., the bread and body, the wine and blood, but with this very important difference in the effect, viz., that the former eat and drink unto salvation; the latter, unto condemnation. But this tract did not put an end to the controversy. Zwingli now comes upon the stage, and *without the slightest provocation* from Luther, espouses the cause of Carlstadt, and sets forth his views of the Lord's Supper in opposition to those of Luther. This he does first in a strictly private letter\* (Dec. 16, 1524) to Matthew Alber, pastor at Reutlingen, and a follower of Luther. He says that Carlstadt's book pleases him in many respects, displeases him in others. "In that little book we indeed see that the truth is told," but it "offends those who are offended by the whole gospel." "The books of Carlstadt displease many among us, but for the most part those who have turned from the way in which we walk." Zwingli then proceeds to set forth his own position: "The sum of this matter may easily be understood from John 6. Do not listen to those who are constantly exclaiming: Christ does not there treat of this sacrament. Such is my opinion also, but he treats of a matter there by which we are kept from error in discussing this subject. From that chapter we took our start, when, after much deliberation we were required to begin this most dangerous matter. Wherefore by the grace of God it has come to pass that there are a few among us who are not ignorant as to what the bread and the cup are." He lays spe-

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\**Works*, III., p. 589 et seq., *Schuler et Schulthess* ed. Says Gieseler, IV., p. 111, n.: "The anxiety with which he opposes the publication of his opinion is unmistakable." He closes the letter with this postscript: "I adjure thee by Jesus Christ who shall judge the quick and the dead, not to show this letter to any one, unless you are satisfied that he is sincere in the faith of our same Lord. I will do the same. If at any time necessity shall demand that it should be made public, I will see to that. I have written it all so rapidly, that I have scarcely read it over." The letter was first published at Zurich, March, 1525.



cial stress on the words of Christ, "The flesh profiteth nothing," and explains *est* by *significat*, as, "Take and eat; this *signifies* my body which is given for you." It will thus be seen that he gives the words of institution a secondary place in his exposition of the sacrament. Indeed this entire letter, which in print covers nearly twelve octavo pages, is really an exposition of the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John, which he understands not only as possibly laying the foundation for the institution of the Eucharist, but as actually the true explanation of the Eucharist itself. The eating is *spiritual* and consists purely in believing that Christ died for us. In no sense is Christ present in the supper. His entire argument is in opposition to the doctrine of Luther, whom he does not name, but whose opinion he alludes to as not only foolish, but impious, and asks in evident reference to the Lutherans: "Do not these distinguished theologians surpass the impiety of the Jews?"

In the year 1525 Zwingli published his *Commentary on True and False Religion*.\* In this work he designates Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper "an opinion not only boorish, but impious and frivolous," "not only impious, but also foolish and monstrous, unless you perchance number yourself among cannibals (*ἀνθρωποφάγους*)," and thus really, though for the most part he couches his argument in respectful language, is the *first* to pass harsh words as between himself and Luther, for Luther had not yet written one line against him. As in the letter, so in the *Commentary*, he finds the figure in *est* which is equivalent to *significo* or *is a symbol*: "This thing which I offer you to eat is the symbol of my body." "This which I now bid you eat and drink shall be to you a symbol." "As oft as ye eat this symbolic bread," and so times without number. Further: "In the Eucharist there is nothing but a commemoration." "Do we not eat Christ's body spiritually when we believe that he was slain for us? "Christ's body is present only to the contemplation of faith." And as touching the use of the sacrament, he says: "Sacraments are signs or ceremonies by which a man proves to the Church that he is either a candidate or a soldier

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\* Works, vol. III. p. 145 et seq.

of Christ, and they render the Church rather than yourself sure of your faith." That is, with Carlstadt he denied that the sacraments are means of grace—a position which he still maintained at Marburg (*see Corp. Ref. I. 1099.*) and stated confessionally in his *Ratio Fidei*. He maintained that the Holy Ghost is not given through the instrumentality of the word or of the sacraments, but is given without them, a position which in so far classes him with the fanatics of Zuickau.

In the same year Zwingli wrote his *Subsidium sive Coronis de Eucharistia*,\* in which he more fully elaborates his former

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\*In this treatise he gives an account of his famous dream. After telling us that he had failed to find a passage, not connected with a parable, in which *est* means *signifies*, he proceeds as follows: "We began to consider and to revolve the subject in all its lights; yet not one example occurred except what had been produced in the *Commentary*, or what was similar to those. On the thirteenth day (I am telling the truth, and the truth indeed as conscience compels one to narrate what God enjoins, although he would gladly conceal it, knowing to what contempt and ridicule I shall expose myself),—when the thirteenth day of April [1525] came, I seemed in a dream to contend for a long time with a troublesome adversary, a writer, and to have become so silenced that, though I knew the truth, I could not utter it, because my tongue refused its aid. At this I was greatly annoyed, as dreams by night sometimes deceive (for I am relating only a dream; yet it is no trifling matter that I should learn through a dream, thanks to God, for whose glory I am narrating this). At this point an adviser (whether white or black I do not remember, for I am telling a dream), by the aid of a theatrical machine seemed to stand before me, and to say: You weakling! why don't you answer him from Ex. 12: 14, where it is written, 'FOR IT IS THE PHASE, that is, the passing over of the Lord.' Immediately on seeing the vision I arose and left my bed. I first examined the passage thoroughly in the Septuagint, and then preached on the subject with all my might." *Works, III., p. 341.* He here tells us that he had not been able to find in the word of God any support for his doctrine that *est* means *signifies*, and so he is ready to follow a dream. It is not a little remarkable that both Zwingli and Carlstadt should pass by the written word and claim supernatural revelation for their doctrine. The wonder is that the supernatural revelator did not in these two cases reveal the same explanation of the Lord's Supper. It is strange also that the Lord of the Supper allowed the entire Church of Jesus Christ to repudiate the doctrine founded on these dreams, in view of which Zwingli (vol. III., p. 344), designated the Lutherans as "certain brawlers (*vitiligatores*) who drive a sting into the simple."



arguments and seeks to confirm them by various passages of Scripture not hitherto adduced. To the sixth of John he now joins Exodus 12 : 13, 14, and asks "Who is so stupid, so obtuse, so obstinate, as not to see that in this passage *est* means *significat*: or is a symbol or figure?" From this time on he joins in the argument the Passover and the sixth of John, and views the Lord's Supper rather as a thanksgiving than as a sacrament. He still, as everywhere, relegates the words of institution to a secondary place, and makes the impression of trying to explain them away rather than to explain them. The only thing that he sees the need of is faith, and that, however, not for the purpose, as with Luther, of appropriating the blessings or the benefits of the sacrament, for in his theory it conveys no benefits, but for the purpose of eating Christ *spiritually*. But the chief stress in all his sacramental writings is laid on the passage, "The flesh profiteth nothing." This he quotes hundreds of times, and means by it the flesh of Christ taken in the coarsest and most physical sense, as is shown in the *Brief Response* of the next year (*Works*, III., p. 453) where he declares that he who eats the body of Christ, eats his flesh, skin, veins, muscles, hair, nails, teeth, bones, marrow, stomach, glands, and all that they contain—which, it is almost superfluous to say, was in no sense contemplated by Luther, and the wonder is that Zwingli could ever have so perverted Luther's meaning. In a word Zwingli's conception of Luther's doctrine is exactly that which he supposes the Capernaïtes to have had of the words of Christ in John 6.

This *Subsidium* is answered by Bugenhagen in his *Epistle against the New Error touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*, 1525. Zwingli replied to this and to other letters early the next year. But already in 1525, John Œcolampadius, preacher at Basle, had published his "*True Exposition of the Words of the Lord, This is my body, According to the most Ancient Authors.*" He maintained that the words, "*This is my body*," mean "is the figure of my body." Nevertheless he approved and defended the position of Zwingli. The book was written for the purpose of drawing over the Swabian

pastors.\* So Bucer wrote to Brentz, and recommended concord and union with Œcolampadius. But the Swabian pastors, not approving the views of Œcolampadius, assembled at Halle and prepared, mainly by the hand of John Brentz, the *Swabian Syngramma*, "The leading thought of which is a following up of Luther's doctrine of the Word already explained; God is the Word, and therein makes himself apprehensible to the spirit, so that grace, which is eternal and irrespective of space, does therein approach us in order to communicate itself to us. Words are, in general, not merely signs of absent things, but, according to Aristotle, they bring a real science of the matter and so the matter itself. Thus the words of Christ bring Christ along with them, and the words of institution also, according to his promise, bring body and blood, and that in such a way that bread and wine coöperate to this end, for they are themselves embraced by the word so as also to become a speaking word through the institution of Christ."† Œcolampadius replied in the *Anti-Syngramma* and in other writings. But Luther, for the want of time, had taken no public notice of either Zwingli or Œcolampadius. Finally, however, when the *Syngramma* was translated into German by John Agricola, Luther (January 1526) introduced it with a Preface,‡ in which he declares his faith, warns all persons against these false prophets, Carlstadt, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, "who have called our God a *baked God*, a *bread God*; and us have they called eaters of the flesh of God (*Gottsfleishfresser*), guzzlers of God's blood, (*Gottsblut-sauffer*), and I know not how many more scandalous invectives. \* \* But I hope these scandalous invectives will soon come to an end with them; although we well deserve such miserable characters and sects on account of unthankfulness and persecution of the Gospel." He compares these sects to the Apocalyptic beast, which has one body and four heads. The first head is Carlstadt's *touto*, which has already fallen and become hornless; the second is Zwingli's *significat*, which is ready to die, for in the Scriptures no *significat* can be brought out of ἐστίν. In the

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\* Walch, *Biblioth. Theol.* II., p. 425.

† Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 315.

‡ Erlangen Edition, 65, 180, Leipzig, xix. 386.



third place this spirit is especially fickle, and floats from place to place, and abides nowhere. It cannot be found either in their writings or their words. They appeal to John 6, and talk about a spiritual and a bodily eating; or they pique themselves on their piety and on what they have suffered; or they proudly ask why it is necessary that Christ's body and blood should be there; they manage in some way to avoid the natural sense of the words; they fill pages and ears with idle words, so that we can easily comprehend how the devil fears and changes into all kinds of shapes, lest he be caught in his lies." "There are two causes of their error: The one is, that the thing is not founded in reason. The other is, that it is not necessary that the body and blood of Christ should be in the bread and wine; it is an absurdity and not a necessity." He exhorts the people to abide by the word as it sounds, and promises that if God will give him time he will write on this subject specially. "Meanwhile I thank my God that he has not allowed the devil to bring in stronger lies than these." The Preface, though exceedingly pungent and sarcastic, is remarkably free from harsh invective. Luther has evidently not yet bent himself to the task of refutation. This he begins to do, however, this same year, 1526, in his *Sermon on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ against the Fanatics*, (*Schwarmgeister*), and still in the treatise of the following year: "*That these Words of Christ (This is My Body) Still Stand against the Fanatics.*" But in neither of these writings, which are full of fierce polemic against his adversaries, does Luther do anything more than repeat and amplify the argument made against Carlstadt, except that he refutes Zwingli's *significat* and Œcolampadius' *signum corporis*, by the plain words of the Scripture. However, his argument has taken a more systematic and scientific form, and with great clearness and fulness of interpretation, it maintains these four things: (a) The literal meaning of the word ἐστί; (b) The reality of the bread and wine, the true presence of the body and blood in and with the bread and wine, but not in a way that is manifest to the senses, for he says: "We poor sinners are not so fanatical as to believe that Christ's body is in the bread in a visible manner, as the bread is in the basket or the wine in the cup, as the

Fanatics charge against us. But we believe that his body is there where the words sound 'This is my body.' When the fathers and we say, "Christ's body is in the bread," the meaning is that our faith confesses that Christ's body is there, that he is in the bread, he is the bread, he is wherever the bread is, or wherever he wills to be. (c) The reception of the bread and wine, the body and the blood by the mouth of the communicant, and yet Luther did not place any very special emphasis on eating with the mouth, as is shown by the fact that the *Swabian Syngamma*, for the second and later edition of which also he wrote a Preface, *denies* ORAL MANDUCATION, and the receiving of Christ by the *ungodly*. But as the sacramentarians denied *every* kind of reception of Christ in the Eucharist, except that which is spiritual, that is, made the reception wholly subjective, Luther, in opposition to this pure subjectivism, laid relative stress on the objective *bodily* presence and reception of Christ, not however because he regarded that as the chief or essential thing.\*

Zwingli replied to Luther's Sermon, and in 1527 published his "*Friendly Explanation of the Matter of the Eucharist*," addressed to Martin Luther, a copy of which he sent to Luther together with a letter in which, at a time that Anabaptists were being drowned at Zurich, he reproaches Luther with his conduct in the Peasants' War, so that not without reason Luther says: "He rages against me, and threatens me with the utmost moderation and modesty." In the *Friendly Exposition* Zwingli labors to prove that the words of institution are not to be taken in their literal meaning, but in a figurative sense.

In this same year, in answer to Luther's last named treatise, Zwingli sent forth the book entitled: "*That these Words, This is my Body, which is Given for you Will eternally hold their Ancient and Only Sense, and that Martin Luther in his Last Book has not Established his Own and the Pope's Meaning*"—thus by the very title implying that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Sup-

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\*"With Luther, in fact, that which was alone essential was the real presence and true reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper." *Gieseler*, IV., p. 417. He would not undertake to explain the manner of the presence or reception. See *Gieseler*, IV., p. 417, note.



per is identical with that of the Pope. The book is further characterized by coarseness of language, grossness of misrepresentation and a proud contempt for his adversary. Taken all in all it stands as a great masterpiece of polemical acerbity.\* In these later treatises Zwingli also develops his peculiar doctrine of the *Alloiosys*, and introduces Nestorianizing notions of Christ, and creates a Christ according to which Luther did not care to be a Christian. That is, he maintains that in the Person of Christ each nature retains its own properties only, and that neither nature imparts anything to the other by reason of the personal union, or in any way operates through the other; that when the Person of Christ is said to do this or that, the meaning is, this or that *nature* of Christ does it, and not the Person of Christ. For instance, according to his divine nature he is Lord over all; according to his human nature, he is a creature, and so is subject to the civil ruler. His humanity is fixed locally in heaven and receives no exaltation of power, dignity or presence from the Divinity. The passage in Luke 24 : 26: "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory?" he applied to the human nature of Christ, and not to the theanthropic Person; which means that only the human nature of Christ suffered and died and not the Person of Christ, that is, as Luther correctly interpreted, and as it logically means, we are redeemed and saved by the death and suffering of a mere man. And back of this Nestorianizing of Christ, and as a matter of fact almost always held in conjunction with it, and generally the father of it, was Zwingli's *Pelagianizing notion of Original Sin*, as that notion had already been made public in his *Declaratio*† to Urban Regius (1526), in which he declared: "Original contagion is *disease*, not *sin*; for sin is connected with guilt, but guilt arises from something done or performed by him who has perpetrated a crime." "For example: To be born a slave is a wretched condition; it is not the fault of him who is born thus, nor his crime. \* \* I have never said absolutely

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\*In the use of invective Luther and Zwingli are doubtless equal in point of severity; but the latter gains a "bad eminence" by the use of such terms as "Baked God," "Bread God," "Wine God," etc.

†Zwingli's *Opera*, III., 629.

that original sin cannot condemn. For in the book on baptism I have declared that I speak only of the children of Christians, that original sin cannot condemn those." *Works*, III., p. 627 et seq. And it may be said that back of this even, as a thing which broadly distinguished Zwingli from Luther and disqualified him *personally* for a proper apprehension of the true doctrine of sin, and consequently denied him a deep sense of the need of a *divine* Saviour, was the fact that he had had no such conflict with sin as Luther had had; he had not, equally with Luther, felt his own vileness and utter helplessness, and as a sinner saved by grace, he had not been lifted into the lofty conception of Christ which Luther enjoyed. In a word he lacked devout sensibility and depth of religious experience, and consequently did not feel the need of a more sure sign and testimony of the grace of God, and of an external element or instrument as the divinely chosen medium for the conveyance of grace. These factors and facts in the life and character of Zwingli, joined with his æstheticism and pride of opinion, constituted those grounds which Luther discovered, and, in the Preface to the *Swabian Syngramma*, declared to be the causes of his error. See *supra*.

But whatever may be the moral and metaphysical, or the dogmatic and exegetical principles which lay at the foundation of this controversy, and gave it birth, one thing is certain, viz., that at this time (1527) the chief contestants are as far apart as they can well be. The feeling between them is intensely bitter, and neither fully understands the other, and neither can appreciate the motives by which the other is animated. Luther believes that Zwingli is tearing away the very foundations of religion, and that he is inspired by the devil. Zwingli believes that Luther is restoring docetism, and bringing back the doctrine of Rome, and that he is too stubborn and narrow-minded to yield to reason. And besides, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, notwithstanding Luther's distinct and oft-repeated statements to the contrary, charge him with teaching a *local, dimensional, carnal, Capernaitic, gross*, presence and eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, such as pertains to ordinary food and drink; and this constitutes the main point of difference between the



two parties to the controversy. The Sacramentarians declare that Christ's body as *dimensional* is *local* in heaven, that the right hand of God is a circumscribed place, that it contradicts philosophy to suppose that Christ's body can at the same time be at the right hand of God and at so many places on the earth. In a word, they make *their* arguments wholly from the nature and conditions of a physical body. Luther founds *his* argument wholly upon the words of institution, and upon what the Scriptures and the Church teach in regard to the Person of Christ, as Theanthropos, who must be man wherever he is God, otherwise the personal union of the divine and human natures is destroyed.\*

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\*In *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I., p. 232, n., Dr. Schaff says: "The philosophical foundation of this dogma [The Real Presence] is the ubiquity (either absolute or relative) of Christ's body." This statement, if not positively erroneous, is at least altogether misleading. As a matter of fact Luther expressly *repudiates* such a foundation, and excludes all philosophy from seeking to enter into this article of faith. Chemnitz, than whom no man ever better understood Luther's doctrine or more ably defended it, says: "Luther modestly says: 'In this controversy on the Lord's Supper we must not dispute about the UBIQUITY of Christ's body, nor must the controversy be based on that. But because we have the express word of Christ, This is my body, This is my blood, this axiom is sufficient for us: It cannot be denied that Christ by his own body is able to do whatever he wishes, and to be wherever he wishes.' (Tom. 8. Jen., p. 375. Et Tom. 2. Witt., p. 187)." *Fundamenta Sacrae Coenae*. And in his *Loci*, Pars Tertia, p. 166, Chemnitz says: "The words of institution ought to be and to remain the foundation, source and rule of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. No foundation ought to be sought or admitted except the words, 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood.'" But when we discuss in this controversy the hypostatic union of the two natures of Christ, his ascension into heaven, his session at the right hand of the Father, it is not done for the purpose of placing the foundation and seat of this doctrine in those articles; but because the Sacramentarians oppose to the simple meaning of the institution various arguments from those articles, it is necessary to show in refutation that the proper meaning of the words of institution not only are not overturned by those articles, but rather are thereby confirmed." As a matter of fact and of history it was the Zwinglian dogma for which a *philosophical foundation* was sought, and which from the very beginning was confounded with other articles of the Christian faith; whereas the Lutheran conception was based wholly upon the Word, as was the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, for

And now to refute Zwingli's *Alloiosis*, and to assert and vindicate more fully than ever, his doctrine of the true objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Luther applied himself to the task of writing his Greater Confession, (*Grosses Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl*). He proposes three things: (a) To convince his friends that the fanatics have not made answer to his principles of reasoning; (b) To explain the passages having reference to the sacraments; (c) To acknowledge every article of his faith as answer to his opponents both during his lifetime and after his death. As this treatise is by far the most important of all of Luther's sacramentarian writings, and as it is accessible to comparatively few readers of the QUARTERLY, we give a synopsis of the argument: The first position he supports by reference to the diversity of views and the contradictions among the Sacrament-

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which, as Dr. Shedd well observes, the Church did not seek a philosophical foundation. Luther's essential position is stated by him thus in his *Greater Confession*: "If the God and man constitute one person, and the two natures are thus united with each other, so as to adhere more closely than soul and body, Christ must also be man wherever he is God." This is exactly the position enunciated by the best modern theological thinking among the Reformed. The late Dr. A. A. Hodge in *Popular Lectures*, p. 408, says: "It does not do to say that this presence is only spiritual, because that phrase is ambiguous. If it means that the presence of Christ is not something objective to us, but simply a mental apprehension or idea of him subjectively present to our consciousness, then the phrase is false. Christ as an objective fact is as really present and active in the sacrament as are the bread and wine, or the minister, or our fellow communicants by our side. It does not do to say that the divinity of Christ is present while his humanity is absent, because it is the entire indivisible divine-human Person of Christ which is present. And Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, in *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, vol. II., No. 4, pp. 381-389, July 1883, says: "In this sense is the God-man ubiquitous, that He may anywhere, at any moment, reveal himself in his God-manhood, to the willing soul. Such ubiquity which may be called potential, best explains the vision of the martyr Stephen, the vision of Paul near Damascus, the beatific vision of the dying so well accredited in instances without number." In opposition to Dr. Hodge, Zwingli expressly says that Christ is present to the *contemplation of faith*, and in opposition to Dr. Hitchcock, he says that Christ is *located* in heaven. Modern thinking therefore endorses Luther's essential position, and in doing so justifies his rejection of the Zwinglian heresy. See also Elicott's *Com.* on Eph. 1 : 23 ; 4 : 12.



arians themselves: Carlstadt says *touto* refers to the sitting body; Zwingli says that *est* means *signifies*; Œcolampadius says that *est* means *is*. Œcolampadius says: "My body means sign of my body;" Zwingli says it means simply body. This contradiction is evidence that they have all gone astray. Zwingli brings in an *Alloiosis* by which he divides the natures. Luke 24 : 26, says: "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to have entered into his glory? Here Zwingli prates that Christ is taken for his human nature. Guard yourselves against these *Alloioses*. They are the work of the devil."

To support the doctrine of the true objective presence, he lays down these four fundamental principles drawn from the word of God: (a) "Jesus Christ is essential, natural, true, perfect God and man in one person, unseparated and undivided." (b) "The right hand of God is everywhere;" (c) "The word of God is neither false nor fallacious;" (d) "God knows how, and has within his power various ways, in which he can at any time be present in a place, and not in the one only about which Fanatics trifle, and which the philosophers call *local*." There are three modes of being present: The *local* or *circumscribed*, as when Christ walked on the earth both before and after his resurrection; the *replete* or *full*, by which Christ as God exists in all the works of nature and at the same time is far above them; the *uncircumscribed* or *spiritual* mode, by which Christ pervades all creation, as sight and sound pass through the air, but occupy no space, by which mode he is present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. But this presence of Christ, which is *illocal*, *uncircumscribed*, *non-dimensional*, *spiritual*, *immaterial*, is not based upon the fact that the body of Christ is *glorified*, much less upon the conception that it is *expanded* in every place, but upon the scripturally-grounded christological principle of the personal union, viz., that the divine and the human natures in Christ are one person, "unseparated and undivided." Therefore, wherever the divine is, there the human must be. That is, the whole Christ must be altogether, as in heaven, so on earth; but "Christ is neither in heaven nor in the Eucharist as human eyes judge a thing to be here or there." And to Zwingli's proposition that

the body of Christ cannot be present in the same form in which it was given for us, Luther replies: "We do not say that the body of Christ is in the Eucharist in the same form in which it was given for us, for who would say that?—but that it is the same body which was given for us, not in the same form or mode, but in the same essence and nature." This is sufficient to vindicate Luther's doctrine from all conceptions of a presence that is *gross, material, local, dimensional*. He distinctly asserts, and both in this treatise and in other writings, reiterates that this presence must not be judged by the conclusions of philosophy, nor by the conditions of a natural body, nor by the conceptions of human reason; and so full and unqualified are his statements on this subject, and so frequently are they repeated, that we do not wonder that Luther complained that Zwingli and Œcolampadius made their charges against conscience; and we ourselves are prepared to say after long and protracted study of Luther's writings on the subject of the Lord's Supper, that *nothing* was farther from Luther's thought than a *local, dimensional* presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, or a gross eating of Christ's body and drinking of his blood, as the words eating and drinking are applied to material substances; nay, such thoughts are entirely contrary to Luther's mind; and we are prepared to say that all such charges are drawn, not from Luther's own writings, but from the misrepresentations of them by Zwingli, Œcolampadius and others.\* And so confident are

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\*Bucer vindicates Luther against such gross conceptions. He says (see *Chytreus Hist. Augs: Con. p. 662*): "Although Luther writes that the body of Christ is received by the mouth and torn by the teeth, (forms of expression used also by Chrysostom) yet he also confesses this: That the body of Christ is not eaten *per se*, nor torn by the teeth, in the manner in which other flesh is visibly eaten and torn; but whatever takes place in the bread, that, on account of the sacramental union, may be said and understood of the body of Christ. \* \* When I compare with each other the forms of speech by which Luther describes this presence, he denies *motion* and *locality*. He does not contend that the body of Christ is *in* the bread, but that it is present, and that not mere bread and wine are presented. He and all his followers declare that the presence takes place through the Word. \* \* They (the Zwinglians) reject the words *substantially* and *corporeally*, lest the peo-



we of the correctness of these statements in regard to the teaching and mind of Luther on this subject of the real presence, that we ask for the proof, taken from Luther's own writings on this subject, volume and page to be given, in which a *local, circumscribed, dimensional* presence, or a *gross, natural, Capernaitic*, eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood are maintained. For every *dislocated, garbled* extract which might *seem* so to teach, we can point to whole paragraphs and express didactic statements, which teach the contrary in the most positive and unmistakable terms.

Luther had now (1528) been studying the subject for ten years. His own wants as a Christian, his observations of the wants of others, his deep intuition into the nature and design of the Gospel, had led him to see in the sacrament a promise and a pledge of redemption, a *verbum visibile*, which must be grasped and appropriated by an act of faith. The fanaticism of Carlstadt, the vagaries and rationalizing of Zwingli and Œcolampadius, had driven him to a thorough examination of the word of God on the subject of the true nature and design of the sacrament as a witness of redemption, and as a real food for the soul. As the word of God is neither false nor fallacious, it must contain a true treasure, an objective something. Otherwise faith is disappointed, is cheated of its object, is mocked in a most solemn transaction. What can this object be but the whole Christ who gave himself for his people, and who promised to be with them to the end of the world? Moreover, he saw that if Zwingli's method of interpretation should be applied to the Scriptures in general, it would overthrow every article of faith. It would make Christ the figure of a vine, the figure of the way, the figure of the resurrection and of the life. Reason is not the test of revealed truth. Reason can never explain the Trinity or the Incarnation; neither can it explain how Christ is present in the Holy Supper. Reason must be taken captive by the word. Faith must receive what God declares, for God has power and ways by which he can execute his word of promise. In this

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ple should imagine a presence which takes place *by motion*, and *locally*. In this sense Luther also rejects these words."

Luther will abide, and in this he did abide, until, in his own words, he went to appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ.

### III.

With these antecedents we are now prepared to study the Marburg Colloquy, October 1-3, 1529. Here it must be distinctly kept in mind that according to Zwingli the Eucharist is a mere thanksgiving *memorial*, that is means *signifies*, that Christ is only present to the *contemplation of faith*, that the Eucharist is not a means of grace, that original sin is only a *disease* and not *sin*, that the Holy Ghost does not require an organ. Also four years of bitter controversy, begun and conducted by Carlstadt and Zwingli under the impulse of dreams, had preceded. Against the Lutheran doctrine such phrases as "baked God," "a God that is eaten and drunk," "a bread-God," "a wine-God," had been used; and the Lutherans themselves had been called *fleischfresser*, *blütsauffer*, cannibals, Capernaïtes, Thyestes, carnivori and the like.\* Moreover Zwingli had entered into a *political* alliance with Philip of Hesse who desired a union of all the Protestant forces as a means for the promotion of political ends, a thing most detestable to Luther who again and again had forbidden the sword as an instrument of reform, and had warned against all such political alliance between the Church and the state as would in any way involve the Church in deeds of violence. According to Ranke (III., p. 133) and others, Philip had prevailed upon John Duke of Saxony to form an offensive and defensive alliance, ostensibly for the protection of the Protestants, but on the part of Philip really for the purpose of having himself elected King of the Romans. To this end he sought the alliance of the cantons of Switzerland, which were powerfully urged by Zwingli to associate themselves with that "firm, noble and wise prince," as he designated Philip. The plan contemplated union of the Protestant states of Germany, Switzerland and France. This was treason against the Emperor, and had the plan succeeded, it would have involved the Reformation at once in war. John did not at first understand the

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\*Luther's Works, Erlangen Ed. 65, p. 181.



deep design of Philip, whose true intention was for a time withheld also from Luther and Melanchthon. The latter was so much affected by the proposed alliance when he came to understand it, that he begged the Nurembergers to prevent its ratification, "inasmuch as," said he, "the ungodly purpose of Zwingli must under no circumstances be defended." (*Ranke III*, p. 136). But Luther fully exposed the nature of the alliance to John, and thus contributed to bring about its defeat.

It was under these circumstances, and to further unholy ends, (and if doubtless *some good* ends, at least by unholy means) that Philip and Zwingli arranged for the Marburg Colloquy. Luther did not favor the Colloquy, not that he did not long for the union of all the Protestant forces, but because he could not brook the kind of union which Philip and Zwingli sought to promote. Nevertheless he accepted Philip's invitation and declared that he would not allow the other side the honor of being more desirous of peace than he was. He says: "If they really and seriously desire peace, there is no need of this ostentatious display before great and powerful princes. By the blessing of God we are not so harsh and unhuman, that they cannot indicate to us by letter the desire of peace which they boast. This indeed I know well: I will not yield, and cannot, for I am certain in my conscience that they are in error, and moreover, that they are uncertain in regard to their view. I have thoroughly examined their foundations in the matter, and they have seen mine." (*De Wette III*, p. 473). However when the appointed time came, Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentz and Agricola, from the one side, and Ecolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer and Hedio, from the other side, met in the Landgrave's palace and began the interview. The doctrine of original sin was discussed first, and a satisfactory conclusion thereon reached. The real knot was the Eucharist.\* When this article came up for discussion, Luther

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\*No official record of the Colloquy was made. We have an account from memory by Rudolph Collius who followed Zwingli to Marburg; also a narrative from two manuscripts in Schultet's Annals. (*See Zwingli's Works, IV.*, p. 173 *et seq.*, and p. 195 *et seq.*). Melanchthon has given two accounts, and Brentz one. These also are found in Zwingli's Works, IV. p. 184 *et seq.* and p. 201.

wrote on the table *Hoc est corpus meum*, and declared that he had differed from his opponents and would continue to differ; that Christ had said, "Take, eat, this is my body." It must be shown that it is not the body; arguments from reason and from mathematics must be rejected, because God is above mathematics, and the word of God must be held in profoundest reverence. Behind these principles Luther entrenched himself, and refused to budge one iota. Zwingli and Œcolampadius plied him with arguments from John 6—"The flesh profiteth nothing"—and from Exodus 12, but all without effect. To Zwingli's proposition, "The body of Christ is finite, and therefore in a place," Luther replied, "It is not in a place when in the sacrament." And again, "Whether it be in a place or not I leave to God. This is sufficient for me, *Hoc est corpus meum*." Zwingli: "Say whether the body is in a place or not?" Brentz: "It is not in a place—*est sine loco*." Finally Œcolampadius added the syllogism: "A true body is local: The body of Christ is a true body: Therefore it is local." Luther rejoined that he had time and again replied to these arguments, that if they had stronger arguments they should adduce them, for by such arguments he could not be led away from the text, and then exhorted Zwingli and Œcolampadius to agree with him, and to abide by the plain word of God. Zwingli, Œcolampadius and Bucer protested that Luther had not defended his doctrine of the Eucharist from the word and that his error had been clearly shown him, and that their cause had been proved from the Scriptures and the fathers. Such is the substance of the debate as reported by Collius and by the MSS. in Schultetus. It is evident that Zwingli and Œcolampadius make their argument mainly from the conditions of a natural body, and from the postulates of reason, declaring plainly indeed: "God does not propose to us things which are incomprehensible."\* Luther stands by the words of institution, but rejects every idea of a physical and local presence. Melancthon has summed up the matter in two sentences: "Luther persisted in his doctrine that the true body and blood of Christ are present in the Supper of the Lord. The other side would

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\*Zwingli's Works, IV., p. 177.



not recede from their opinion." Brentz adds nothing of importance to the other accounts, except to say that Luther heartily thanked Zwingli and Œcolampadius for their courtesy and the moderation with which they had conducted the interview, and prayed God to enlighten them, and to lead them into the way of truth.

At the close of the debate Zwingli declared with tears in his eyes that there were no persons on earth with whom he wished so much to agree as with the Wittenbergers (*de Wette IV. p. 27*) and offered his hand to Luther, begging that they might be recognized as brethern. The hand was declined, not in anger nor in contempt, but with the solemn declaration: "I am exceedingly astonished that you wish to consider me your brother. It shows that you do not attach much importance to your doctrine."\* "Ihr habt einen andern Geist denn wir." (See Mel-

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\*It was *ecclesiastical* fellowship which Zwingli sought, viz. to be held as of the same Christian communion and faith, and so it was understood by Melanchthon who says in his report to the Elector of Saxony: "We were astonished that they could conscientiously regard us as brethren, since they maintain that we err in doctrine. For they would have to allow our doctrine also to be taught and preached in their congregations at the same time with their own, a thing that would certainly have to be allowed, unless we exclude each other," and by Luther in his account of the Colloquy delivered from the pulpit (See Erlangen Ed. of Works, 36, p. 321): "They sought fellowship (Brüderschaft) with us. This we had to refuse them and could not promise them. For if we receive them as brethren and sisters, we would have to assent to their doctrine." The personal relations of Luther and Zwingli during the Colloquy were most cordial. Brentz, (See Zwingli's Works IV. p. 204) an eye witness, says: "You could have heard no epithets, except: Most dear sir; Your Charity; and the like. There was no mention of schism or of heresy. You would have said that Luther and Zwingli were brothers." When they separated they cordially shook hands. Brentz further says: "We who affirm the presence of the body of Christ, would gladly have received our opponents into communion with us, if they would have abandoned their error. But when no agreement could be effected, we unanimously decided that they are without the communion of the Christian Church, and that we could not recognize them as brethren and members of the Church. This seemed so very harsh to them that a conflict well-nigh ensued; for they very earnestly sought fellowship with us. We, astonished at the fickleness of the

anchthon's report.) This speech of Luther's furnishes a key to the whole situation, and exhibits the difference between the two men. The one held his doctrine dearer than his life, and more than once had periled his life for his doctrine, because it was God's word, and because in *Hoc est corpus meum*, he saw the very word of God and the sure pledge of redemption. The other was willing to sacrifice his doctrine for such an external unity as might promote the political alliance of which he had been so warm an advocate; nor did he feel bound in his conscience as Luther did (*See Luther's letter to Philip, supra*) to stand by and defend his doctrine. The one was purely a religious reformer, and desired the use of Scriptural means only for the promotion of religious ends. The other mingled politics and religion, and was willing to call in the methods of politics in order to aid religion. The one bowed with awful reverence before the Word and repudiated Reason wherever her proud dictates opposed the sublime mysteries of Faith. The other expressly declined to believe what he could not comprehend, and thus made his own mind the measure of the content of revelation.\* In a word, the one had a *different spirit from the*

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men, who a little while before in their writings traduced us as worshipers of a bread-God but now sought fellowship and communion with us, stood fast in our decision. But when this seemed to the Prince as harsh, we so modified our decision as to recognize them as friends, but not as brethren and members of the Church of Christ. But what think you, my friend, about the strange fickleness of our opponents? In the very fact that they sought communion with us, did they not confess that the Church is with us? In this very fact do they not confess that our doctrine of the Sacrament is not erroneous. Or if erroneous, yet not fatally, capitally, to use their own words, mortally erroneous, but erroneous within bounds of toleration? Do they not in this way show their own perverseness, in that they have so grievously sinned in stirring up so great a scandal in the Church of Christ on account of our opinion (even according to their own judgment) that is tolerable?"

Some of this may seem harsh, but the Reformed ought to remember that nearly a century later they not only refused *friendship* to the Arminians, but actually persecuted them with the sword, because forsooth, the latter refused to believe the "decretum horribile" of absolute predestination.

\*"Zwinglianism is essentially *rationalistic* in the evil sense of the word. Its chief effort is to explain away or reduce to a minimum the



*other* that is, the whole mental and moral make-up, the purposes and the methods, the feelings and the sentiments of the one were radically different from those of the other; and for Luther, seeing as he did, and as many Reformed since his time have seen, this profound difference in character, in aims, in relations to God's word—for Luther under these circumstances to have grasped the proffered hand and to have recognized Zwingli as a brother of the same communion (as they both so understood it) would have been to acknowledge that Zwingli's error and the rationalistic principle on which it was founded, were pure *adiaphora*, which had no essential value in and for the Christian system, and the action of Luther in this, perhaps the most decisively critical juncture of his life, is most powerfully and unanswerably vindicated by the fact that Zwingli's error has found place in no Reformed confession of faith, and by the fact that his principles of interpretation, joined with his different spirit, led him in less than two years from this Colloquy to write that Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Numa, the Catos *et al.*, died in the same faith with Abraham, David, Peter, Paul, *et al.*\* It was not that Luther did not desire peace, or because he was obstinate in opinion, but because, as long before he had written to the Strasburgers (*see supra*), he was bound by the word, and now thoroughly understood the nature and bearing of the Zwinglian

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mystery of the Lord's Supper. It assumes that the theory which is most level to our comprehension, which brings the Holy Supper nearest to a common meal, where Christians have sweet fellowship together, and makes it agree most with ordinary human experience, is for that reason nearest the truth." *Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke in Presbyterian Review, April, 1887.* Dr. Fisher makes no concealment of Zwingli's rationalism and seems strongly to justify Luther's course. *See Hist. Ref. p. 150, and Discussions in Hist. and Theol. p. 420.* Even D'Aubigne acknowledges Zwingli's rationalism. It seems strange that there should be persons who cry out against *German* rationalism and refuse to have it touch the hem of their garments, who yet so freely condone this *Swiss* manifestation of it, and so severely charge Luther with harshness and bigotry because he did not rush to its embrace and throw around it the broad mantle of Christian charity, when, forsooth, it approached him with tears and an outstretched hand!

\**Works, IV., p. 65.*

foundations (*sua fundamenta* as he calls them)—it was for these reasons, and because Zwingli had widely departed from fundamental truth, that Luther as the recognized leader of the German Protestants, could not sanction the plan of union proposed by Philip and Zwingli. For, to have accepted the hand of Zwingli would not have meant merely that the Germans and the Swiss should henceforth stand together against a common foe, but it would have meant to Luther and to his followers (and would have been so understood by Zwingli and his followers) *full fraternization* in the Gospel, to be followed, should opportunity be offered as at the Wittenberg Concord, by a common participation in the Lord's Supper—that which even the Evangelical Alliance could not do in New York in 1873, and that which even the Pan Presbyterian Council did not do in Edinburgh less than a dozen years ago. In a word, Luther's stand at Marburg was in *principle* identical with that which he made at Worms. To both places had he gone bound by the Word, and by the light of the Word had he thoroughly explored the foundations of the adversaries which he was to meet at both places, and in both cases having discovered that these foundations were false, he had made up his mind beforehand, that he could not and would not yield. At Worms the contest was with that hoary Traditionalism which had wrested the Word from its normal place as the Rule of Faith. At Marburg the contest was with the new Rationalism “in the evil sense of the word,” whose fundamental principle was avowedly to deny all that is incomprehensible in the Word, “and to reduce to a minimum the mystery of the Lord's Supper.” As between such Traditionalism and such Rationalism, it is hard to decide which is the greater foe to evangelical truth, and had Luther accepted the proffered hand, and endorsed Philip's plan, it is not at all unlikely that Marburg would have been the Cappel of the Reformation.

But the Marburg Colloquy, though it failed to bring together the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, was not wholly devoid of good results. Fourteen articles\* of faith drawn up by Luther

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\**Chytrens' Hist. Augs. Con., p. 643 et seq.* Also in *Jacobs' Book of Concord, vol. II.*



after the discussion had ceased, were signed by both parties. The fifteenth, covering the Lord's Supper, was agreed upon in part. Luther and Zwingli separated in the most friendly manner, promising to pray for each other, and in so far as possible to abstain from all further controversy—a truce which Zwingli broke early the next year in his *Ratio Fidei* sent to Augsburg, in which he renewed his errors in regard to original sin, the means of grace and the sacraments, and alluded to the Lutherans as “those who look back to the fleshpots of Egypt” (*Qui ad ollas Ægyptiacas respectant*),—“an aspersion as unjust as it was irritating,” says Prof. Fisher, (*Hist. Ref.*, p. 154, n.) But notwithstanding this gross insult and the proud boast\* of Zwingli

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\*He said to his friends: “The truth has prevailed so manifestly that if ever any one has been defeated before all the world, it is Luther, although he constantly exclaimed that he was invincible.” (*Zwingli's Letters*, p. 370). He calls Luther *impudens et contumax*, and says “Lutheranism will be as grievous (*schwer*) as Popery.” Against this claim of victory we must oppose the facts: Luther receded from no article of his faith, but reaffirmed them all (*De Wette*, IV., 28); Zwingli at least *professed* to believe with the Church on the subject of original sin, and the need of means of grace (although in his *Ratio Fidei* of the next year, he went back to his old errors); he signed all the articles written by Luther, and agreed not further to prosecute the controversy. It is exceedingly hard to reconcile Zwingli's well-known conduct and his harsh expressions *after* the Colloquy with his professions and his tears *during* the Colloquy. And to the claim of the Reformed that Philip of Hesse was won over to the side of Zwingli by the debate, we oppose the fact that the next year he signed the Augsburg Confession. As Seckendorff says, (II., p. 138) he inclined to the side of Zwingli, but he did not desert the common cause. Luther in his account of the Colloquy (*Erlangen Ed. of Works*, 36, 321) speaks most kindly of the Zwinglians and expresses the hope that harsh speeches are now at an end; and in a letter to Bullinger (*De Wette*, V. 111), he says: “After I had heard and seen Zwingli and Œcolampadius at Marburg, I esteemed them good men and I have been deeply pained at Zwingli's death. \* \* Perhaps you think we erred. That I commit to God. Certainly we could not approve your doctrine without burdening our conscience. That you would not ask of us.” It was only when Luther heard that Zwingli had claimed a victory at Marburg, and that Zwingli's followers were constantly abusing him, that he expressed himself otherwise.

The account of the Colloquy given so dramatically by D'Aubigne (*Hist. Ref.*) does great injustice to Luther by the *tone* it imparts to his

that he had gained a great victory at Augsburg, and notwithstanding the constant opposition on the part of the Swiss to his doctrine of the Supper, Luther took no further hostile notice of the Sacramentarian affair until after the publication, in 1543, of Zwingli's works with an apologetic essay by Walther, the editor. Luther felt that now again he had been personally attacked, and that the controversy was thus publicly reopened. In reply, as it were, he published, in 1544, his Smaller Confession, the fiercest and perhaps the most vituperative of all his polemical writings. He declares that inasmuch as after the Marburg Colloquy Zwingli had gone back to his former errors, he could not have spoken at Marburg with an honest heart and mouth; and inasmuch as he had declared in his last book, the *Expositio Christianæ Fidei*, that such heathen as Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, the Catos, the Scipios *et al.*, had gone to heaven with Adam, Moses, David, Peter, Paul, therefore he had turned completely away from the Christian faith and had become a heathen. He reviews the whole controversy with Carlstadt, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, and again asserts his belief in the Real Presence, and in the reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, but expressly and emphatically denies *local inclusion*, and says that he has always taught with the Christian Church "that the body of Christ is not locally in the sacrament as the straw is in the sack, but *definitively*, that is, it is certainly there not as straw in the sack, but bodily and truly." *Erlangen Ed.* 32, p. 397 *et seq.*

#### IV.

Meanwhile in 1536 had occurred the Wittenberg Concord, in which we have again an exhibition of Luther's earnest and sincere desire for peace and harmony, but not however at the cost and sacrifice of what he regarded as fundamental truth. The Concord was brought about as follows: Martin Bucer who

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speeches, and by exhibiting his speeches apart from their normal relation. Altogether the account given by D'Aubigne is such as does not become an historian. He and other Reformed writers take special pains to speak of the harsh invectives of Luther, but scarcely allude to, and so far as we have discovered, do not mention the epithets, *Gottesfleischfresser*, *Gottesblütsauffer*, *Baked-God*, *Wine-God*, and the like, which fell from Zwingli's pen.



would not sign the Augsburg Confession in 1530, mainly because of the tenth article, nevertheless with others presented in the Tetrapolitan Confession a view of the Lord's Supper which commended him to the Lutherans, and opened the way for friendly conference. Bucer's design was to reconcile both parties to the Sacramentarian Controversy and thus to unite the entire strength of Protestantism against a common foe. To this end, on invitation of Philip of Hesse, he and Melanchthon met at Cassel in 1534. (*See Seckendorff, III., 15, 47*, from whom we condense this item). Nothing conclusive was here agreed upon. In May, 1536, Bucer and Capito came to Wittenberg; but as the enemies of concord had published old letters of Zwingli and Œcolampadius, for the purpose of defeating agreement, Luther and Melanchthon entertained very little hope of reaching an accommodation. But when Bucer in his own name, and as he declared, in the name and by command of those whom he represented, renounced in full and explicit terms the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper, and accepted the doctrine of the true and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, "but denied a crass, local, natural manducation," and asked that "free from all suspicion," they should be numbered among those who subscribed to the Augsburg Confession—"when these things were understood (*see Seckendorff, ubi supra*) Luther going aside with Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, Weller, Melanchthon, Menius, Myconius, asked their opinion; and when they had unanimously approved the answers and protestations of Bucer and his colleagues, he returned to Bucer and his associates, and with great earnestness of spirit, which, writes Myconius, shone forth in his eyes and countenance, began to review the whole situation. Concord was thus established and ratified between them. The right hand was given and received. Capito and Bucer broke forth in tears, and with uplifted hands we gave thanks to God." Bucer and his comrades agreed to teach according to the profession which they had made. The next day, May 25, being Ascension day, Weller, Menius and Myconius preached, and in the evening Luther preached, of whom Myconius writes, "I had often heard Luther preach, but now he seemed to preach not from heaven itself, but he seemed to thun-

der in the name of Christ." The next day Melanchthon finished the Concord. On the following Sunday, 28th, Bucer and Capito testified their sincerity by coming to the Holy Communion, and on the next day the Concord was signed.

Seckendorff says that those cities whose pastors signed the Concord persevered in Luther's doctrine, but that the Swiss not being satisfied with it, persisted in the Zwinglian view, which now as a set-off to the Concord, obtained symbolical statement in the *Confessio Helvetica Prior*, which was soon supplanted by the *Helvetica Posterior*, and thus lost all confessional authority for the Reformed churches. But the Concord, though it failed of its immediate object, was nevertheless an important event in the course of the Reformation. It led to the exchange of numerous pacific letters between Luther and the Swiss with good effect upon both; it brought the four cities which at Augsburg had presented the *Tetrapolitana*, into harmony with the Lutherans, and thus gave additional strength to the Protestant cause in Germany; it furnished Luther an opportunity of exhibiting again his constancy in essentials, and his willingness to pass by minor differences, as he waived the point of the eating of the *ungodly*, and allowed that Paul's word *unworthy* should be used instead. For says Köstlin, (*Life of Luther*, p. 472, Scribners): "It is unmistakable that Luther and Batzer conceived in different ways both the manner of the presence and the manner of partaking—each of these, indeed, in a mysterious sense and one very difficult to be defined." To suppose that Luther himself did not discern this difference is to impeach his intelligence, and no one, not blinded by prejudice, can make such a supposition, who has patiently threaded his course through all the windings of this controversy. But Luther could easily distinguish between that which was essential and in harmony with fundamental truth, and that which was either non-essential or of minor importance, and thus he showed that both for himself and for his colleagues, *absolute* agreement in doctrine was not an indispensable condition of Christian union; so that even at that early day, and in a matter for which he had earnestly contended, he anticipated the principles on which it has been proposed to bring Protestants into a closer fellowship with each other; and,



seeing that absolute agreement in doctrine has never yet been attained, it would be well, doubtless, if all Lutherans would imitate the example of Luther in the Wittenberg Concord.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE LUTHERAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By REV. CHARLES A. HAY, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

Among the various agencies that are now contributing to the unifying of our beloved Church in this country, the association above named bids fair to play an important part.

It already numbers among its most zealous friends, and the most liberal contributors to its archives, many of the prominent representatives of all parties in the Church. Though it originated within the bounds of the old General Synod, its truly catholic and churchly spirit has attracted to it the confidence and support of those portions of our Church that are widely divergent from each other in many respects.

It represents an idea that is equally dear to us all, viz., the desirableness of a complete collection of all the materials necessary for the use of the coming historian of our Church in this country. We all want to have that history written *fairly, truthfully, accurately.*

A glorious future awaits our Church in this western land! She has already made great progress, though struggling amid embarrassments and against obstacles that would have been fatal to a communion possessed of less inherent vitality. And now she is bounding forward with unexampled rapidity, ranking already numerically fourth among the great Protestant denominations of our country, and destined apparently ere long to outstrip all others here as she has always done in Europe.

A romantic and thrilling interest attaches to her early experiences in this western land. To record these will be for some one an enviable labor of love. Let us all do what we can *to accumulate the means for lightening that labor and facilitating it.*

Such, in a word, was the aim of those who established the Lutheran Historical Society; and it surely must encourage and stimulate us to see how cheerfully the various portions of our Church are coöperating in promoting it. We are made to realize in thus working together that we are, after all, children of one household; our parentage is one.

“THAT THEY ALL MAY BE ONE!”

Such was our Saviour's prayer for his disciples. His true followers were, indeed, one in him. They were so in the days of the apostle: “Ye are all one in Christ Jesus;” although then already they were becoming measurably alienated from one another by attaching undue importance to non-essential considerations, and then already setting the example that has, alas, been too often followed in after ages.

Our beloved Church in this country is now echoing this prayer of our Lord—that we all may be one! And we are proving the sincerity of our prayer by our earnest efforts to arouse and foster a unifying spirit—efforts that are already giving promise of ultimate success.

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#### THE LUTHERAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

was organized in Baltimore, after the adjournment of the General Synod, in 1843, at a meeting called for that purpose, and composed, as we learn from an account of it in the *Lutheran Observer*, “of delegates of Synod and others.” The Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker was called to the chair, and the Rev. Ezra Keller, of Hagerstown, Md., was appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting was then briefly stated by Rev. Mr. Passavant, after which a carefully prepared constitution was unanimously adopted.

The association was styled “*The Historical Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of North America.*” Its object is “to make a collection of the published writings of Lutheran ministers and laymen in America, whether original or translated; to procure, as far as possible, the minutes of all the synods from the time of their organization, the printed proceedings of all special conferences, of church-councils and



other ecclesiastical conventions, together with regular files of the periodicals published under the patronage of our Church, decisions in chancery, charters of corporate institutions, constitutions of individual churches, legal reports relating to church property, and, in general, to collect *all publications, manuscripts and facts* that tend to throw light on the history of the Lutheran Church in this country."

#### NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

The convention at which this constitution was adopted was held after the adjournment of the General Synod, and some of those who were known to be in hearty sympathy with the proposed movement could not be present. The names of those who founded the Society are as follows:

Messrs. Reuben Weiser, Ezra Keller, Benjamin Sadtler, W. A. Passavant, John Bachman, J. G. Morris, C. A. Morris, S. S. Schmucker, P. A. Strobel, J. Selmser, H. N. Pohlman, C. Martin, M. L. Stoever, H. L. Baugher, J. Z. Senderling, C. A. Smith, J. Heck, J. C. Hope, B. Kurtz, C. P. Krauth, Jr., M. M. Yeakle, L. Kemp, G. Weyman, J. F. Schirmer, D. Tullis, C. B. Thuemmel, J. B. Reck, S. W. Harkey, A. Babb, A. H. Lochman, J. Ulrich, C. Schrack, P. G. Sauerwein.

In accordance with its constitutional requirements, the biennial meetings of the Society have been held at the same time and place with the General Synod, and the latter has kindly printed the minutes of the association along with its own. *But it has always been understood to be a separate and independent institution belonging to, and caring for the interests of the Church as a whole.*

#### ANNIVERSARY ADDRESSES.

From its regularly published proceedings we learn that addresses were delivered at its biennial meetings by the following ministers and laymen: At New York, in 1848, by Rev. Dr. W. M. Reynolds, on "The Early History of the Swedish Lutheran Churches in America;" at Winchester, Va., in 1853, by Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, on "The Present Transition State of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States;" at Read-

ing, in 1857, by Rev. Dr. Geo. Diehl, on "The Study of Ecclesiastical History;" at Lancaster, Pa., in 1862, by Prof. M. L. Stoever, on "The Patriarchal Fathers of the Church from Halle; at York, Pa., in 1864, by Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris, on "The Literature of the Lutheran Church in the United States;" at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1866, by Rev. Dr. S. W. Harkey, on "The History of the Lutheran Church in Illinois;" at Washington, D. C., in 1869, by Rev. Dr. H. N. Pohlman, on "The Lutheran Colony at Waldboro', in Maine;" at Dayton, O., in 1871, by Rev. Dr. F. W. Conrad, on "Church Problems solved by History;" at Baltimore, Md., in 1875, by Rev. Dr. M. Sheeleigh, on "The Conservation of our Church's History;" at Altoona, Pa., in 1881, by Rev. Dr. Hay, on "The History of the Lutheran Historical Society;" at Springfield, O., in 1883, by Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris, on "The History of the Lutheran Historical Society;" at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1885, by Geo. P. Ockershausen, Esq., on "The Early History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the City of New York;" and in 1887, at the meeting in Omaha, an essay was read before the Society prepared by Rev. Dr. Morris (who could not be present) on "The Past and Prospective Work of the Society."

At the meeting of the Society in Charleston, in 1850, "thirty persons were appointed as '*Receivers*,' one from each Lutheran Synod in the U. S., to take charge of books, &c., donated to the Society within their respective bounds and forward the same to the library at Gettysburg."

In 1857 the Corresponding Secretary was requested "to write to every Lutheran author in the U. S. and request each to send a copy of his publications to the library of the Society; and the same officer was requested to collect the likenesses of all Lutheran ministers in this country, as far as issued, and also copies of all the minutes of all the Synods of the Lutheran Church in the U. S."

In 1859 the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Prof. F. A. Muhlenberg, reported that "he had a printed circular prepared of which a copy was sent to every Lutheran author in the U. S. of whom he could obtain any knowledge." The few books, with "a considerable number of pamphlets, synodical minutes, &c.,"



that were received in response to this appeal, were duly acknowledged in the papers of the Church by the Curator, Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer.

At this meeting the Society requested the ministers of our Church "each to prepare a brief statement, from the records in his charge, of the date of the formation of each church, the successive pastors in charge, the present number of communicants, the language or languages employed in public worship, together with any important events in its history, and sketches of the lives of the pastors, and forward the same to the Curator at Gettysburg."

In 1862, the Curator, Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, after describing the contents of the library, laments that "out of about 500 publications by Lutherans in the U. S., a list of which was given by Dr. Morris in an article in the *Evangelical Review*, 1861; scarce one third is to be found in the Society's library," and that "all the efforts of the officers and of the Society itself, by letters, resolutions, official published requests and private appeals have alike failed to secure copies of all the publications which should be represented in our library." He then expresses the opinion that "the only method by which this object can be successfully attained consists either in a direct personal appeal by a committee to each Lutheran publisher or author, in the case of every publication, portrait, &c., or else in the regular purchase of copies by the Treasurer or other officer."

In 1864 Dr. Schaeffer mentions, in terms of high commendation, the Rev. D. Focht, as the only member who had complied with the request of the Society to prepare historical statements concerning individual churches. He states that this brother, "after labors on which he obviously expended much time and toil, in collecting many valuable facts, judiciously gave the whole to the Church in a handsome volume, under the title of 'Churches between the Mountains,' " and adds that "if his example were followed by others, our library would gradually acquire invaluable treasures."

Dr. Schaeffer also alludes to the fact that "while the rebels, when they occupied the College and Seminary, violated nearly every lock and bolt in these buildings, those of the book-case

containing the Society's library, &c., remained intact, as the glass doors revealed nothing but books. The case, on the other hand, in the Missionary Hall, containing some interesting articles, presented by our missionaries in India, was rifled of all its contents at the time of the invasion and afterwards."

In 1868 the Rev. Dr. Valentine, then Curator of the library, repeats, what had several times been already reported by his predecessors, viz., that the principal contributions, both of books and pamphlets, had been made by Prof. Stoever and Rev. M. Sheeleigh.

At Washington, in 1869, Rev. Dr. Valentine, as Curator, whilst lamenting that so few of the Lutheran publications of the last two years have been presented to the Society, and that the Society is without means to purchase them, calls attention to the fact that "the library contains an old copy of Luther's Catechism translated [by Companius, a Swedish Lutheran missionary on the Delaware two hundred years ago] into the tongue of one of our Indian tribes, a work now so rare that a copy was lately purchased by the Congressional library at a cost of \$80."

At the meeting in Dayton, O., in 1871, Rev. Dr. Hay, the Curator, called the special attention of the Society to the importance of perfecting our files of synodical minutes, some of which are nearly complete; and suggested that, if possible, some effective plan should be adopted for securing regularly, hereafter, copies of the annual minutes of all the Lutheran synods in the United States. He further reported that "the glass case in the Missionary Hall of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, which was rifled of its contents in 1863, had been presented by the Missionary Society of the Seminary to our Society, and now contains a portion of our treasures, viz., the unbound minutes of synods, which are preserved in handsome cases presented for that purpose by Mr. Geo. P. Ockershausen through the Rev. G. U. Wenner, of N. York."

The Curator had repeatedly been urged to have these minutes bound, but delayed doing this in the hope of securing the missing numbers and making the sets complete. That this was the wiser course the sequel has clearly proved.

In 1875, at Baltimore, the Curator presented a much longer



list than usual of contributions to the library, and among them a bequest of forty-six volumes by the Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, comprising a very valuable collection of Lutheran historical documents. He reported also a considerable increase in our collection of clerical photographs.

At this meeting the following action was taken with reference to the death of Rev. Dr. Schmucker :

“Whereas, Since our last meeting, held at Canton, O., June 1873, the Rev. Prof. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., LL. D., the efficient President of the Lutheran Historical Society, from its organization in 1843, has been called away from us by death, therefore

“*Resolved*, That while, as a Society, we deplore our loss, we will ever cherish his name with grateful and affectionate remembrance; at the same time praying that his untiring interest in this, as in every other cause relating to the honor and welfare of Zion, may stimulate us to greater faithfulness in duty, until the time of our release from labor and our entrance upon our eternal reward.”

In 1877 the Curator published a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, &c., contained in the library of the Society and distributed it freely through the Church, whereby we became more widely known and gained many new friends and patrons.

In 1879 the Curator suggested the propriety of the Society's making an effort to purchase the excellent collection of American Lutheran publications belonging to Rev. M. Sheeleigh, but no action was then taken in that direction.

In 1881 this suggestion was renewed by the Curator and “a committee was appointed to negotiate with Rev. M. Sheeleigh for the purchase of his collection of American Lutheran publications. Committee: Rev. C. A. Hay, D. D., Prof. E. S. Breidenbaugh and Rev. L. E. Albert, D. D.”

In 1883 the Curator reported “unusually large accessions to the library during the last two years through the generosity of writers and publishers, and a few by purchase.”

Most of those presented to the Society at this time came through the agency of Rev. Dr. L. A. Gotwald, of York, Pa., who published and distributed an urgent circular, addressing it

to all known Lutheran writers, whose works were not upon our shelves. The responses, though not as general as might have been expected, nevertheless added much valuable matter to our archives.

It should be stated here that the Society never had any regular source of revenue. Usually, at the time and place of the meetings of the General Synod, regardless of the technicalities of the constitution, all present at the meetings of the Society were practically regarded as members and an ordinary basket collection was taken up.

Among those, from portions of the Church not connected with the General Synod, to whom the Society has of late been most largely indebted are Messrs. Spaeth, Schmucker, Passavant, Seiss, Mohldenke, Mann, Jacobs, Fry, Sr. and Jr., C. G. Fischer, F. A. Muhlenberg, H. A. Muhlenberg, C. W. Schaeffer, W. Ashmead Schaeffer, Sieker, Seip, Early, Dosh, Crouse, Hawkins, Horn, Gilbert, Peschau, J. A. Brown, Frick, Anderson, J. J. Miller, J. L. Tranger, W. H. Brown, Van der Smisen, Kohn, &c.

As an illustration of the special interest taken in our work by some of these brethren we mention the fact that the Rev. Mr. Nicum, of Rochester, N. Y., upon ascertaining that our file of the minutes of the Ministerium of New York lacked the years seventeen, twenty and twenty-two, had these transcribed at his own expense upon note paper and presented them to the Society to be bound with our volumes of the proceedings of that body.

The committee appointed to purchase Rev. M. Sheeleigh's collection reported at this meeting their failure to secure the necessary means but were not without hope of ultimate success, and were continued.

They subsequently ventured to appeal for assistance to the well-known liberality of the Lutheran Board of Publication. It appeared, however, that this Board was debarred from appropriating any of its funds except in aid of the causes of Education and Missions. To obviate this difficulty a change in the constitution of the Society was effected in 1885, whereby the



Board was duly empowered to include also the Historical Society in the distribution of its benefactions.

Meanwhile the Curator, finding the two glass book-cases into which the library had been crowded, quite inadequate to contain it, and anticipating the purchase of Dr. Sheeleigh's collection, requested of the Directors of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg the privilege of using for our library one of the then unoccupied rooms in the building. The Board readily granted this request, and the room was handsomely fitted up with shelving, Brussels carpet, stove, hanging lamp, table, chairs, &c. This was done through the liberality of a layman in Baltimore, who prefers that his left hand shall not know what his right hand doeth. This same brother, only a year before, had tastefully furnished the reading-room in the Seminary, to the great delight of the Faculty and students.

Nor were these enlarged accommodations provided any too soon; for in the autumn of the same year the Lutheran Publication Board generously donated to the Historical Society \$500.00 for the purpose of enlarging its library. This liberal gift enabled the officers to purchase Dr. Sheeleigh's collection, and the Society may now be congratulated upon having by far the most complete library of American Lutheran publications in existence.

In his biennial report in 1887, the Curator, after "congratulating the Society upon the improvements which the liberality of its friends has enabled its officers to make in the size and appointments of the library, and narrating his efforts to realize some revenue from the sale of duplicate books and synodical minutes acquired through the purchase of Dr. Sheeleigh's collection, made an earnest appeal to the society, assembled at Omaha, for funds with which to bind the large collection of valuable Church papers, &c., now in our possession, and for the purchase of the still lacking volumes of American Lutheran literature, many of the oldest and most important of which have long been out of print and are costly, but which should by all means be secured for our library.

Instead, however, of finding itself driven to the necessity of responding to this appeal, the Society was most agreeably sur-

prised by the announcement that the Lutheran Publication Board had donated another \$500.00 to our treasury!

This noble gift at once enabled the Society to undertake the costly task of binding securely its large accumulation of Church-papers, monthlies, quarterlies, catalogues, &c., &c., and of purchasing such publications of American Lutheran authors as were not already in its possession. Its officers are now energetically pushing this work, and already the room kindly granted by the Seminary Directors for the use of the library is found to be inconveniently small.

At the suggestion of the Historical Society the General Synod some years ago requested the Lutheran Board of Publication to take steps to secure the preparation and publication of a history of our Church in this country. This request was favorably entertained by the Board, but not much has been yet accomplished in this direction. The writers, in both the General Synod and General Council, who were requested by the Board to undertake this work, found themselves already pre-occupied with other literary and official engagements. No one of them seemed eager to enter upon a work of such magnitude, demanding much time and labor and patient research. Besides, large amounts of fresh material were coming to light from unexpected sources, some of which have since appeared in the greatly enlarged and admirably edited new issue of the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, by Drs. Schmucker and Mann, and in the memoir of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg by Dr. Mann, a masterly production, throwing much additional light upon that most interesting period of our Church's history.

There is no need of haste in this matter. Our present duty seems to be patiently and industriously to gather the materials needed for the construction of the desired temple; the Solomon who shall superintend its erection will no doubt appear in due time!

The Corresponding Secretary of the Society, Rev. Dr. Valentine, or the writer, who has for many years been acting as Curator, will at any time take pleasure in displaying our treasures to visiting friends. Our shelves now present a beautiful array of neatly bound complete sets of synodical minutes, inter-



spersed with card-board cases to contain the extra numbers of the respective minutes, that will be uniformly bound, from time to time, when enough shall have been received for additional volumes. Not only the Publication Board of the General Synod, but also the Missouri Concordia Publishing House and the Lutheran Book-store of the General Council, gratuitously furnish the Society with copies of all their synodical publications. We are encouraged by correspondents in other portions of our Church to expect the same courtesy from those quarters also.

At its last meeting the Society elected the following brethren as Corresponding Members, viz.: Rev. J. A. Seiss, D. D., LL. D., of Philadelphia, Pa., Rev. E. T. Horn, D. D., of Charleston, S. C., Rev. Prof. F. Pieper, of St. Louis, Mo., Rev. Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D., of Columbus, O., and Rev. Prof. W. K. Frick, of St. Peter, Minn.

Rev. Dr. Morris, the worthy President of the Society, who is enthusiastically devoted to its interests, has rendered most efficient aid to the Curator in arranging and catalogueing the library. Each volume has its special card, designating the author, date, &c., and the shelf and alcove where it can be found. And the bound volumes of pamphlets are all separately indexed, so that even the smallest tract prepared by any American Lutheran author can be readily produced, as the cards designating them are alphabetically arranged in the drawers of a neat case provided for that purpose.

Visitors will be surprised to see so complete a collection of the periodical literature of our Church, including all the early monthly and quarterly journals, the various weekly Church-papers, English and German, with some of the Scandinavian, most of the Sunday-school literature, publications by the Colleges and Female Seminaries, &c., &c. And not the least interesting portion of our treasures is the collection of portraits of American Lutheran ministers, with a sprinkling too of laymen who loved our Church and labored for it. Engravings, too, and photographs of churches and Church institutions are stored upon our shelves.

Now it is not surprising that the remark has been frequently

made by visiting friends: "This collection ought to be in a safer place." "Yes," we reply: "its loss would be irreparable. It could not possibly be replaced; and we hope it may not be long before it will be secured in a suitable fire-proof building."

Meanwhile, we earnestly appeal to all true friends of our Church, to whom these lines may come, to aid by all means within their power in making this *an absolutely complete collection of American Lutheran literature.*

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### ARTICLE III.

#### A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARDINAL XIMENES.

By REV. PROF. J. C. F. RUPP, A. M., Zelienople, Pa.

The subject of this sketch was a leading figure in the history of his times. He lived in the period of general *renaissance*, when feudalism was yielding to modern diplomacy, when letters were bearing new fruitage in new and rich soil, when mind was reaching its high-water mark, and everywhere out of the universal wreck of the old were arising new relations, new adjustments and new creations. He lived in a land where reigned sovereigns who breathed the spirit of the age. They had the welfare of a free and valiant people at heart and consolidated the Spanish monarchies into one powerful kingdom, and under their patronage was discovered a new continent.

FRANCISCO XIMENES DE CISNEROS was born at Tordelaguna, A. D. 1436. His family, like others, had lost its ancient prestige and sought to rebuild its broken fortunes in the Church. Hence from his cradle he was destined for the priesthood. He was prepared at Alcala [Complutum] and took his degree at the University of Salamanca. He was twenty years old. Three years later he repaired to Rome to secure more rapid ecclesiastical preferment. His application attracted some notice, which, however, fell short of his real worth and the expectation of his friends. His studies at Rome were interrupted by his father's death, whose small estate had become largely encumbered probably to support his son's ambition. He returned to Spain, 1465,



with an "expective" letter from the pope which entitled him to the first vacant *benefice* in the see of Toledo. In virtue of this grant he became archpriest of Uzeda (1473). But Carillo, the archbishop of Toledo, having a favorite for the same post, and concealing his real motives behind this apparently foreign encroachment upon their national rights, with the consent and approbation of the people compelled Ximenes to resign. His obduracy subjected him to persecution, and when he regained his liberty after six years imprisonment, he retired to the chaplaincy at Signenza, under Cardinal Mendoza, who soon appointed him vicar-general of this diocese. Here his secular duties promised an eminent future and for this reason were wholly distasteful. For his disposition was always sensitive, but was now refined by the melancholy incidents of a half score of years. He suddenly resolved to become a monk. He began his novitiate in a Franciscan convent at Toledo and devoted himself to ascetic rigor far beyond the harsh requirements of the order. The reputation he now gained for sanctity brought such a host of all classes and conditions to his confessional as again to engulf him in a whirl of worldly passion. He retired to the lonely monastery of Castanar. In the neighboring mountains he built a hermitage just large enough to admit him, wherein he spent days and nights in prayer, meditation, and ecstasies. Fortunately his montanistic fancies were dissipated by his recall to Salzeda, where as guardian his great talents resumed their normal exercise. In 1492 he was recommended by Mendoza, now Archbishop of Toledo, to Isabella as her confessor. Two years later he was elected Provincial of his order in Castile, and in 1495 was appointed to the vacancy in the Archbishopric of Toledo, "a most conspicuous dignity not only in Spain, but in all Christendom." In 1507 he was made Cardinal and Inquisitor-General, and in 1516 he became regent for Charles V.

Thus, this extraordinary genius rose to the highest eminence, discharging faithfully all his duties in Church and State, always disinterested, loyal, honest. He died November 8th, 1517, in complete possession of all his powers, in his eighty-first year, the twenty-second of his primacy and eight days after Reformation Day.

In attempting the analysis of this character one is impressed by its lofty caste and grandeur, on account of which it seems to be superior to the common wants and weaknesses of humanity. To give symmetry and finish to the man, we find a genius of vast power, quickened by a zealous and resolute will, and tempered by an intellect which was well-adapted by nature and art to serve as a balance-wheel for the whole organism of mind and body. His views were impartial, his life unselfish. In his many duties in Church and State he is identified with the interests of religion, or of the state, whilst in purely intellectual, or literary work he is devoted *en rapport* to its successful completion. One is puzzled to know which to admire most: the character of *churchman*, *statesman*, or *scholar*. He was two and all of these at the same time. Such versatility will not submit to a logical and definite classification into methods, pursuits, and accomplishments, beyond a very general outline of which each genus may include widely different species.

An analysis of the motives and principles of his life will make a fitting introduction to the study of the *Churchman*. He possessed great wealth of mental endowments and attainments, and was actuated by a moral conviction and energy which rendered him almost invincible in purpose and action. Throughout his whole career as prelate, politician and scholar radiates this absolute principle, which may rightly be called his cardinal virtue: the intensity of will-power quickened by motives of high ethical value. This defensive and aggressive moral force was the most prominent trait in the character of Cardinal Ximenes. It is a vital element in the formation of character, it is the autonomy, the magnetism, through which, as is well said, genius finds a channel for action, not as a faculty of the mind, but as the formal manifestation. Any one of Ximenes' parts would make less gifted men famous, but such a combination of energy, zeal, and genius makes him colossal. The principle of fixed moral determination, although a kind of fatalism, is of no kin to Fatalism. Without it, would remain only enthusiasm which alone might quicken genius to fitful splendor. The moral force is the controlling influence of a leader. It furnishes a man of less mental calibre than Ximenes, but of equal energy or inertia of purpose



with the qualities of a great general. In Ximenes we have a union of forces as rare as it is remarkable. The moral force is a positive and essential element in character, for through it character is given its differentiating trend in early training and education.

Dr. Krauth (whom Dr. Morris called *Charlemagne*) says that we cannot overestimate the influence of Luther's father upon the Lutheran Reformation. No doubt in a comparison with the sterling worth of the humble miner the poor, proud, and decayed family *de Cisneros* would suffer, but surely the contrast would reveal a real difference in the very root and stem, nature and life of the scions.

At this time there existed in Castile,—which may be termed the Attica of Spain—a deeper reverence for the Church's authority than elsewhere. Yet the spirit of freedom, inherited from their Gothic ancestors, would have antagonized, as often it did, any assumed authority by the Church. This disposition of reverence and independence was fostered by the life-and-death struggle in which for eight hundred years the Castilians were contending for their whole heritage of antiquity: their very existence, freedom, reverence for woman, and religion. The zeal of the Saracen invaders, on the other hand, for their religion and their hatred for Christianity had developed a counter and reciprocal spirit. The invaders had nothing to lose and all to gain, a soldier slain in battle gained immediate entrance into an Eden of sensual bliss. Such a goal rendered the Saracen desperate in war and a fanatic in religion. This oriental exotic, planted in Spain so soon after the subversion of the Arian heresy there, in such proximity to Rome itself, and which at one time threatened the existence of Christianity on the continent,\* induced the papal court to resort to most diplomatic measures in its intercourse with the Spanish church and people. It courted their affection and good will by tolerating the use of their ancient Gothic Liturgy, and flattered their national pride by bestowing upon their best-loved sovereign, as a permanent possession of the crown, the title of *the Catholic*. Thus we can

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\*Vd. Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, Vol. ii, p. 400.

easily account for a profound reverence for and a warm attachment to the Church, which were now both happy and afterwards equally fatal.

This, I think, goes to illustrate one point of difference between a Spaniard and a German. Luther's ancestors lived in the German Roman Empire and doubtless their patriotism was put to shame at the recollection of Canossa and of the Council of Constance. Here is the source of different hereditary tendencies likely to produce opposite developments. Then, in addition to these tendencies native to the soil, Luther's training, under stricter parental discipline and in the midst of poverty, his sensitive soul excited by the sorrowful experiences of his youth, and the distress occasioned by his tenderness of conscience mark the several stages of separation in their individual development. But there was likeness as well as contrast. In one respect Ximenes is the prototype of Luther, yet the outward likeness proceeds from most opposite convictions. Both sought peace of mind in the asceticism of the cloister. But conviction of sin growing apace with monastic rigor, Luther was finally comforted only by the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, and that "the just shall live by faith." From his early experience, education, and residence in Rome, and from his mental constitution, Ximenes never questioned the satisfaction of suffering, nor the merit of good works. He regarded his persecutions and sufferings as marks of divine favor. Prescott describes his novitiate as distinguished "by every ingenious variety of mortification with which superstition has contrived to swell the inevitable catalogue of human suffering." When elevated to the highest ecclesiastical honors, it was only at the command of the pope that he began to live in a style befitting his dignity. There was no Staupitz to comfort him with the assurance of divine love and favor. Luther's conscience was not appeased by external work-righteousness, while Ximenes always looked back with peculiar satisfaction to his life at Castanar, where he reversed the true order of repentance and justification. Both were reformers and the work of each is foreshadowed in his personal religious experience. Like his subjective experience, Luther's objective reform began with the life of the Church:



but Ximenes not finding himself most in need of reformation proceeded by outward discipline to amend the inner life of the Church.

It is not within the scope of this paper to carry to its limits, or any farther, this instructive parallel. It is sufficient to notice that the real difference between these great characters springs from their different soil and atmosphere. In Luther's day there was greater moral degeneracy in Rome and a better appreciation of it; Leo X. dispensed his indulgences hardly a twelve-month before Ximenes' death, and against his advice. Under opposite conditions, his course might have been different. For in his early days the Cardinal endured persecution instead of submitting to ecclesiastical oppression. But for the differences indicated his unyielding "spirit might have been aroused like Luther's to shake down the ancient pillars of Catholicism instead of lending all its strength to uphold them."

Ximenes was not influenced by personal motives. His moral nature and standing were not depraved nor sapped by selfish pride, the root of unholy ambition,—

“By which sin fell the angels.

Loved himself least: cherished not those hearts that hated,  
Nor in his right hand carried gentle peace  
To silence envious tongues.”

To the Church,—and to him Church was a synonym for religion—he gave the first place in his affections and life, and strength of his talents. All other considerations were secondary. He was a patriot, but still he would battle for his country chiefly to magnify the Church. But he did not, on the other hand, give unqualified approval to all the Church's institutions and measures. For example, the Spanish clergy had been notorious mainly for their corruption. The mendicant orders had multiplied beyond all reason and the discipline had so relaxed that few emulated the noble examples of the founders either by liberal culture, or purity of life. Even of the few Ximenes was an exception by the contagion of whose example was wrought a revolution in the lives of the bretheren at Salzeda. When he became provincial of his order, the reformation of its discipline became the great aim of his life. The Spanish sovereigns took

offense at the monastic abuses but were powerless to remedy. Hence Isabella gladly supported the plans of her confessor. Still no revolution could be accomplished, as he met with opposition at every step. He had secured papal authority for beginning the good work, but its progress was slow even until and after he became archbishop. His elevation to the primacy enabled him to extend his plans so as to include all classes of the clergy, secular as well as monastic. His own bitter experience made his requirements inexorable; his imperious temper could not, even in the smallest degree, tolerate the lapses of his brethren who were bound by the same monastic vows. His efforts were not fruitless. They resulted in placing the Spanish Church on the highest religious plane on the continent. Had the spirit of this reform animated the entire Church, in Germany as in Spain, perhaps there had been no occasion for a Luther in the next generation.

Such force of character associated with rare genius and pure motives, as the historian of Ferdinand and Isabella says, "conveys an image of power which approaches nearer than anything else on earth to that of a divine intelligence." But by a depravity which stains everything human, this image of power may degenerate in likeness to its satanic caricature. Here was an element of weakness in Ximenes' character. He had in his own mind clearly mapped out the grounds of duty, and his logical inference was that duty is equally binding upon all. He was intolerant and a bigot. Intellect was not yet emancipated. Thus the spirit of the age imposed a fetter upon the individual mind. It may be a fatal condition. In this case, Ximenes had the zeal, but zeal, unless tempered by knowledge, may become a *two*-edged sword and slay a friend while wounding an enemy. "The same impulse which converts guilty ambition into bloody treason, arms the hand of the patriot; it glows with holy fervor in the bosom of the martyr, and kindles the fire by which he is to win the crown of glory."\*

Thus some of the noblest characters of history would have died broken-hearted, had they foreseen the base prostitution of

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\*Prescott.



their best intentions and most enthusiastic efforts. It was so with Queen Isabella. Her piety gave her mind its warmest color and illumined her whole soul. In her eminent station she was the mistress of rare executive ability, and still lost none of the loveliest qualities of her sex. Her pure character was the real power of Ximenes' reformatory schemes. But there are some real blemishes upon her administration, which spring from the principle which is the common root of piety and bigotry. They met with the earnest protest of her best nature, but their real source is hid in her early training and spiritual counsel. Here Ximenes incurs his full share of blame. The same noble impulses that stimulated promptness to reform lax religious discipline were equally effective in extirpating heresy. We have an illustration of such zeal in Ximenes' work among the Moors.

In the midst of the prevailing bigotry of this time it is truly refreshing to note the exceptional characters. One of the most conspicuous is Fray Fernando Talavera, the Queen's sometime confessor, but since the conquest Archbishop of Grenada. He was "a prelate equally distinguished for his learning, amiable manners, and unblemished piety." He cherished tender feelings for the Moors, preaching to them the whole counsel of God and laboring for their conversion by the most reasonable methods possible. He even contemplated translating the Bible into Arabic, but yielded finally to Ximenes' objections, according to whose opinion its purity was to be preserved in the three languages of the superscription on the cross! Talavera also lived the Scriptures in the purity of his life, and by the force of example many of the Moors, who valued the doctrine by its fruits, were added daily to the Church. But the progress of this evangelization—proselytism is too odious for work so commendable—was, of necessity, extremely slow; so much so, that many of the hierarchy came to regard a national conversion of the Moors impossible. There were some almost insurmountable barriers to this end. At the capitulation they had been confirmed by the crown in their rights and in the possession of unusual privileges as Spanish subjects. Ximenes participated, at first at his invitation, in Talavera's labor of love; then he re-

sorted to the force of argument and gifts,—nor can we glean from history which was the more powerful incentive; using craft to catch them by guile, he overreached himself and precipitated the city into an uproar. When quiet was restored the crown declared that by their insubordination the Moors had forfeited their right to citizenship, but mercifully allowed *rice* banishment or a restoration to civil rights by baptism and the profession of Christianity. The majority accepted baptism; and Isabella who was momentarily annoyed by her archbishop's imprudence was satisfied that he had done good service to Christianity. So was effected, almost equally *af*-fected, the conversion of 50,000 Moors in Grenada, while many more retired to the shores of Barbary. But neither the professed Christians, nor the exiled infidels were yet beyond the reach and power of Ximenes' religious zeal. The lapses of the former and obstinacy of the latter subjected both to the tortures of the Inquisition of which Ximenes became general in 1507.

The Inquisition itself may well illustrate unholy zeal in an otherwise symmetrical character. It was re-established prior to the elevation of Ximenes, who was surely far above the invention of such refined cruelty; still it was always defended and supported by his authority. Later, as regent, he refused reasonable petitions to the crown praying for public trials before this tribunal as in other courts. In Castile owing partly to their tolerant Saracen masters and partly to their common oriental origin, Jews had risen to social rank and affluence. But as the Spanish crown gradually recovered its ancient patrimony, the Jews were more and more exposed to persecution by successive sovereigns. This ancient institution originally established for the suppression of the Albigensian heresy was modernized, in Isabella's reign, to convert the Jews. The gentle Queen long hesitated to introduce the hateful measure; but at the importunities of Torquemado, her one-time confessor and first inquisitor-general, and also by the advice of the pious Talavera, not to mention other clergy and the persuasions of King Ferdinand, Isabella finally yielded her scruples. She opposed all violent measures, but was in the end defeated by the conditions of the papal decree itself. So established for the Jews, it was after-



ward used by Ximenes for the benefit of Moors, and still later by the Duke of Alva for the Protestant Christians in the Spanish Netherlands. All accusations, including anonymous, were received. The accused was in total ignorance of the charge preferred against him, and was favored with only garbled extracts from the depositions of unknown witnesses. His counsel was appointed by his judges; the time, place and circumstances of his heresy were kept secret. If he refused to confess his unknown guilt he was tortured; if he endured torture he might still be convicted by the testimony of these unknown witnesses. The last act in the horrible tragedy was the *auto de fe*, in which *after relaxation* he suffered an ignominious death, or *after reconciliation* was allowed to enjoy if possible a more ignominious life.

It is a strange paradox that this barrier to freedom of thought should be refurbished at the close of the fifteenth century. It is equally anomalous that it should occur in Spain, always noted for civil and religious freedom; it must be said that the people yielded ungraciously. But the strangest thing in the whole history of the inquisition is Ximenes' support of it. His relation to it makes the one dark chapter of his life, and is the reflection of his intolerant bigotry. It must again be said that as inquisitor-general he restricted the authority of subordinate inquisitors whose arrogant usurpation of authority had cast such obloquy upon the whole institution: that he enacted statutes designed to protect new converts against suspicion of relapse, and that in all his measures he was careful to provide for their education in Christian knowledge. The fact still remains and cannot but lessen our esteem; what then of his effort to transplant it into the new world?

This same spirit reappears in Ximenes' ambition for military glory. With every step of his exaltation his zeal kindled more and more to propagate the Catholic faith. In an earlier age he would have led a crusade in person, for like Columbus he still dreamed of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre. Probably it was more in obedience to this passion than to his patriotism that he instigated and supported an expedition against the pirates on the African coast. As above remarked, the exiled Moors were not beyond his reach. They were instrumental in fomenting raids in

retaliation which preyed destructively upon Spanish commerce. Ximenes led the expedition in person and its complete success opened to his ambitious hopes an unbounded horizon. Like St. Louis of France he correctly discerned that the way to the Holy Land lay through Egypt; and doubtless he saw in fancy the banner of the cross floating from the walls of every Moslem city on the Mediterranean. With the fall of Oran he fastened the inquisition upon the recreant Moors, and then returned amid the plaudits of his countrymen. It may be a satisfaction to know that his expedition failed before Tripoli.

There is another element in his line of conduct distinct from matters of the Church. Look at Ximenes the consummate *statesman*. Regarding him only as churchman, we portray but one side of his nature. His career as statesman began with his elevation to the primacy of the see of Toledo with which was joined the dignity of high chancellor of Castile. Whilst in questions touching both church and state, the church would engage his first, the state his second love; still even in such relations the welfare of the state was not forgotten; much less in purely civil affairs could Ximenes suffer the interests of the state to languish.

Here is a fruitful field for speculation on the checkered fortunes of the young priest, who probably in the most ambitious dreams of the student never pictured such a future as really fell to his lot. It seemed visionary for him to hope for political rank after the bitter experiences which seemed to sap both mental and physical vitality. But the gain outreckoned the cost, for so was he best fitted for the position that gave him the first and most permanent influence in civil affairs. When he took charge of the Queen's conscience, Ximenes was past middle life, and was in person and attainments a worthy successor to Talavera. Doubtless it was Isabella's greatest misfortune, and through its sovereign for Spain, that her first spiritual adviser was Torquemado, in whose mind bigotry and fanaticism passed for religion. We cannot easily calculate the impression made upon the royal maiden's devout, fervent, and gentle mind in its plastic state and period by this unprincipled prelate, who consistently enough lived his religion. She was no more fortunate in her second



confessor, Talavera, whose greatest weakness, which scarcely rose to the dignity of a fault, nor sunk to the meanness of a vice, was his tincture of bigotry. The *noblesse* of his character exposed him to the suspicions of the inquisition, from whose clutches not even the commanding personality of Ximenes could extricate him. But Ximenes was vastly his superior, and more capable of meeting the responsibilities of this delicate position. Following the conflicting impression made by the intolerant bigotry of Torquemado and the glowing piety of Talavera, we can the better understand the influence of Ximenes who possessed all the virtues and some of the faults of both. The Queen appreciated his motives and fairly esteemed his worth. To her good judgment was owing his great political future, beginning with the primacy. The revenues of this see were enormous, and his means coupled with his notions of ecclesiastical and civil polity gave him unbounded influence.

The next in the royal line after Isabella was her daughter Joanna, married to Philip, Archduke of Austria. At Isabella's death Ferdinand at once resigned the title of King of Castile in favor of Philip and Joanna, but in their absence in the Netherlands he assumed the regency. Philip was keenly jealous of Ferdinand's pretensions, whilst the latter's ambitious policy alienated the people's sympathy. There was a defection from the regent to Philip of a powerful element of the nobility. Ferdinand surrendered the government at Philip's arrival and retired to Aragon. But the death of this prince of so short-lived royal honors, threatened the peace of Castile with new dangers. For the Queen was incapacitated by mental infirmities, and Charles, the next in succession, was only a child. The disaffected nobles who had deserted to Philip now feared the restoration of the revengeful Ferdinand to the regency. They contemplated offering this honor to Philip's father, the Emperor Maximilian, the First, but were dissuaded by the magnanimous Ximenes, who waxed eloquent in argument and affable in manner in advocating the claims of Ferdinand. This happy settlement was wholly due to his magnetic influence and the resources of his genius. It was a triumph of pure patriotism which sacrificed personal advantage for national welfare, inasmuch as his own

name had been mentioned in connection with the regency. Neither had he any ground to hope for Ferdinand's favor. The latter had never been friendly, and in his stead as Archbishop of Toledo had urged the claims of his natural son, the Archbishop of Saragossa. Ferdinand who was absent during this transaction rewarded his loyal patron by procuring for him a cardinal's hat.

Nine years later Ferdinand prepared to resign the regency ; for

Grisly Death, Terror's King, both at poverty's hut and royal castle,  
With one beat knocketh.\*

He purposed settling it, in Charles' absence, on his brother, Prince, that is, *Infante* Ferdinand, whom we know in history as King of the Romans, and into whose favor Charles V. in turn after a defeated and disappointed reign, abdicated the imperial purple. His counsellors deprecated such a procedure and advised the appointment of Ximenes. The new regent was an artful politician ; politics was a natural outflow of his character, and, as might be expected, reflected both his excellences and faults. In conjunction with his duties as Cardinal, Inquisitor-General, and Archbishop of the Metropolitan See, he as High Chancellor of Castile, and Regent of the United Kingdom had vested in him almost absolute power in affairs of both Church and State. This was consonant with his theory of government. He regarded government as a personification of power regularly assumed and arbitrarily exercised by him in whomsoever vested. In his civil relations as Archbishop his practice was frequently and, for all that, uniformly antagonized by Queen Isabella, but in ecclesiastical matters the theory had full sway. Although he accepted the regency at advanced age, and was possessed of only delegated power which he could not hope long to enjoy, still his policy was as far-reaching and his schemes for extending the royal authority as exhaustive as if devised by one who was to reap their full benefits.

Undoubtedly Cardinal Ximenes contributed powerfully to the permanent establishment of principles which by a forced and

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\*Vid. Carm. Hor., I, iv.



false development became mischievous and pernicious, in effect subverting the voice of the Commons in the government. He secured for the crown an undisputed title to all its prerogatives, limited the usurped authority of the barons, and gained for the people proper recognition of their rights. The same policy if continued must necessarily have culminated in a legitimate result and not a hybridism.

The regent's first duty was to secure the person of the disappointed Infante, whom he removed with the court to Madrid. Thus were averted the evil consequences of two claimants for the crown, for Ferdinand by his presence at court was won to the support of Charles, and henceforth throughout their united history the two brothers in their intimate relation in the empire gave evidence of their mutual affection. The regent was confronted by a more serious difficulty than was occasioned by Ferdinand's youthful ambition: this was Charles' demand to be proclaimed king. At the instigation of the Emperor he persisted in this requisition, although during the life of his mother this was against established usage and in Spanish eyes unnatural and unfilial conduct. After vain remonstrance Ximenes acceded to Charles' request, setting aside the vote of Cortes. But this was not the end of the dilemma, for now the Castilian aristocracy became jealous of their hereditary privileges. They had expected a mild government of an inoffensive old man; probably this opinion counselled his appointment. Now chafing under the yoke of their priestly regent, they demanded by what authority he held the government so absolutely. The Cardinal gave a characteristic reply. He referred to Ferdinand's will and Charles' ratification of its settlement, and in reply to further objections, pointing to an artillery park, he exclaimed, "There are my credentials!"\*

Favorable opportunities were offered to recover for the crown the partial restoration of its rights. Under the feudal tenure the entire military force of the nation was furnished by the barons. Thus the crown was often dependent for a successful campaign upon the fealty of those whose conflicting interests prevented

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\*Vid. Robertson's Chas. V., Vol. I., Bk. 1.

harmonious action. In the beginning of the regency some of the nobles undertook to settle personal differences after the mediæval fashion. The regent's timely and vigorous interference prevented the dissolution of the state into as many independent dukedoms. He disbanded the militia furnished by the nobility ostensibly for the crown, but which were being used to further their internecine war. He established the independence of the crown by a standing army, calling upon the chief towns to enroll their citizens for military training. His shrewd diplomacy concealed this hidden blow at the aristocracy by an appeal for a force to repel the frequent incursions of the Moors.

In the stormy times preceding this period the crown was often only feebly settled. Often its supremacy was admitted only after long wars of succession, and quiet was restored not unfrequently at the cost of liberal *largesses*. The succession of Ferdinand and Isabella was secured by the sequestration of large sections of the royal demesnes. Whilst thus one element of Castilian freedom was developed there was danger of going to an extreme in magnifying the baronial at the expense of royal authority. Ximenes took the ground that the death of a prince annulled his grants and the sequestered estates again reverted to the crown. According to this view the barons held their lands in such doubtful tenure that chaos would have followed any attempt to carry it to its legitimate consequences. The regent did not enforce it beyond the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. With these revenues restored to the royal exchequer he was enabled to pay off its large indebtedness and in addition meet the extravagance of Charles' Flemish court. Thus proper relations were restored between the crown and its barons.

The regency also pursued a vigorous foreign policy and in the space of twenty months encountered two foreign wars. The first was the successful repulse of a French invasion of Navarre. Spain owes the present possession of this province to Ximenes' wise policy of dismantling all the outer castles save one strong central fortress. The other was an outburst of the same enthusiasm that led to the conquest of Oran. It was partly defensive in the sense of being precautionary, but was intended mainly to extend Spanish conquest in the direction of a crusade. It



was in reality a continuation nine years later of the expedition against Oran but terminated as before, yet with more disgrace, before Tripoli in the conflict with the famous corsair, Barbarossa.

Great solicitation was also manifested for the welfare of the American colonies. From the first discovery Ximenes had watched with commendable interest the rising fortunes of the New World, and early in his regency he sent a commission to investigate the complaints transported by every incoming vessel to the ears of government. The commission was instructed to ameliorate the condition of the natives in Hayti, but the regent's good intentions were frustrated. Negroes had already been imported to work the mines\* during Ferdinand's regency, but it was with the earnest protest of Ximenes. Charles' Flemish subjects practically laid the foundation of the slave trade; but then regent Ximenes positively forbade the introduction of African slavery, foretelling with prophetic tongue the bloody issues of the then near future and doubtless foreseeing the evil consequences even to remote times.

The regent was beset with peculiar difficulties at home. He was compelled to rule the turbulent nobles with a determined and autocratic hand. Charles was more a Fleming than a Spaniard, and there was a constant drain upon his Spanish revenues to support the Flemish court. The regency was compelled to bear the odium of these foreign extortions, yet beyond remonstrance was powerless. Although the Cardinal died full of years as of honors, his death was hastened by the grievous burdens of his short regency. In addition the ungrateful conduct and haughty insolence of Charles, for whom he suffered so much, was the last drop in a cup full to running over. He delivered the government into the hands of the young king with foreboding as to its future integrity. He assumed it at the most critical moment of Spanish history, when the disintegration of the old civilization that had ripened in the sunshine of Isabella's reign had reached its culmination. It was fortunate that the new civilization which bloomed in the decay of the old ripened after a

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\*See Art. *America*, Encyc. Brit., p. 707.

healthful growth under the strong hand of Ximenes. He vindicated the sincerity of his earlier professions by accomplishing the boldest schemes of reform. He prevented the dismemberment of the state into fragments and gave it a healthy impetus which under better kings would have kept Isabella's beloved Castile fully abreast with the progress of European civilization.

But look at the wreath which crowns the *scholar*. His superior talents and his manifest reluctance to accept honors in the earlier stages of his preferment, are a paradox in terms, if not in substance. The outcome of such contrariety seems to be an inflexible purpose, shaped, so to speak, by his inflexible destiny, for "there's a divinity that shapes our ends rough-hew them how we will." The work of the scholar seems to be the most natural outcome of his genius, although it was simply the recreation of the churchman and statesman. His education and early residence in Rome were all in harmony with this instinct. When his time was crowded with duties he still delighted in theological and scholastic discussions. In linguistics his special devotion to Hebrew and Chaldee distinguished him for a work which alone would have shed lustre upon his name. This is the famous Complutensian Polyglot. It has many defects but still exhibits the judgment of a good critic. The times and place were ripe for such a work, and providentially the only man whose united scholarship, energy, and munificence were capable of insuring success was disposed with characteristic zeal to undertake the work.

To the Cardinal also Spain owed her most learned University. After he became Primate, in hours of retirement in Alcala, the scene of his boyish pursuits and studies, he conceived the plan of founding in a place so well adapted to study and meditation a great university. From its foundation in 1500 to its completion eight years later, it occupied large space in the founder's mind, and then he paid scarcely less attention to its instruction and discipline. His system aimed to call forth the latent powers of the student and so gave prominent place to the modern college fetich and linguistics in general. His inducements secured the best talent in the Faculties, each professor's salary being fixed by the number of his pupils.



But even scholarly traits are not divorced from misuse. The zeal of Cardinal Ximenes ran away with his knowledge. In the liberal culture and civil and religious liberty of our day, such noble endowments and fervent piety would achieve their most brilliant success uneclipsed by the ugly shadow of bigotry. Such a combination in a less talented man would be called a monstrosity. If the great Polyglot entitled Ximenes to unquestioned franchise in the Republic of Letters, no less unpardonable is the sin that robbed us of richer literature, perhaps, than Christian Spain has since produced; certainly, if we except Cervantes. In his zeal to proselyte the Moors, as described, he collected all the Arabic manuscripts of every description and on every subject, but especially the Koran. To him Arabic was synonymous with Infidel; therefore let it be anathema. These accumulated treasures, with the exception of mediæval works, were consigned to indiscriminate conflagration. This act would doubtless be overlooked without remark, if its author were not the foremost scholar of the age, and engaged at the same time on his greatest literary work, or if it had been perpetrated at any other time than the dawn of the sixteenth century, or elsewhere than in a country which owed its highest type of civilization to the same source of Arabian wisdom. Many manuscripts were smuggled away and lost in the hope of their preservation. So Moorish literature became rare in the very land in which it was indigenous.

After a brief sketch of his life I have attempted a study of the principles that tinge and suggest the motives in this prodigy's conduct. He was called a dissembler and his reluctance referred to a false modesty. He was born great, greatness was thrust upon him and he achieved greatness. His unwillingness to become Archbishop was genuine. He was appointed without his knowledge and consent and for six months he pled *nolo episcopari*, until commanded by a papal decree to be consecrated. Even then he retained his rigid asceticism. On his well-furnished table he partook of the plainest diet; under his elegant bed was the hard pillow, and his purple robe covered the hair-cloth next the flesh. In reviewing such a life there is no limit to the avenues of approach. In all his work we trace the hand

of a master. Like Angelo's and many another's, his genius ranks with talent of the first order, was universal and by its versatility capable of anything of that class. One is puzzled to know what to select in such prodigality, what to omit. We seem to have encountered a mental and moral Titan in an age of giants, it is true, but their contrast reveals his colossal proportions.

I compared Ximenes with Luther to obtain from a more familiar standard a just estimate of his character. I might as justly have contrasted his character with Cardinals Wolsey and Richelieu. They exerted tremendous influence in their respective countries, but vastly different influence. Ambition was *a* ruling passion, not *the* ruling passion with all three; with Wolsey it was also the ruling principle. His famous expression, *I and my king*, evidences in addition to his pure Latinity, the central figure and personality, *self*, in all his plans. But the contrasts between Ximenes and Richelieu is the more striking on account of their closer resemblance. Both "reached the highest honors of state and, indeed, may be said to have directed the destinies of their countries." Beyond this the likeness is more by way of contrast than comparison. Wolsey's fall was due to the keen suspicion of a great prince; Richelieu's success to the imbecility of Louis XIII. The French cardinal outstripped Wolsey himself in selfishness and subtlety. He had the advantage of Ximenes too, for he was no bigot, nor pietist, Ice and vapor come from the same fountain in pure and rippling water. Among the reasonable and unreasonable things shouted by the drunken Grantaire in the Café Musain was this half truth: "When you call a man pious you mean that he is a little bigoted, and there are just as many vices in virtue as there are holes in the mantle of Diogenes." Religion is thus the heart of bigotry, but it had no place in the structure of his moral judgment.

Ximenes owed his eminence scarcely at all to circumstances, but wholly to his eminent worth. So he appeared to the world's most famous princess. "The death of Ximenes was typical of his character. He was buried amid the tears and lamentations of the people; his memory was honored even by his enemies, and his name is revered by his countrymen to this day as that of a saint."



## ARTICLE IV.

## CHURCH GROWTH IN AMERICA.

By REV. J. E. BUSHNELL, A. M., Roanoke, Va.

The growth of the Christian Church is a gratification to all right-minded people. Christianity is commanding the resources of the 19th century. The annual increase of ministers, congregations and members shows that the Lord adds daily to the Church of such as are being saved. The moral and spiritual welfare of the country is represented by the baptized body of believers who are governed in their faith and practice by the pure word of God. Public as well as individual safety is within—not outside—the Church. Hence the growth of evangelical religion is naturally a national concern, and even those who assume a so-called “respectable indifference” and hold aloof from regular and full communion, are, notwithstanding, the common beneficiaries of religious prosperity.

The numerical summary made by the *Independent* shows that the strength of the Christian Church in the United States in 1883 was 81,717 ministers; 115,610 congregations, and 17,267,178 members. The same churches, in 1887, report 91,911 ministers, 132,435 congregation, and 19,018,977 members. The net gain, excluding losses by death, &c., for four years is thus seen to be 9,694 ministers, 15,325 congregations, and 1,618,977 members.

The relative gain of the evangelical bodies is especially encouraging to the mother of Protestants—the Church of the Reformation. Bearing, by choice, the Evangelical name—holding an open Bible as the only rule and standard according to which at once all teaching and teachers should be esteemed and judged (*Formula Concordiæ*),—honoring Christ as the only living Head,—following no spirit save Him who speaks according to the revealed word of God,—loyal to every historic confession of the truth as witnessing to the manner and to the places in which the teachings of Holy Scripture were preserved,—observ-

ing with equal faithfulness the written and the sacramental word,—the confessors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church find the promise of an eventful future in the substantial facts of history.

The dark days between the first settlement of Lutherans in 1621, and the arrival of the patriarch Muhlenberg in 1742, were mainly marked by ecclesiastical absorption and political oppression. The spiritual zeal of John Campanius, the first Protestant missionary to the Indians, was shown in translating Luther's Catechism in 1642, for this pioneer service. Others were distinguished for service and suffering amid false brethren.

The firm establishment of the Lutheran Church in America begins, however, with the formation of the first Synod in 1748. Then there were only eleven ordained ministers, with about 40 congregations and 60,000 members scattered about and speaking various tongues. The first church in Philadelphia was dedicated at this date. The first edition of the catechism was printed on Franklin's press the same year. The first native minister (Christian Streit) was born the following year.

The organization of the first general body in 1820 marks a second era, and the growth of the Church from this time is an inspiration to all who study this historic record.

The growth by decades, during the present century, is indicated as follows :

YEAR.	COMMUNICANTS.	YEAR.	COMMUNICANTS.
1823, . . . . .	38,036	1863, . . . . .	285,000
1833, . . . . .	59,358	1873, . . . . .	485,080
1843, . . . . .	147,000	1883, . . . . .	800,189
1853, . . . . .	200,000	1887, (Stall's Year Book,) 987,600	

Forty years ago the existence of the Lutheran Church was a struggle against the fire and flood of religious fanaticism. The destruction of evangelical and churchly ministrations was experienced along the border lines. Thus the communicant membership in 1825 appears to be less than the membership in 1750.

Fifty years ago the Lutherans were only fifth in the numerical order, with hardly one third the strength of the Presbyterian or Congregational membership. According to Dr. Storrs, the strength of the leading denominations in 1850 was as follows :



	CONGREGATIONS.	COMMUNICANTS.
Methodists, . . . . .	14,000 . . . . .	1,230,069
Baptists (all sorts), . . . . .	11,863 . . . . .	831,035
Presbyterians (all sorts),. . . . .	5,173 . . . . .	451,230
Congregational, . . . . .	1,900 . . . . .	180,000
Lutherans, . . . . .	1,600 . . . . .	150,000
Episcopalians, . . . . .	. . . . .	120,000

The reports for the past four years, according to the *Independent* and the *Homiletic Review*, give the Lutherans the third rank now in the important item of relative growth. The net gains for the Lutherans from 1883-7 are as follows: Ministers, 665; congregations, 1665; communicants, 187,411; the total for 1887 being 4,215 ministers, 7,992 congregations and 987,600 communicants. The ratio of growth for the past four years gives a membership of 1,034,452 for 1888. While this net gain is about three times the general average, giving the Lutherans an annual net gain of 12 members for each ordained minister, while the average for all the denominations for four years is only 17 to each minister, or 1,618,977 members to 91,911 ministers, it is evident that added strength means additional responsibility. God will require many souls at our hands in view of the forty million non-communicants of this great country. Several million baptized children in our own spiritual family call for instruction in the way of everlasting life. In fact the Master has set the little ones before us as the hope of the future. "Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Such views of the case call for careful consideration. Our losses are immense. Coöperation and union in love and labor are essential to success. Geographical and linguistic barriers must be overcome. Superintendents of Church extension and mission work must go here and there looking after the lost sheep and the lambs of the fold. Annual gains demand secure establishment.

The polyglot and international life of the Lutheran population in America makes it an important factor in the study and solution of vexed social questions. The moral and spiritual power of one million American communicants, with three or four million baptized infants and children, is an eloquent appeal for constitutional liberty, Christian civilization and domestic

purity. Away with the idea that a people nurtured from childhood in the saving faith and fellowship of the Church are no safer in person and property than the unconverted millions who are aloof from the covenant, without a spiritual home, making a mock of the means of grace. False views of the way of salvation have kept away thousands who might have been blessed and useful under Church care and training. Away with the idea that spiritual children are brought to birth without a mother—without a home. Away with the idea that men are to stand gazing idly into heaven—mere camp-followers—hanging-around with a vain hope, waiting for something wonderful to turn up, while the ordinary means of grace are neglected and despised. An educational religion, based upon the pure Gospel, without admixture of human merit and personal goodness, is a sufficient protest against superstition, anarchy and vice. This is a free country where we can have no fears of state religion. Our danger is state irreligion. Here millions live and labor outside of churchly fellowship and teaching. Yet under God's blessing the moral and religious principles of the Fatherland are being translated into a new tongue. American Christians have begun to talk freely of evangelical and evangelistic teaching and teachers. The scientific and theological truth of Germany has largely influenced and formed the scholarship of the English-speaking world and we may reasonably expect like results from the religious teaching and thought of this same people in the active fellowship of daily intercourse. Our thrifty and virtuous German and Scandinavian Christians have grasped the jeweled crown of northern Europe to enrich and honor the social and commercial progress of the Western Empire. Such people and their children have a natural and abiding place in the evangelical growth of the American Churches.

In full and scriptural communion with all who hear and obey the same Gospel, we have a commission to teach the nations—unconverted—unborn,—baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

“He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.”



## ARTICLE V.

## CHRIST AND THE ESSENES.

By REV. B. PICK, PH. D., Allegheny, Pa.

Much has already been written on the Essenes. The most important contribution in the English language was by Chr. D. Ginsburg, both in his article on the Essenes for Alexander's edition of Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, and more especially in his essay, *The Essenes, Their History and Doctrines*, London, 1864. His investigation is mainly based on Frankel's theory that Essenism was purely an indigenous growth, that it is only Pharisaism in an exaggerated form, and that it had nothing distinctive and owes nothing, or next to nothing, to foreign influences, and the result at which Ginsburg arrives is "it will hardly be doubted that our Saviour himself belonged to this holy brotherhood." This view passed for granted for many years till in 1875 Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians conclusively disposed of Frankel's theory by showing that the latter had failed in establishing his point. In the same commentary Lightfoot also refuted some of Ginsburg's arguments as to the relation of Essenism to Christianity; and although the latter was acquainted with Lightfoot's work when he prepared the article on the *Essenes* for the second volume of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London, 1880), yet he holds fast to his old hobby, though he is more moderate in his general conclusions.

From what has been said a new investigation as here presented will not appear superfluous. Availing myself of the investigations of my predecessors, I have come to the conclusion that whatever points of resemblance critical ingenuity may emphasize, the teaching of Christianity was in a direction the opposite from that of Essenism and that it could have had no internal connection with the origin of Christianity. With these prefatory words we go at once into *medias res*.

“From whence hath this man these things?” “How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?” (Mark 6 : 2 ; John 6 : 42 ; 7 : 15), such was the expression of surprise of the countrymen of Christ at his appearance in the synagogue of Nazareth. They knew that he had lived far away from the city of Jerusalem, from schools and libraries, at despised and simple Nazareth. And from whom could Jesus have borrowed? When he appeared Judaism was miserably divided, even though no outward separation had taken place. The people either adhered to the Pharisees or to the Sadducees, two names familiar to every reader of the New Testament. As both parties held opposite principles, they hated each other. Even within Pharisaism the schools of Hillel and Shammai contradicted each other on almost every matter. That Christ belonged to neither of these parties we can infer from his warning the disciples, “take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees” (Matt. 16 : 6). Both their systems were repugnant to his very nature. Could he have borrowed from the *Sadducees*? Yes, says Des Cotes (*Schutzschrift für Jesus von Nazareth*, p. 128 seq.), and yet “their epicurean insouciance, their “expediency” politics, their shallow rationalism, their polished sloth, were even more repugnant to true Christianity, than they were to sincere Judaism.” Could he have borrowed from the *Pharisees*? Yes, says Geiger (*Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, 2d ed., 1865), for Jesus was a Pharisee, who followed Hillel. He never uttered a new thought. This bold assertion of Geiger (I, 117), without a shadow of historical proof, is followed by Friedländer (*Geschichtsbilder aus der Zeit der Tanäiten und Amoräer*, Brunn, 1879, p. 32) and Renan (*Vie de Jesus*, p. 35). And yet the very foundation of the system of the Pharisees, “the very idea of their religion, was irreconcilably alien from all that He revealed.”

It is evident that from neither of these tendencies can the origin of the gospel be explained, and from the gospels themselves we know of no other one. But was there none other in the time of Christ? Yes, there was one. According to extra-canonical testimonies there existed beside the Pharisees and Sadducees, a third party, which may be better designated as a



monastic order. This third party was represented by the Essenes, and to them all the good and sublime which is found in the gospels, had been attributed. The English and French Deists of the 17th and 18th century were the first to speak of the Essenian origin of Christianity (comp. Wegnern, *Ueber das Verhältniss des Christenthums zum Essenismus*, in Ilgen's "*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*," 1841, xi. 2, p. 6), and in a letter written by the philosopher of Sanssouci, Frederick the Great to d'Alembert (October 18, 1770) we read: "Jesus was properly an Essene, he accepted the morals of the Essenes, which differed little from that of Zeno" (*Jésus était proprement un Essénien, il était imbu de la morale des Esséniens qui tient beaucoup de celle de Zenon*). The theory of the deists was then advocated by the Free-Masons (Ragotzky, *der Freidenker in der Maurerei*, 1793, p. 183 seq. Lemming, *Encyklopädie der Freimaurerei*, vol. II., 1822, art. *Essenes*), who by tracing back the origin of their order to that of the Essenes, represented their order as the bosom of genuine Christianity. In rationalistic circles, too, this theory became the hobby of such theologians as Riem (*Christus und die Vernunft*, 1792), Stäudlein (*Geschichte der Sittenlehre Jesu*, 1799, p. 570 seq.), Richter, (*Das Christenthum und die ältesten Religionen des Orients*, 1819), Bahrdt (*Ausführung des Planes und Zweckes Jesu*, 1783), Venturini (*Natürliche Geschichte des grossen Propheten von Nazareth*, 1800). When the older rationalism disappeared it looked as if with it the Essenian-hypothesis were buried. But it was revived with modern criticism, though with different variations, by Jewish writers like Salvador (*Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine*, Paris, 1838), Grätz (*Geschichte des Juden*, iii), Cohen (*Les Pharisiens*, Paris, 1877, vol. II., p. 18 seq.); by free-thinkers like P. Leroux (*Encyclopedie nouvelle*, Paris, 1843, iv. p. 648 seq.), J. Reynaud (l. c. vii. p. 333), Henell, Clemens and others (comp. Hase, *Geschichte Jesu*, 1876, pp. 133, 136, 171, 202 seq.).

After all, it will be worth the while to examine the records in order to see whether the pretensions of modern writers, claiming that Christ borrowed from the Essenes, have any hold whatever. The notices of three contemporaneous writers, *Josephus* (*Antiqq*, xiii, 5, 9; xv, 10, 4, 5; xviii, 1, 2-6, *War* II., 8, 2, 3), *Philo*

*Quod omnis probus liber*, ed. Mangey, II, 458–59), *Pliny*, (*Historia naturalis* v, 16.17) will make us fully acquainted with the tenets of this monastic order, or Jewish monks. “They were allied,” says Keim, “to the Pharisees and yet with very distinctive differences; they were zealous for the law, and yet transgressed it; they were righteous in the spirit of the prophets, and yet more painfully intent than the Pharisees on outward purifications. They were Jews, and yet shut themselves out from the nation, servants of Jehovah and yet praying like the heathen to the sun. They were like a mosaic picture with no inward unity, a phenomenon of religious despair, they are the object of admiration to Jews, heathens and Christians, although their admirers are uncertain to this day whether they were Jews, or a school of Jewish heathens, or, as Eusebius thinks, if they were Christians” (*History of Jesus of Nazara* I., p. 358).

Many are the things which are obscure, in the Essenes, even their very name, which has called forth countless interpretations, Josephus commonly calls them *essenoi* and *essaioi*; Pliny calls them *esseni* and Philo always *essaioi*. To ascertain the etymology and signification of the name some twenty explanations of the name *Essenes* have been proposed, and only two derivations seem to find the most favor, one which derives the name from the Syriac *chasi* or *chasyo* i. e. pious, and the other deriving it from *chasha* i. e. to be silent, whence *chashaim*, “the silent ones,” who meditate on mysteries. But even these two derivations, which seem to be the least objectionable, are rejected by Ederheim, who says that “the Pharisees who had the moulding of the theological language, and who were in the habit of giving the hardest names to those who differed from them, would certainly not have bestowed a title implying encomium on a sect which, in principle and practice, stood so entirely *outside* not only of their own views, but even of the synagogue itself. Again, if they had given a name of encomium to the sect, it is only reasonable to suppose that they would not have kept, in regard to their doctrines and practices, a silence which is only broken by dim and indirect allusions. Yet, as we examine it, the origin and meaning of the name seem implied in their very position towards the synagogue. They were the only real *sect*,



strictly *outsiders*—and their name *Essenes* seems the Greek equivalent for *chizonim*, ‘the outsiders.’” (*Life and Times of Jesus I.*, p. 332).

Obscure as is the name, is also the *origin* of the Essenes. Josephus mentions them first in the time of Jonathan the Maccabean about 150 A. D. (*Antt.* xiii, 5, 9), and the first Essene, Judas by name, we meet in the reign of Aristobulus I., about 105–104 B. C. (*ibid.* xiii, ii, 2; *War I.*, 3, 5). According to this the order originated probably in the second century before Christ. But the question arises whether the Essenes proceeded entirely from Judaism, or whether foreign especially Hellenistic influences had something to do with the development. To answer this question we must above all things bring before us the cotemporary sources of information, mentioned already above. These sources, which acquaint us with the essence and origin of Essenism, are the only sources. What we find in Christian writings concerning the Essenes is taken either entirely from those sources, or are so meagre or uncertain, as to be worthless. As to the rabbinic literature, it is true that some Jewish writers, more especially Frankel, has tried to establish the thesis that “the talmudical sources are acquainted with the Essenes and make mention of them constantly.” But says Herzfeld, the Jewish historian and equally learned in Talmudic lore: “The attempt to point out the Essenes in our patristic (i. e. rabbinical) literature has led to a splendid hypothesis—hunt” (*einer stattlichen Hypothesenjagd*, *Geschichte II.*, p. 397), and Schürer is correct when he says that Bishop Lightfoot (in his commentary on Colossians and Philemon) has honored Frankel somewhat too much by refuting his unfounded combinations (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1876 no. 2).

Being left by the Talmud which yields nothing whatever concerning the Essenes, we are obliged to fall back upon the representations of Philo and Josephus. “Their accounts” says Lightfoot, are penned by eye-witnesses. They are direct and explicit, if not so precise or as full as we could have wished. The writers obviously consider that they are describing a distinct and exceptional phenomenon. And it would be a reversal of all established rules of historical criticism to desert the solid standing-ground of contemporary history for the artificial com-

binations and shadowy hypotheses which Frankel would substitute in its place.”

Following our guides, we learn the following facts. The Essenes as a rule observed a rigid asceticism in respect to marriage, which was to them an abomination. There were others however who took a different view. They accepted marriage, as necessary for the preservation of the race. “For they believe that those who do not marry cut off the principal part of human life—that is, succession—especially that, if all were of the same opinion, the whole race would soon be extinguished” (Josephus, *War*, II., 8, 13). Yet even with them it seems to have been regarded only as an inevitable evil. They fenced it off by stringent rules, demanding a three year’s probation and enjoining various purificatory rites. “They, however, try their spouses for three years, and after giving evidence, by three natural purgations, that they are fit to bear children, they marry them. They have no connubial intercourse with them when with child, to show that they do not marry to gratify lust, but only to have children” (l. c.). The conception of marriage, as quickening and educating the affections and thus exalting and refining human life, was wholly foreign to their minds. Woman was a mere instrument of temptation in their eyes, deceitful, faithless, selfish, jealous, mislead and misleading by her passions. “They are afraid” says Josephus, “of the lasciviousness of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man” (l. c. II., 8. 2). And while they despise marriage as a rule, they adopt the children of others, and regarding them as their own relations, train them in their practices (l. c.). And says Pliny, “Their ranks are daily made up by multitudes of newcomers who resort to them ; and who, being weary of life and driven by the surges of ill-fortune, adopt their manner of life. Thus it is that, through thousands of years, incredible to relate, this people prolongs its existence without any one being born among them, so fruitful to them are the weary lives of others.”

Their daily work was as follows : They get up before the sun rises, and without speaking anything about worldly matters, they offer up with their faces towards the sun, some prayer transmitted by their forefathers, as if they supplicated him to rise. This



done, every one betook himself to his work, which was either tilling the ground, or tending flocks and rearing bees, or some other peaceful avocation. For "no maker of arrows, darts, spears, swords, helmets, breastplates, or shields—no manufacturer of arms or engines of war, nor any man whatever who makes things belonging to war, or even such things as might lead to wickedness in times of peace, is to be found among them. Traffic, inn-keeping, or navigation, they never so much as dream of, because they repudiate every inducement of covetousness" (Philo, ed. Mangey, II., 457). At the fifth hour (*i. e.*, 11 A. M.) the labor of the forenoon terminated. All of them again assembled together, had a baptism in cold water, put on their white garments, and then made their way to the refectory, which they entered with as much solemnity as if it were the temple. Having quietly taken their seats the baker gives every one a loaf of bread according to order, and the cook places before each one a dish with one sort of food. The priest commences with prayer, and no one is allowed to taste his food before grace is said. A mysterious silence was observed during the meal, which the priest concluded by offering thanks to God as the giver of their food. This done, they put off their white garments, and betake themselves again to their work till evening. On returning again they take their supper together, at which strangers, who happen to be in the place, are allowed to sit down with them.

No noise or tumult ever desecrates their house, but they let every one take part in the conversation in turn; and the silence of those who are within appears to those who are without as some awful mystery (Josephus, *War*, II., 8, 5). The Sabbath was very strictly observed by the Essenes, yea they were "stricter than all other Jews not to touch any labor on the Sabbath day—for they not only prepare their Sabbath-day's food the day before, that they may not kindle a fire on that day, but they will not move a vessel out of its place, nor go to ease nature" (*l. c.*, II., 8, 9). This day is especially devoted to the study of the law. "The seventh day," says Philo, "is held holy, on which they abstain from all other work, and go to the sacred places called synagogues, sit according to order, the younger

below the elder, and listen with becoming attention. Then one takes the Bible and reads it, and another of those who have most experience comes forward and expounds it, passing over that which is not generally known, for they philosophize on most things in symbols according to the ancient zeal" (Mangey, II., 458). They sent gifts to the temple at Jerusalem, but they refused to offer sacrifices there; and although excluded from the common sanctuary, they had sacrifices, bloodless sacrifices of their own. They regarded their simple meals with their accompanying prayers and thanksgiving, not only as devotional but even as sacrificial rites. Those who prepared and presided over these meals were their consecrated priests (Josephus, *Antt.* xviii., 1, 5).

In this manner the days and weeks were passed, for pleasures they rejected as an evil and regarded continence and not yielding to passions as virtues (*War*, II. 8, 2). There was no pomp, nor display. Ointment they even regarded as defiling, and if one happened to be anointed against his will, he immediately wiped it off his body (l. c. ii. 8, 3). Being averse to luxury and extravagance as a disease of both mind and body, they regarded as commendable to be unadorned but dressed in white (l. c.) In the winter they wore rough cloaks, and in the summer cheap garments without sleeves (Philo II, 633). "The keeping and appearance of their body are such as of children brought up in fear; they change neither garments nor shoes till they are worn out or made unfit by time" (Josephus l. c. II, 4). As a steward is appointed in every city of this order to provide strangers with clothes and other necessities, they take nothing with them when they go on a journey (*ibid*), and to receive food from any out of the society, was strictly forbidden to the Essene (l. c. II, 8, 8).

As there existed no riches among the Essenes, there existed also no poverty among them, thanks to the complete community of goods which they enjoyed. Whoever wished to become a member of the order had to give up his possessions to the society as common property. Even their daily wages went into the common treasury, which was administered by overseers. From this treasury all expenses for food and garments, also for the care of sick brothers were defrayed, and while they had per-



fect liberty to help the needy, and shewing mercy, to help the deserving when in want, and to feed the hungry, yet they were not allowed to give anything to their relations without the permission of the overseers. Among themselves they neither sell nor buy anything, but every one gives of that which he has to him that wants, and gets from him that which he needs; and even without requital they can freely take whatever they want (Joseph. *War*, II, 8, 3, 4, 6; *Antt.* xviii, 1, 5; Philo II, 457, 458, 459, 632, 633). Their brotherly love was intense, they love each other more than the other Jews (Josephus, *War*, II, 8, 2). With a childlike reverence the juniors serve the aged. But "they condemn owners of slaves, not only as unjust, inasmuch as they corrupt the principle of equality, but also as impious, because they destroy the law of nature, which like a mother brought forth and nourished all alike, and made them all legitimate children, not only in word but in deed; but this relationship, treacherous, covetousness, rendered overbearing by success, has destroyed by engendering enmity instead of cordiality, and hatred instead of love" (Philo, 457, 458, 632).

But such a brotherly love of the Essenes did not preclude a very strict inner organization of their order. From lower grades one advanced to higher ones, and the juniors were so much inferior to the seniors, that the latter wash themselves when they happen to touch the former, as if they had been defiled by a stranger (Josephus, *War* II, 8, 10). When any one desired to enter the order, he was not immediately admitted, but although he had to remain a whole year without, yet he was obliged to observe their ascetic rules of living, and received an axe, an apron, and a white garment. Having given proof of continence during this time, he approached nearer to their life and partook of the holier water of purification; but was still not as yet admitted to their common table. Having thus given proof of his perseverance, his conduct was tested two more years, and, if found worthy, he was admitted to the society. But before he touched the common meals, he swore by most awful oaths, first to fear God, and next to exercise justice towards all men—neither to wrong any one of his own accord nor by the com-

mand of others ; always to detest the wicked and side with the righteous ; ever to keep faith inviolable with all men, especially with those in authority ; not to be proud of his power nor to outshine his subordinates, either in his garments or greater finery, if he himself should come to office ; always to love truth and strive to reclaim all liars ; to keep his hands clean from stealing, and his mind from unholy gain ; not to conceal anything from the brotherhood, nor disclose anything belonging to them to those without, though it were at the hazard of his life. This being the only occasion on which the Essenes used an oath (l. c. II., 8, 7, 10). According to the years of membership, the members were divided into two classes, the higher of which consisted of such members, who belonged the longest to the order. These formed the tribunal, composed of at least one hundred members, which exercised the jurisdiction over the colony. Its decree was irrevocable. Such as were caught in heinous sins were excommunicated from the society ; and the excommunicated frequently died a miserable death. For, being bound by oaths and customs, they cannot receive food from any out of the society, so that they are forced to eat herbs till, their bodies being famished with hunger, they perish. Hence they compassionately receive many of them again when they are at their last gasp, thinking that suffering approaching unto death, is sufficient for their sins (l. c. II., 8, 9). From the number of the highest class of the order, they also elected their officers, to whom obedience was due.

The religious life and thinking of the Essenes had its center in the Old Testament law, which they revered to such a degree that "next to God they had the highest veneration for the name of the law-giver, Moses, and punished with death any one who blasphemed it (l. c. II., 8, 10). Without ceasing they made the law the object of their meditations, and love of God, love of virtue, and love of mankind, they made the rule of their life ; in a word, they were the champions of virtue (Philo, II., 458). The Scriptures (Josephus, *War*, II., 8, 12) being the foundation of their religious knowledge, they formed also the starting-point of their peculiar speculations, though going beyond the Scriptures. To the many things which the Essene bound himself by an oath,



not to divulge to the profane world, belonged the writings of the society and the names of the angels, and it seems as if the employment with a heavenly spirit-world played a very prominent role among them (l. c. II., 8, 7). But they also speculated concerning the existence of God and the generation of the universe (Philo, II., 458), and as concerning the soul of men, her essence, her relation to the body and her future. They had also their own peculiar ideas. And when Josephus tells us, "that they firmly believed that the bodies perish and their substance is not enduring, but that the souls are immortal—continue forever and come out of the most subtile ether—are enveloped by their bodies, to which they are attracted through a natural inclination, as if by hedges—and that when freed from the bonds of the body, they, as if released from a long servitude, rejoice and mount upwards" (*War*, II., 8, 11), we can imagine that all such speculations formed the contents of those writings of the society, to which also the prophetic gift, of which the Essenes also boasted, contributed not a little. There were some "among them who undertook to foretell future events, having been brought up from their youth in the study of the sacred Scriptures, in divers purifications, and in the sayings of the prophets; and it is very seldom that they fail in their predictions" (l. c. II., 8, 12). Even outside of the society stories were told concerning such predictions and their fulfilment. Thus one predicted in a peculiar manner the death of Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. Judas the Essene, we are told by Josephus, "had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now, this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars), 'O strange!' said he, 'it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place, and yet four hours of this day are over already; which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled.' And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his

mind, and so continued. But in a little time, news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder" (l. c. I., 3, 5; *Antt.* xiii., ii., 2). Another Essene, Menahem, once saw Herod as a boy going to school, and foretold him his future dignity of king, and after he had become king, the duration of his reign (*Antt.* xv. 10, 3).

Elsewhere their skill in prediction, for which they were especially famous, is connected with the perusal of certain 'sacred books,' which, however, are not described. But more especially, we are told that the Essenes studied with extraordinary diligence the writings of the ancients, selecting those especially which could be turned to profit for soul and body, and that from these they learned the qualities of roots and the properties of stones (*War*, I., 8, 6). For themselves, it is true, they had the least use of medicine. The simplicity of their diet assured to them health and long life, so that many of them lived to above a hundred years. They despised pain, and death if connected with honor, they looked upon as better than long life. "Of the firmness of their minds in all cases the war with the Romans has given ample proof; in which, though they were tortured, racked, burned, squeezed, and subjected to all the instruments of torment, that they might be forced to blaspheme the law-giver or eat what was forbidden, yet they could not be made to do either of them; nor would they even once flatter their tormentors or shed a tear, but, smiling through their torments and mocking their tormentors, they cheerfully yielded up their souls, as those who would soon receive them back again" (l. c. II., 8, 10).

There is one point which we miss in the description of the order of the Essenes, its attitude towards the Messianic expectation. But from this silence it must not be inferred that they had nothing to do with it. Of the three main recorders, one is a Roman, who could not understand the messianic hope of the Jews; the two others, though Jews, had estranged themselves from this hope, because they had estranged themselves at all from the national spirit of their people. And it is inconceivable that the Essenes, who otherwise were intimately acquainted with



the writings of the prophets and believed in a resurrection of the dead, should not have shared with the majority of their people in the expectation of the messianic kingdom. Besides we may refer for this to a testimony contained in a book, in which with great certainty we are entitled to see remains of that old Essene society—literature, in the apocryphal book of Enoch. True, that the older portions of this book, which were composed about 142–139 and 108 B. C., contain very little of a specifically Essenic spirit; but in the later portions, which were added to the book not long before the year 64 B. C., (chaps. 17, 19, 37, 71, 106–108), this spirit is plainly perceived. In these portions the Messiah and his kingdom is very conspicuous and is depicted in a manner which fully corresponds with the Essene view. He appears not, as the Pharisees and the great many thought, as a mighty king at the head of Israel's hosts to subdue or destroy the enemies of the theocratic people in order to re-establish the throne of David in the greatest splendor of theocratic power. He is rather the center of a large, quiet and blessed kingdom of the spirits, whose highest commander is God, the Lord of the spirits (ch. 37 : 4 ; 38 : 2, 4, 6), surrounded by a thousand times thousand, and ten thousand times ten thousand angels (ch. 40 : 1). The citizens of this kingdom are the righteous (ch. 39 : 4 ; 43 : 4), the saints (ch. 38 : 4 ; 39 : 4 ; 41 : 2), the elect ones (ch. 38 : 2 ; 39 : 6, 7), separated by the Lord's fore-ordination from the sinners, as light and darkness have been separated by him everlastingly (ch. 41 : 8). But of them all, God, before the creation of the world, has chosen one, who like the others is a son of man (ch. 69 : 29), a son of the woman (ch. 62 : 5), whose portion overcomes all things before the Lord of the spirits in rectitude to eternity (ch. 46 : 3): he is the Just One, in whom righteousness dwells, the truly righteous one (ch. 38 : 2), in the highest sense; the Chosen One (ch. 40 : 5 ; 45 : 3, 4 ; 49 : 2), the Son of Man (ch. 46 : 2, 3, 4 ; 48 : 2 ; 62 : 7, 9), the Anointed (48 : 10 ; 52 : 4). In this spirit-world dwells also divine wisdom: which after she looked in vain for a dwelling-place among men, had returned to her place and took her seat among the angels (ch. 42 : 1, 2), all the thirsty drink out of the fountain of wisdom and are filled with wisdom (ch. 48 : 1),

in the Chosen One dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit of him who imparts understanding, and the spirit of doctrine and of power, and the spirit of those asleep in justice (ch. 49 : 3). From thence the divine wisdom reveals to the Son of man those righteous and holy ones also, who dwell upon earth, whose portion the Lord of the spirits preserves, because they have hated and despised this world of injustice, and have hated all its deeds and ways in the name of the Lord of the spirits (ch. 48 : 7). These are the humble who have chastised their bodies, who loved God, and did not love gold or silver, or all the riches of the world, but gave their bodies over to torture; and who, since they existed, did not long for terrestrial food, but considered themselves a breath that passes away, and lived accordingly, and were often tried by God, but their spirits were found in cleanness to praise his name (ch. 108, 7, 9). They are still trodden down by wicked men, but the day of their reward, of punishment for the sinners and ungodly, will come (ch. 108 : 10). True, that shortly before that event, the enemies of the kingdom of God will once more muster their forces. Demoniac powers will excite the kings of Media and Parthia that they come upon the holy land with war and devastation. But before the holy city they will war amongst themselves, and they will destroy each other (ch. 56 : 5–8). On that day the Lord of the spirits will place the Chosen One upon the throne of glory, the spirit of righteousness is poured out over him, and the word of his mouth destroys all sinners and unrighteous (ch. 45 : 3 ; 46 : 4 seq.; 62 : 3 seq.) But the chosen are saved. The earth and sheol will return the bodies and souls entrusted to them, and the Lord will choose the just and holy from among them (ch. 61 : 1–5 ; 51 : 1, 2). He will transform the heaven and the earth and make them an eternal blessing and light (ch. 45 : 4, 5). The just and the chosen will love, being like the angels in heaven (ch. 51 : 4). Having risen from the earth, they are clothed with the garment of life full of imperishable splendor. And the Lord of the spirits will dwell over them and they will dwell with this Son of Man to all eternity (ch. 62 : 14–16 ; 58 : 2–6).

By this glance at the heavenly spirit-world, the picture of the life of the Essenes, as it was presented by contemporaneous rec-



ords, evidently receives its finishing touch, its harmonious and necessary close, a picture evidently full of Sabbatical stillness, full of quiet sublimity. And although on that account it must not be repugnant to us, to place by its side the picture of the gospel history, how many like traits are then really offered to the cursory comparing glance! It would seem as if those who find the beginnings of Christianity in the colonies of Engedi, are not so easily dismissed.

Really, how striking! When the Essenes avoided the oaths, has not Christ also said: Swear not at all \* \* but let your communication be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil (Matt. 4 : 34-37). And when the Essenes preferred celibacy, did not Christ do the same, and did he not speak of those who for the kingdom of heaven's sake have made themselves eunuchs (l. c. xix., 12). The Essene principles of voluntary poverty and of having no possessions seemed to have influenced Christ when he said to the young man: Go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and come and follow me (l. c. xix., 21), and afterwards to the disciples: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God (ibid, 24). And do we not already find the rule of the Essene society concerning the community of goods carried out in the circle of Christ and his disciples in the fact that Judas had the bag (John 12 : 6; 13 : 29), and accordingly afterwards also in the first Christian community at Jerusalem, of which the Acts of the Apostles state: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need" (II., 44 seq., iv. 32). Must we not recognize the extraordinary Essene continence in eating and drinking in that fasting which Christ after his baptism continued in the desert (Matt. 4 : 2). Again when the Essenes in opposition to all Israel ventured to renounce the sacrificial ritual of the Old Testament, there can be no doubt that Essene influence made Christ say that God will have mercy and not sacrifice (9 : 13) and point toward that time when the true worshipers shall worship the Father neither in Mount Gerizim nor yet at Jerusalem, but as God is a Spirit they shall worship

him in spirit and in truth (John 4 : 23 seq.) Yea, these very influences were perhaps the cause which produced in him altogether that more liberal view concerning the law. And does not the saying of Christ, that the Law and the Prophets are comprehended in the commandment to love God with all the heart and the neighbor as oneself (22 : 37-40) rest on that Essene threefold rule and definition of duties : love to God, love of virtue, and love of mankind ? We may also infer that the commandments concerning brotherly love and love of the neighbor (v. 21 seq. 38-48) belong to the order of the Essenes, to enter which was only allowed with the awful obligation to attain fully that degree of brotherly love, and where slavery was despised. On the other hand, the organization of the Christian congregation, the office of presbyters (Acts 7 : 30 ; 14 : 23 ; 20 : 7), the almonry (6 : 5), the ecclesiastical discipline as commanded by Christ himself (Matt. 18 : 15 seq.) remind of all the like institutions among the Essenes. The divine service of the Christian congregation was like that among the Essenes, and do not baptism and the Lord's Supper remind of the lustrations and the sacred meals of the Essenes ? Christ's gift of prophecy, his wonderful cures, his doctrine of the resurrection of the dead and of the messianic kingdom, does not all this point to the Essenes as the natural source ! For whilst the Sadducees denied the latter two, the Pharisees, however, asserted it but in a material and carnal manner, we found among the Essenes a conception, which like that of Christ, remote from both extremes, is spiritual. Following them, he also compared the life in the resurrection to that of the angels in heaven (Matt. 22 : 30) ; he likes best to call himself the Son of Man (8 : 20 ; 9 : 6 ; 12 : 8, etc.), whose kingdom is a kingdom of heaven, not a kingdom of this world (4 : 17 ; 13 : 11 ; John 18 : 36). And finally that courage of sufferings, with which Christ himself went into death, and which he required of his followers ; did it not proceed from the Essenes, who glorified it in their writings and showed it in life.

From these observations we can, as it appears, explain the otherwise noticeable fact, that whilst in the discourses of Christ as well as in the gospel history all other parties and tendencies of the times and country are mentioned, only the great, peculiar



order of the Essenes is not mentioned with one syllable? And the reason is because Jesus himself was an Essene, and the Christian congregation proceeded from the order of the Essenes. And does this not fill that remarkable gap in the life of Christ, which the evangelist tries to fill up with the few words, "And he increased in wisdom, and stature, and in favor with God and man?" (Luke 2 : 52). From the twelfth to the thirtieth year, it has been said, Christ entirely disappears from the scene of history, and yet this part of his life must have been very important. During this time he must have had conceived the plan, which he intended to carry out; in this time his soul must have had nourished and strengthened itself for the undertaking and execution of the great business which he regarded as a commission of God. The boy had attracted attention, he had caused anxiety, and in the temple he had astonished the people by his knowledge and wisdom. Why does history not know anything of this more important period of his life? Why are his own adherents and friends, to whom all, even the least thing in his life was so important, not able to find out anything? Why are Matthew and Mark silent? Why can St. John, who supplements the other gospels, say nothing about it; why not St. Luke, who had perfect understanding of all things from the very first? The only explanation of all this—and from what has been said not with injustice—is found in the supposition, that Jesus spent that part of his life in the Essene colonies. There he was educated and there he grew up, there he was imbued with the principles of Essenism, till he was appointed and sent out by his order, to effect a great moral revolution. His object of life was to bring about a reformation of Judaism by the means of Essenism, and he himself was but a pliant tool in other hands.

One sees what imposing array of reason can be set up in order to derive Christianity from Essenism, and can also see how far one may go in this theory. But in truth we must not be afraid. Those reasons, when more closely examined are more seeming than real, and are the mere outgrowth of a very superficial examination of the case. By going a little deeper at the

root, and examining the case with an unbiased eye, we will see not only the complete independence of Christianity over and against Essenism, but also its true character over and against all disfigurations and obscurations.

In his sermon on the Mount, Christ laid it down as a principle for his disciples not to swear at all, but to say yea, yea, and nay, nay. This is true. But when he himself went beyond such an expression of the mere yea, yea, and nay, nay, with his forms of assurance like *verily, verily* (Matt. 25 : 40 ; 26 : 34 ; John 5 : 24 ; 16 : 20), when he solemnly adjured the high-priest that he was the Messiah, how then ? It would seem then that he gave not that precept like the Essenes as an external law of the letter. And as in the case of this precept, so it is with all other prohibitions and precepts, which he enjoined in similar connection. He opposes them to the letter of the Old Testament law, without putting the letter of a new law in its place. He will not destroy the old law, but fulfill it. Over and against its letter he will put his own spirit ; he will reduce the action to its very intention, and in order to express this spirit, this intention in a popular manner, it happens that he also enjoins and prohibits actions, which appear as the immediate expression of intention. Thus the prohibition of swearing is according to its essence nothing but the command of a continuous truthfulness, which makes the oath a superfluous abuse of the divine name.

As to marriage, Jesus nowhere rejected it as did the Essenes. True that he was not married, but this was not only because the zeal of the house of God had to eat him up, but also because he could find no consort of equal birth. And to those who preferred celibacy for the sake of the kingdom of God he has preserved the right to follow the dictates of their own conscience. On the other hand we must also not forget that Christ called Simon Peter, a married man (Matt. 8 : 14 ; 9 : 5), to become his disciple and declared him to be the rock of his congregation. And "when we find Christ discussing the relations of man and wife, gracing the marriage festival by his presence, again and again employing wedding banquets and wedded life as apt symbols of the highest theological truths, without a word of dispar-



agement or rebuke, we see plainly that we are confronted with a spirit very different from the narrow rigor of the Essenes."

Voluntary poverty or community of goods, as it existed among the Essenes, Christ nowhere introduced into his congregation. He condemned the idolatry of earthly goods (Matt. 6 : 24), and emphasized the moral dangers of riches in themselves by saying: it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. But when he adds: with men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible (Matt. 19 : 26), he again places the rich on the same level with all others. For who is it to whom this word of the entrance into the kingdom of God would not apply? When he advised that rich young man to sell all his goods and to give it to the poor and then to follow him, Christ did so with special reference to the personal disposition of his heart. Even his nearest disciples did not sell all that they had, but merely forsook it (19 : 27) in order to be in his perpetual following. And of Joseph of Arimathea, who also was one of Jesus' disciples, we know that he was a rich man (27 : 57). The entire community of goods of the apostles of Christ consisted in the possession of a common bag, from which the expenses for the most necessary provisions were defrayed, and from which as the occasion required, the poor also were provided (14 : 17 ; 15 : 34 ; 16 : 5 ; John 4 : 8 ; 13 : 29). And as to the community of goods in the infant Church of Christ, the reasonable explanation is that we have an independent attempt to realize the idea of brotherhood—an attempt which naturally suggested itself without any direct imitation of Essenism, "but which was soon abandoned under the pressure of circumstances. Indeed the communism of the Christians was from the very first wholly unlike the communism of the Essenes. The surrender of property with the Christians was not a necessary condition of entrance into an order; it was a purely voluntary act, which might be withheld without foregoing the privileges of the brotherhood (Acts 5 : 4). And the common life too was obviously different in kind, at once more free and more sociable, unfettered by rigid ordinances, respecting individual liberty, and altogether unlike a monastic rule" (Lightfoot).

Different alike was also the position with regard to eating and drinking. Christ fasted, because in preparing himself for the great task of his life, he felt the necessity of doing so. He even supposed it as possible for his disciples to observe the general Jewish custom of fasting by warning them against the hypocritical show of it (Matt. 6 : 16 seq.). But in reality he did not fast after his public appearance, nor did he urge his disciples to do so; and when being blamed, he replied: "Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast" (9 : 14 seq.), thus making fasting not a virtue or a means of virtue, but an expression of religious mood, and divesting it of all importance for those who know themselves in community with him, who as the risen One will be with his people always even unto the end of the world (28 : 20). On the whole he gave his disciples no rules of asceticism after the manner of the Essenes. And while he needed very little to satisfy his hunger, yet he did also not repudiate the banquets with their richer enjoyments (John 2 : 1 seq.; Luke 7 : 36; 11 : 37; 14 : 1; 19 : 5; Matt. 9 : 10; 26 : 6), in consequence of which he was denounced as a "glutton and a wine-bibber" (Matt. 11 : 19; Luke 7 : 34).

How great too is in truth the difference between Christ and the Essenes as concerning the position to the law. We know that to the orthodox Pharisee, the law without the sacrifices, the temple-worship, the hierarchy, had no meaning whatever. Yet the Essene declined to take any part in the sacrifices; he had priests of his own independently of the Levitical priesthood. Whether he avoided the temple on account of the sacrifices, or the sacrifices on account of the temple, is of no avail. But we know that Christ did neither. Certainly he could not have regarded the temple as unholy, for his whole time during his sojourns at Jerusalem was spent within its precincts. It was the scene of his miracles, of his ministrations, his daily teaching. And in like manner it is the common rendezvous of his disciples after him (Luke 24 : 53; Acts 2 : 46; 3 : 1, etc.; 5 : 20 seq. 42). "Nor again does he evince any abhorrence of the sacrifices. On the contrary he says that the altar consecrates the gifts (Matt.



23 : 18 seq., comp. 5 : 23, 24), he charges the cleansed leper to go and fulfil the Mosaic ordinance and offer the sacrificial offerings to the priests (Matt. 8 : 4; Mark 1 : 44; Luke 5 : 14). And his practice also is conformable to his teaching. He comes to Jerusalem regularly to attend the great festivals, where sacrifices formed the most striking part of the ceremonial, and he himself enjoins preparation to be made for the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb. If he repeats the inspired warning of the older prophets, that mercy is better than sacrifice (Matt. 9 : 13; 12 : 7), this very qualification shows approval of the practice in itself. Nor is his silence less eloquent than his utterances or his actions. Throughout the gospels there is not one word which can be construed as condemning the sacrificial system or as implying a desire for its cessation until everything is fulfilled." Christ did not break with the law in a precipitous and arbitrary manner, he merely opposed the servile service of the letter. The Sabbath, as we know, the Essenes observed with ultra-Pharisaic rigor, and kept the commandment in a truly slavish manner. But in this very command he especially put the spirit of the law beneath its letter (Matt. 12 : 5 seq.; Mark 2 : 27), and always breathed in the innermost kernel of the law that life, which was finally to break the perishable cover (Matt. 5 : 21 seq.). After all it will be evident that even if we would find the very words according to which the Essenes before Christ already designated the Old Testament commands of love of God and love of the neighbor as the poles of the law and the prophets, that they would have another inner signification here and there. But this is by no means the case. For with these two injunctions they combine—and this is characteristic enough—as the third rule of action the love of virtue, by which they evidently understand nothing else than their Essene continence, endurance, simplicity, modesty and lawfulness, in short, their specific Essene virtue of the order, including also all their lustrations (Philo, ed. Mangey, II., 458). Whoever can place this on the same level with love of God and love of man, of him it cannot be said that he is not far from the kingdom of God. Both must fall into degradation in the question of the rules of the order.

It excites our admiration by meeting in the ancient world

with a brotherly love, which condemns slavery, yet how much more peerless stands the gospel out in this respect, which without directly abolishing or condemning slavery in the morally religious freedom of the individual, creates that soil, in which also social liberty can and must grow. (Comp. Paul's Epistle to Philemon). Here we have a living principle, important for the whole world, there the statute of a small community. And finally what does that brotherly love, what that avoiding of slavery among the Essenes mean, when the Essene friar of a higher grade believes himself polluted by the contact not only with his co-religionist outside of the order, but also with the novice of his order, and when the members are obliged implicitly to obey their superiors in all matters? This is no brotherly love, it is slavery, worse even than any other, because it tries to cover itself with the claim of religious authorization. How entirely different is the conduct, which Christ requires of his followers. He requires a charity which, without any difference at all, even without the difference of creed, regards every one, who is in need of our help, of our love, as neighbor (Luke 10 : 30). And any and all hierarchical pretensions within his congregation he cuts off by those emphatic exhortations: "But be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called masters, for one is your master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant" (Matt. 23 : 8, 10, 11). "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant" (20 : 25-27).

Where there is such a great contrast between the hierarchical spirit of the Essene order and the truly brotherly mind which Christ wished to prevail in his congregation, it would be folly to assume that Christ should have transferred the organization of the Essene colonies to his congregation. There is not the least trace of it. For the beginnings of an inner organization within the Christian congregation are the gradual outgrowth of an immediate necessity. This we see in the first place in the election



of those seven men, who as the helpers of the apostles had the care for the poor (Acts 6 : 3); in the second place the appointment of the elders was nothing but an imitation of an already existing synagogue-institution, which was evidently adhered to also by the Essenes. But of that discipline which was exercised among the Essenes by irrevocable decisions of a tribunal, we find not the least trace in the institutions of Christ. He expressly warns against all and every attempt to separate externally the false and insincere from among those, who call themselves his followers (Matt. 13 : 24-30, 47 seq.). What he says of the treatment of sinners among his followers (18 : 15-18), has really no other purpose than to exhort those to the highest degree of placability, who were offended by the offense of a brother. Who by all means avoids the Christian community and those means of salvation committed to it, him will he then also regard as excluded, but only to make it so much easier to win him over again for the community. For when he says that such an one should be treated as a publican and sinner, this seemingly hard word finds its beautiful explanation from the manner how Christ himself did in truth treat publicans and sinners, viz., that such an one as concerns Christians may become an object of the saving and seeking love of sinners.

The external similarity between the Essene and Christian divine service like the similar institution of presbyters explains itself in that both followed the custom of the synagogue. In the same manner the external form of the Christian baptism mediated through the baptism of John, like the Essene ablutions may be traced back to the common Jewish lustrations. But here too how vast in the inner contrast between the Christian baptism, which once for all gives to the penitent sinner a pledge of his reconciliation and regeneration, and those endless ablutions of the Essenes, who as often as they become polluted by the contact with the material world, have again and again to extinguish this pollution. And that holy supper instituted by Christ himself, which according to its essential signification rests upon that which is most peculiar to Christianity, the atoning death of Christ, even in its external form has still less anything in common with the sacred meals of the Essenes, since in this respect

it rests upon the Old Testament passover, and has the very use of wine, which the Essenes totally repudiated, as a significant element.

Christ's prophecies, which like those of the Old Testament prophets refer to the divine decrees concerning the development of the kingdom of God, differ positively from the Essaeic sooth-saying of incidental accidents, which only serves curiosity. And his healings, do not like those of the Essenes, rest upon the knowledge and application of natural remedies or superstitious magic formulas, but upon the free word-producing faith.

When, however, the Essaeic belief in the resurrection of the dead, and the kingdom of Messiah, is as remote from the Sadducaic denial, as it is from the sensually carnal conception of the Pharisees, this seeming similarity with the teaching of Christ is bought at too high a price considering the estimation of the earthly-corporeal, which is entirely foreign, yea opposed to the teaching of Christ. According to this estimation, it is no more man's duty to permeate it with the spiritual, to promote it as a symbol, an instrument of the spiritual, but to mortify and repress it more and more, to free the spiritual more and more from the polluting touching of the checking bounds of the corporeal. By it, the Essenes, it is true are obliged to conceive the future life of men as well as the appearance and the kingdom of the Messiah in the most spiritual manner in opposition to the power of sensual notions of the Pharisaic teaching. But on the other hand, every effort also of making a connection between the future life and the present corporeality as it must always be in their belief in a resurrection of the dead, or between the Messiah and the rest of mankind, becomes a contradiction to their most real fundamental view. Whether they conceive their Messiah also as the flower of the human race, whether they call him the son of the woman, the son of man, all these are mere names. A spirit being without human existence and life he remains from everlasting to everlasting the center of the heavenly kingdom of spirits and only with it he comes down upon the earth having become the heaven. The holy cannot enter into the development of the earthly-human life which is impure in itself. Such Essaeic ideas could by no means have



influenced Jesus in his spiritualization of the doctrine of the resurrection and the Messianic expectation. For when he, who was in truth and reality the son of the woman, the man with human flesh and blood, declared himself as the sinless, the Savior and judge of the world, he rather promoted in himself the human earthly corporeality which the Essenes degrade as a polluting bar of the spiritual, to the corresponding instrument of the spiritual, the holy, the divine. And even if it were admitted that following the Essæic phraseology, Jesus selected the name of the Son of Man from the book of Daniel in order to designate his Messianic dignity, the meaning is in either case different; or rather only with reference to Jesus, the Son of God, living in complete human development, not with reference to the Messiah of the Essenes who was completely removed from the earthly human sphere, does that name on the whole have any sense, an inner truth.

Where the views concerning the corporeal are so different the courage of suffering must also be different. His trembling and suffering, that awful expression of being forsaken by God (Matt. 26 : 37 seq., 27 : 46) only prove that this earthly human life was to him a valuable good, and death something unnatural, contradicting the idea of man. And it appears only so much greater and wonderful, when he nevertheless with voluntary love betakes himself to the way of death, bearing his suffering with endless patience. On the other hand how proud and cold appears that heroism in suffering, which the Essenes, tired of life, show. They smile through their torments and—very significant indeed—mock their tormentors. What contrast is there between this mockery and that inexhaustible fulness of compassionate love, with which the Crucified prays for his tormentors! (Luke 23 : 34).

Thus all those seeming equations which can be made in order to derive Christianity from Essenism, become in reality so many differences, yea direct oppositions. And even if one should say, not one or two, but all those resemblances when taken together prove nevertheless the historic connection, every single observation has rather shown that there is an entirely different spirit which is to be perceived here and there and every inner and

outer relationship is thus excluded. On the one hand we have the gospel which frees from the forms of the Old Testament law, on the other the piety and righteousness of Essenism enslaved under the letter of the Old Testament law. And it was undoubtedly that outward piety and righteousness which gave to Essenism its origin. It started out from the Pharisees or Separatists, who at a time when Hellenistic culture and Gentile manners, even heathenish culture threatened to enter Judaism, separated themselves from the profane people in order to be enabled to live up to the very letter of the law. But the more they strove after the spiritual dominion over the people, to achieve which they had to court their favor, the more necessary it became for them to mix among the people, and by this constant contact with the people they became a little lenient. It was this which induced the Essenes, *i. e.*, the pious, in order to carry out more consistently the Pharisaic principles, to separate themselves even outwardly from the people, to realize in smaller but closely connected societies the ideal of Levitical purity and legal austerity. Thence this excessive reverence for the name of Moses, to blaspheme which made any one guilty of death; thence the exceptionally rigorous observance of the Mosaic ritual, which made the Essene an exaggeration, almost a caricature of the Pharisee. But there are also some other points by which the Essene differed from the Pharisees, and in which we trace the working of influences which must have been derived from external sources. We have already seen how the Essene viewed marriage. This rigid asceticism in respect to marriage was peculiarly his own, for the honorable, and even exaggerated, estimate of marriage, which was characteristic of the Jew, and of the Pharisee as the typical Jew, found no favor with the Essene. But the latter did not stop here. The Pharisee was very careful to observe the distinction of meats lawful and unlawful, as laid down by the Mosaic code, and even rendered these ordinances vexatious by minute definitions of his own. But the Essene went far beyond him. He drank no wine, he did not touch animal food. "From these facts," says Lightfoot, "it seems clear that Essene abstinence was something more than the mere exaggeration of Pharisaic principles. The rigor of the Pharisee



was based on his obligation of obedience to an absolute external law. The Essene introduced a new principle. He condemned in any form the gratification of the natural cravings, nor would he consent to regard it as moral or immoral only according to the motive which suggested it or the consequences which flowed from it. It was in itself an absolute evil. He sought to disengage himself, as far as possible, from the conditions of physical life. In short, in the asceticism of the Essene we seem to see the germ of that Gnostic dualism which regards matter as the principle, or at least the abode, of evil."

But these are not the only points of departure from the common type of Jewish orthodoxy. We have seen that at day-break the Essenes addressed certain prayers, which had been handed down from their forefathers, to the sun, "as if entreating him to rise." They were careful also to conceal and bury all polluting substances, so as not 'to insult the rays of the god' (Josephus *War*, II., 8, 9.) "We cannot indeed suppose that they regarded the sun as more than a symbol of the unseen power who gives light and life, but their outward demonstrations of reverence were sufficiently prominent to attach to them, or to a sect derived from them, the epithet of 'Sun-worshippers,' and some connection with the characteristic feature of Parsee devotion at once suggests itself." The practice, notwithstanding Ginsburg's assertion to the contrary (*Art. Essenes* in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*), at all events stands in strong contrast to the denunciations of worship paid to the 'hosts of heaven' in the Hebrew prophets. To this we may add their denial of the resurrection of the body, their prohibition of sacrifices, their esoteric doctrine of angels, their representations regarding God and creation, their practice of magical arts and striving after purity, all this shows resemblances to Parsism and its undoubted influences.

"The Essenes" said a modern writer, "drew to them Judaism as well as heathenism, informally organizing a league of virtue for all religious men. \* \* Yet the bleeding chasm between flesh and spirit, the terror which recoiled from the impurity of the material world, the mechanical and involuntary action which destroyed individuality and carved out figures on one stiff and ste-

reotyped pattern, making them, as Josephus well says, merely schoolboys beneath the rod of their master, the exclusion of any wider development, the rigid conservation of the ancient sacred dogmas which were to remain intact,—finally and above all, the mysterious bond which held them back from the wider life of the Jewish community, prove that we are here examining, not so much a new principle, springing and urging itself into the world with fresh vigor, as an effort which was, however praiseworthy, languishing and laborious in the struggle to preserve the sufferers of a decaying age by truly Jewish means. When we examine more closely the influence of this order on the nation, it can hardly be called important or beneficial, on a large scale, notwithstanding all its favorable effect upon individuals. Essenism was in fact only an admission of helplessness against the actual state of things, renouncing the attempt to restore all Israel, to which it was opposed, as heterodox and impure, and in this occurred a breach with the living national spirit, the mysterious essence of undying power in its conception of unity and solidarity, and it was an act of despair, and a beginning of dissolution. In short, the salvation of individuals in the general shipwreck is frankly the watchword of the party. We hear nothing from them of a cry for the kingdom of God, nor for the Messiah, since these were enclosed within their own limits. It left the nation to rush to its destruction. And when the end came, and they had been mingled by persecution with the Zealots in order to save Zion, they chose to prolong their days in the deserts by the Dead Sea after the fall of Zion, where Essenism might indeed send forth fresh blossoms, as if its life were not affected by the national destruction. In this manner Essenism is a proof, of how much force and nobility was still to be found in the decaying humanity of the præ-Christian era, and how much spiritual material it might contribute to the new principle that was destined really to bring healing to the world; but we may learn from its weakness that the healing power which arose upon the nation, and indeed upon the world, with fresh creative fruitfulness cannot be counted among the impulses and forces of Essenism” (Keim, *History of Jesus of Nazara*, I., 384 seq.).

And Christ? Frankly he comes with his gospel message be-



fore the turmoil of the people; in their midst he lives, moves and has his being. Whether in Jerusalem or in Galilee, whether in the markets and streets or in the synagogues and schools, whether in the mountain or at the sea-shore, in fact always and everywhere his word and help is ready for him who receives it. He invites all who seek rest for their souls. As a physician not of those who are whole, but of the sick, he lives in the company of publicans and sinners (Matt. 11 : 9). But he also allows himself to be invited by those who opposed him the most, the high-minded Pharisees (Luke 7 : 36; 11 : 37; 14 : 1). The deepest truths he presents in such a manner as to be intelligible even for children. Even what he spoke to his disciples in secret was not to remain a secret doctrine, but was spoken for all. What he told them in darkness, they were to speak in light, and what they heard in the ear, they were to preach upon the house-tops (Matt. 10 : 27). Not like the Essenes, were his disciples to put their light under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that all who were in darkness may receive light (5 : 14 seq.). Christ's kingdom was not to be hid in the corners of the world, but like the mustard seed which becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof, it was to embrace all the world, and like the leaven which leavens the meal, it was to permeate the whole world (13 : 13 seq.). Christ's word is not a statute of an order, no external didactic formula, no ascetic rule of virtue, but a holy power of life, which as such is appointed to and capable of entering also into all phenomena of human life and thinking. No! it is not the spirit of Essaeic sectarianism, in which Christ has gathered unto himself his congregation. And from this standpoint, the silence which Christ and the gospels observed towards the Essenes can be better understood. It was not because of the identity between his teaching and that of the Essenes, but because Christ who preached and worked in the open market among the people, could certainly meet with Pharisees and Sadducees and all other parties, but not with the Essenes.

## ARTICLE VI.

## ELEMENTS OF POWER IN TALMAGE'S PREACHING.

By REV. J. A. SINGMASTER, A. M., Brooklyn, N. Y.

T. De Witt Talmage, D. D., is a preacher of great power. He may not be the greatest preacher living but he is certainly the most popular. His congregation, numbering upwards of four thousand members, is probably the largest Protestant church in Christendom. He claims that about six thousand people were converted last year through his preaching. In this city of world renowned preachers, he commands twice as many hearers as any other. Indeed, while men of distinguished learning and reputation even as classic orators preach to a handful, the Tabernacle is crowded to the doors. When other churches are poorly attended on account of inclement weather, there is often not standing room there. I believe that there are fifty churches in Brooklyn whose combined Sunday evening congregations are easily outnumbered by the people who throng to hear Talmage. Nor is this the exception; it is the rule. For nearly a score of years he has labored here with ever increasing popularity and success.

This wonderful status has not been attained by organized lay effort, by impressive music, by pastoral activity, by oratorical trickery or anything of the kind, for his sermons are quite as popular in the printed form as when delivered by the enthusiastic preacher. Of what other preacher, living or dead, since the age of the apostles is this true? Even Beecher's sermons lost their spell in the printing office and Spurgeon's often are common-place, divorced from the magic of their delivery. A publisher recently remarked that Talmage's sermons are more eagerly sought for and command a higher price than those of any other man. Their circulation in newspapers, magazines and books is almost fabulous. They have made his name a household word to the ends of the earth. There are few men living,



presidents, emperors, princes, authors, philanthropists, who are as widely known as Talmage.

Moreover, it is not the uneducated only that admire him. Abundant testimony may be adduced from able and unprejudiced men to his great power. Spurgeon says: "His sermons take hold on my inmost soul. The Lord is with this mighty man. I am astonished when God blesses me, but not surprised when he blesses him." Rev. Dr. S. T. Spear pronounces him the most remarkable, impressive and profitable preacher he has ever listened to—"a poet, a dramatist and a genius for the glory of God and the good of mankind." Dr. Prime said that his sermons were "as simple as Bunyan, as cogent as Wesley and as mighty as Edwards." Beecher, Storrs, Lyman Abbott, Talbot W. Chambers and other eminent preachers have spoken in a similar vein. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen considers his sermons "as unequaled in their power to commend Christ to men as a never-dying Saviour." This is a tribute endorsed by poets, scholars, orators and judges.

How shall we account for the facts which make up the record of this great man? Are we to dismiss the whole matter with the one word *sensational*? Are we to unite with the jealous or the profane and call him names? Surely that would be neither kind nor philosophical. To ascribe his great success, as some of his enemies do, to such things as the accessories of the Tabernacle, would be to forget that he created them. To credit it to the undeniable eccentricities of his delivery would be to ignore the popularity of his printed sermons. To account for it by supposing that his adherents are only shallow, unsubstantial people would be to believe what is not true.

It is urged against him also that some of his sermons are barren in thought, poorly arranged and the like. Of whose sermons may not this be said? It is utterly unfair to judge a man by his failings. His church has also been frequently unfavorably contrasted with others on points of benevolence and missionary activity. This proves at most that he is greater as a preacher than as an organizer and pastor. It may also illustrate the adage that great men have great faults.

I write not to apologize for him nor to glorify him. He does

not need the former ; and the latter would count for little. But I do insist that when a man arises in the pulpit to whom the world listens, the average preacher has much to learn from him. His eccentricities are not worse than those of other great preachers to whom enraptured multitudes listened in the past. Chrysostom and our own Luther were the sensationalists of their day in exposing vice and breaking the pulpit trammels of the age.

We are not seeking a "*secret* of success" in this inadequate study of Talmage ; for there is no secret about his success any more than about success in general. These things are often spoken of as though there were something magical about them. Surely you might as well ascribe the Brooklyn Bridge, the mechanical triumph of the age, to the black art instead of to science, as to reckon greatness the product of an unknowable secret instead of being the fruit of endowment and achievement. Says one of Dr. Talmage's friends : "He is not a phenomenon, for he can be classed, accounted for and explained." To even a casual observer enough appears in the man and in the sermon to explain his power. The source of it all is, of course, divine grace in giving him a pious ancestry, good natural gifts, opportunity and personal experience of its saving power. But to ascribe all his gifts to *faith* would be to forget that God operates through human personality and would also reflect upon hundreds of less able and less successful workers whose faith is not less than his. A man must have something besides faith to be an efficient preacher of the Gospel.

I. For the sake of clearness we will speak of the Elements of Power under two headings—first those in the man and secondly those in the sermon.

1. Talmage is what men somewhat vaguely call "a born preacher," meaning that preaching comes natural to him. As other men have a peculiar and inherent fitness for art or commerce so he is by endowment and bent of mind a preacher. He has evidently not mistaken his calling (even if he sometimes makes some of us feel as though we had mistaken ours). He could have been nothing else so well. If you take Phillips Brooks' definition of preaching : "Truth through personality" and apply it to Talmage you will find that he measures up to it



very well. No one impugns his orthodoxy and none can fail to observe his marked individuality. This latter characteristic makes him so prominent. He is so entirely unlike any other man. He is the disciple of no school. He does his work in his own way. He is preëminently himself. Men are apt to be too strongly influenced by their teachers and to repress their individuality to conform to the common mould. Can anything be more harmful and, indeed, absurd than the effort to fashion one's thoughts and feelings after models? As well might men insist that ministers should all look alike, not only in clerical dress but in countenance and stature. Talmage is a living protest against a mechanical ministry and as such renders useful service.

2. He is a man of conviction. He evidently believes what he says. There is no wavering of opinion in him. He knows no new nor progressive theology. He preaches the identical truths which he proclaimed in the beginning. Whatever he may have invented, he has not tampered with truth. The theme may be fanciful but its development will bring out clearly and strongly some phase of truth. It is water from the old fountain, though it be drawn with vessels curiously and beautifully wrought. There is a message for this herald to deliver, and he delivers it without withholding one iota as he understands it, but he does it in his own way. And is not his own way better for him than any other? Is it any wonder that men fail in the ministry when they believe in a half-hearted way, to begin with, and then express themselves in an artificial manner? Here is a man who sets us the example of tremendous earnestness in accepting and teaching. It is a mistake to suppose that he holds his place in virtue of flattery. His denunciations of wrong are scathing without respect of persons. With withering sarcasm he condemns dead formalism and holds up the cross as the only hope of man.

3. Talmage understands men. A knowledge of human nature is an essential element in a great preacher. From Paul to Luther, and from Luther to Beecher and Spurgeon and John Hall, it has characterized every true sermon. Accepting as a

definition of preaching, "Divine truth through man to man," it is plain that the preacher must lie open to two chief influences—the divine and the human. The former we have spoken about under the head of conviction. The latter we believe is also illustrated in Talmage. He is a man among men. He seems to enter into intimate personal relations with every hearer. A deep human sympathy pervades his sermons. People feel at home at the Tabernacle. What an unfriendly critic of Talmage wrote in reference to Dr. Hall, he might with equal truthfulness have written of the former: "It may be reckoned of the characteristic traits of his speaking that he ingratiates himself with his hearers. \* \* The speaker says pleasant things because he thinks pleasant things, *and* because he knows that he shall so dispose his hearers to receive his main message more favorably." Talmage has caught the spirit of the age as fully as any man living. He knows what people will listen to and he understands how to give it. It is not his fault that this is not an era of abstractions and theological preaching. The pulpit that deals largely in these things now-a-days has little support and accomplishes nothing. If the Pauline spirit, being all things to all men, be dominant in Talmage we need not wonder at his success.

4. He is also a man of great resources. While it is true that he lacks many of the graces of oratory and cannot be called a profound thinker, he yet has gifts and capabilities far more essential. To begin with, he has a strong and supple body, not indeed that robust and rubicund physique of Beecher, but bone and muscle apparently well knit, healthy and capable of much work and endurance. He has a voice like a trumpet, not indeed a very sweet-toned one like Spurgeon's, but possessing vast compass and flexibility. He has a well-disciplined and well-stored mind, a prodigious memory, a glowing imagination, and a warm heart. If oratory be "action," then Talmage is an orator, for he is action personified, body and soul.

5. Talmage is mature. By this we do not mean that he is perfect, far from it, but that he knows his work and understands how to do it easily. He seems equal to his task, and hence never makes people nervous through faltering or missing his



train of thought or losing control of himself. Unlike Joseph Parker, he is not the victim of emotional excitement and stage-fright. He appears as much at home before thousands as most men do in the home circle. It is equally true in reference to the matter of his preaching. He is never in doubt, expresses no vague opinions. His belief being settled long ago, he has devoted himself to the work of inspiring a like faith in others.

II. Turning now to the sermon let us notice some elements of power in it. In a sense the sermon and the man are inseparable, because the very idea of preaching implies human personality.

1. Talmage's sermons are simple and intelligible. In the first place, they are always delivered in an audible voice, the lack of which mars many an otherwise able effort. How can even the simplest address be intelligible if not distinctly heard? Yet in even so plain and fundamental a matter as this, there is room for much improvement among preachers. As clear as the sound of the words is to the ear so is their sense to the mind in the Tabernacle discourses. In short, every body in the congregation hears and understands Talmage. This is a characteristic of true preaching, as exemplified by Luther who made it a point to make truth so plain that the most uneducated servant could understand. It is not true that the age is averse to thoughtful preaching, but it does object most properly to obscurity of thought in preaching. What right has the preacher to expect a hearing from people upon whom he tries to put the task of mastering a subject which he ought to master for them? If he, with all his professional training and special study, fail to make his subject easily intelligible, how can he expect the average man to do it during the time of the delivery of the discourse? The speaker's mind necessarily travels in advance of the hearer's, and if the former insists on suddenly turning corners or plunging into darkness he will soon find that he is traveling alone. Talmage carries his auditor or reader right along. He may not comprehend every allusion, may not be always convinced, but he never fails to catch the meaning.

2. They are remarkable for their diction. It is worthy of remark that Talmage, according to a table made by an English-

man, uses a larger percentage of Saxon and cognate words than Dr. Storrs, Canon Farrar or even Spurgeon. His fertile and vivid imagination finds expression in every figure of rhetoric. Like a plunging steed it dashes forward unhindered by obstacles. What if the figures are mixed at times and the language inexact? "Passion is more than form" it has been well said. To reject Talmage's sermons, which are generally extemporaneous, because he has not elaborated and polished his sentences and figures, like Dr. Guthrie for instance, would be equivalent to despising a natural landscape because, perchance, of rugged ridges and luxuriant underbrush. Talmage is not a painter of miniatures. His canvas is large and the coloring bright and the figures heroic. It is to be remembered that his style is that of speech rather than that of the pen, that he illuminates rather than analyzes his theme. His ideas seem to come so thick and fast that even his gift of speech is taxed to give them utterance. Surely, if he were to pause to give each picture its proper details, we would lose more than we would gain.

3. They are dramatic. This word comes dangerously near "theatrical;" but one may be dramatic without being theatrical. Talmage is accused of being the latter. Perhaps he is at times. He is certainly nothing if not the former. But every great preacher is dramatic; that is, he presents truth in life-like pictures and with striking effect. Our lamented Stork ascribed Moody's influence chiefly to his dramatic power. Let any preacher, who is not above learning, compare his sermons with those of Talmage on the same texts, and he will discover that, while he may say practically the same things and even say them more logically, yet in point of interest, vividness and truth to life those of Talmage are generally immensely superior. Indeed, the average sermon is apt to be dull not because it is not learned or orthodox in doctrine, but because it is not *true*—true to nature. The men and the scenes are too apt to be mere caricatures or utter impossibilities. Not so with Talmage's pictures; they are possible if not actual.

4. They are full of illustrations. Whatever else they may contain, they always have facts illustrating the subject. What a vast and systematized repertory of incidents, opinions and sta-



tistics Talmage must have! We do not presume to know, but his sermons and addresses seem to indicate a rich and wide experience, knowledge of men, extended historical reading, access to books of reference, comprehensive indexes and perhaps scrap-books of newspaper cuttings. He has been arraigned for being "incredibly careless in his statements." We may admit the truthfulness of the charge and yet maintain the point we make in regard to illustration. He may trust too much to memory, but it remains true that, though the illustration may not be exact, it yet serves to illustrate. Remove the illustrations from his sermon and you destroy its effect.

5. They are evangelical. Their aim is noble. This sanctifies them and ought to mitigate the uncharitable criticism which belittles them. He is the champion of the poor and the crushed, of public morality against gambling, drunkenness and kindred vices. He scores fashionable follies with the keen edge of satire. He warns young men with all the powers of his picturesque and persuasive rhetoric and of his yearning heart against the temptations of city life. He preaches Christ and him crucified as the only hope of man. He applies the truth in such a personal manner that the old cry of the lost, "What must I do to be saved?" is often heard at the Tabernacle.

We have accomplished our design in setting forth, imperfectly indeed, some Elements of Power in Talmage's Preaching. Others might have been added and illustrative matter from his sermons incorporated. We have also deliberately ignored his faults for these are not elements of power. The points mentioned are a sufficient and rational explanation of his influence. If we were asked to sum up in a sentence the reason of his success we would say: *He owes his success to a large combination of common qualities developed to a high degree.* There are scores of ministers who upon single points are without doubt immensely his superiors but whose deficiency in others is fatal to popularity.

## ARTICLE VII.

## HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG.

By PROF. E. J. WOLF, D. D., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

## A MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

Whenever the clock strikes, the man for the hour appears upon the stage. To rescue truth from its enemies, to deliver a people from oppression or anarchy, to effect beneficent revolutions in society—in each momentous crisis, the very man required by the occasion is sure to come to the kingdom for such a time as this. No one acquainted with the character and labors of Mühlenberg, and with the condition of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the colonies prior to his arrival, can have any doubt that he was singled out and fitted out by Providence for the great work which he effected. Like Moses, David, Paul, Charlemagne, Luther, Cromwell, Washington, Lincoln, here was a heaven-ordained leader—a man sent from God to gather into a fold the scattered sheep of the Lutheran faith, to reduce to order the precious elements of German Christianity, chaotic and dispersed over a vast wilderness, and to build the foundations firm and strong of the Lutheran Church in this western world.

Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg was born at Eimbeck, a town in what is now the Prussian province of Hanover, on the 6th day of September, 1711. The names of his parents were Nicholas Melchior Mühlenberg, and Anna Maria, *nee* Kleinschmidt, who were both of respectable social position. Young Heinrich, according to good Lutheran custom, was baptized on the day of his birth, and confirmed in his twelfth year. The materials of his early life are meagre, but sufficient to reveal liberal endowments, ardent thirst for knowledge, industrious and successful study, and a predisposition to independence of thought. When yet quite young he was the subject of serious religious convictions, and at an early period his active labors among poor children reveal a benevolent heart. Not born to wealth or lux-



ury, he possessed in a godly parentage a better inheritance than the children of fortune.

Wild oats and wanton dreams of sentimentalism do not seem in his case to have constituted an indispensable element in the formation of a manly character. Even while engaged as a youth in another vocation, he clandestinely devoted every spare moment to his books; spent his evenings at study, exercised his voice in addressing the walls of a barn, and attained such proficiency from private instruction that when admitted to the highest classical school of the place, he at once passed to the front, and distinguished himself for his rapid progress in Latin, Greek, and other studies. He entered the University of Göttingen in 1735, in the 24th year of his age. The kind of young man he was may be inferred from the facts that the Council of Eimbeck voted him the use of a stipend for a year, and that he received certain benefices from the High Sheriff of Hanover, going far to cover his expenses at the University, and that one of the professors (in consideration of some services) took him into his house, made him his private secretary, and gave him a room and his boarding. His moral fibre is also shown by the circumstance that he was not only able to withstand the temptations of university life, but was equally proof against the terrorism experienced by such as will not fall in with the abominable barbarisms which have always disgraced German student-life. He chose for his friends fellow-students of a positively religious turn, coming through them for the first time into immediate contact with Halleian Pietism, experiencing great spiritual benefits from this association, and learning, among other truths, that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is the indispensable prerequisite for a preacher of the Gospel.

While students generally were at their beer and their bouts, he, with a few others, engaged in the instruction of poor, ignorant children, with no reward except the opposition of the clergy and public school teachers—an humble work of Christian love, out of which grew a charity school (under the supervision of the theological faculty), the beginning of the Göttingen Orphan House, which continues to this day.

The spirituality of his character, as well as the recognition he

received from eminent men, may be judged by his attending the household devotions in the family of Count Wernigerode, and his delivery of lectures on religious and theological topics in the mansion of Count Reuss. In the last year of his student life he was on the roll of those who were required to preach in the University church and to catechise the children.

Upon his graduation, instead of being appointed to a pastorate, he was providentially made teacher in the Orphan House at Halle, beginning with the lowest classes, but advancing rapidly to the higher ones.

The natural order to be followed in this discussion is :

- I. THE MAN.
- II. HIS WORK.
- III. HIS THEOLOGICAL RICHTUNG.\*

I. *The Man*.—But in the cursory glance at his youth and early manhood, the first part of my theme has been in substance anticipated. The portrayal of the man's personality will seem superfluous after what has been already said. Given in a young life the factors of a Christian home, early piety, natural talents and their zealous improvement, select associations, and unselfish labors with the young and poor, and you have the pledge and portrait of what is to come in later years. The boy is father to the man.

The outlines of his character can easily be traced by the single statement in his biography, "he never trifled with a duty." That he was a man of ardent zeal, devoted fidelity, and of missionary aggressiveness, is obvious from his being called to labor at the Halle institutions, soon after pressed to return to the charity school in which he had formerly labored at Göttingen, designed at the same time by others as a missionary to East India, urged in the meanwhile by Count Reuss for the pastorate of Grosshennersdorf, and immediately after accepting that post

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\*For the facts found in this address the speaker is mostly indebted to the very excellent work on *The Life and Times* of H. M. Mühlenberg, by Rev. W. J. Mann, D. D., whose painstaking industry and fidelity to historic truth will not be questioned by any one knowing the man or reading this work.



called to the responsible and arduous service of laboring in the wilds of America.

When he was invited to this heroic and appalling undertaking, to go among the dispersed and destitute Lutherans in Pennsylvania, his unhesitating reply was that if he could see in it the will of God he would go, that he felt bound to go wherever Providence called him. Though he was to proceed upon a mission which it could be easily foreseen was fraught with innumerable difficulties, hardships and dangers, he could say with the undaunted spirit of an apostle, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear." Home, friends, country, associations, studies, comforts, were cheerfully surrendered for what was then materially and morally a howling wilderness.

A closer study of his life reveals at every point his humble, sincere and fervent piety. He was a spiritually-minded man. He walked with God. While sojourning in London, seeing for the first time a brilliant metropolis, with its display of the splendor and gayety of the world, his diary contains not a word about impressions made by magnificent buildings, bridges, museums and monuments, but he speaks continually of the spiritual benefits derived from his intercourse with Ziegenhagen and others, whose pastoral experience, knowledge of scripture, and missionary zeal, were subjects of fascinating interest to his mind. Similarly, on his first visit to New York, not a word is uttered on the romantic beauty of the river, and that unsurpassed harbor, but the deplorable condition of his brethren in the faith absorbs all his attention.

During his long and dreadful voyage he is seen engaged from day to day in meditation and prayer, is horrified and disgusted with the profanity that assailed his ears, and exercises by his dignified carriage and spiritual demeanor a controlling influence over those coarse and wicked men.

He was possessed of a strong faith, which moved him to seek divine direction in everything that concerned him or his work, and to place himself always implicitly in the hands of the Lord. He exercised a childlike belief in a special providence presiding over individuals, and ascribed all his deliverances, his experiences

with friendly strangers, and all acts of kindness he received, to the Fatherly hand that was ever in mercy stretched out over him. God was in everything. In view of the war prevailing at the time of his voyage, and the pirates who infested the sea, his vessel had been provided with a number of cannon; but when he heard the poor Salzburger mother singing "Ein Feste Burg," he declared he had more faith in that than in all the iron weapons of war. All through his career, like a real mystic, he is most carefully watching for special indications of the will of God, and praying at the same time for a sure revelation of it to him.

He had the unselfishness that marked his Master, and forgetful of his own comfort and needs, gave himself, wherever opportunity opened, to disinterested and charitable labors for others. On his long voyage of 110 days, with the same spirit that ruled him while at school, he regularly instructed in intellectual and spiritual matters the children of a Salzburger family that were his fellow passengers. On his way from Charleston to Philadelphia, while visiting a fort and invited by its commander to supper, he learned as he was eating of a number of German workmen who were in a neighboring room. Immediately he forgot his supper and rushed to the room where these humble men were engaged in devotion. They went almost wild over him, and begged him for a word of comfort, and in the few minutes allowed him, he expounded the 23d Psalm and prayed with them, and then commended them to the kind consideration of the commander. His suffering countrymen, in fact all whom he found like them in ignorance and distress, continually touched his heart with pity. His very countenance, cheerful, benignant, smiling, was the expression of a most kindly, loving, sympathetic heart, and invested him with a certain irresistible charm that drew to him all classes. Such mistakes as he may have committed occurred generally in cases where his kindness blinded his judgment.

He was withal an uncommonly practical man, possessed of a large measure of common sense, cool, clearheaded, and farsighted, open and straight-forward, having a considerable element of humor, a firm, resolute will, dauntless courage, sound judg-



ment, associated with a keen penetration into human nature, a marvelous knowledge of men, "a sanctified temper," with ready resources under trying circumstances, examples of which may be seen in his encounters with Kraft and Zinzendorf. In fact, he was peculiarly fitted to be a leader of men; to deal with all elements; to expose such as were dangerous and hypocritical; to reconcile contending parties; to bring all rightminded men under his influence, and to drive the incorrigible from the sphere which they dishonored. He had, besides, a strong sense of order, a talent of organization, a mind that would see the connections of things, and comprehend the interest of the whole as well as the parts. Shakespeare would say of him that he was "infinite in faculty," and what was of pre-eminent value to him and his work, he had the tact of exercising and adapting his faculties as occasion required. He was also an unusually good public speaker, possessed a melodious voice, was capable of speaking half a dozen modern languages, and attracted multitudes wherever he preached.

Then, giving vigor to all these attributes of a great, good man, he owned "a robust, farmer-like constitution," without which he could in fact neither have possessed the prodigious energy which his vast responsibilities required, nor have withstood the terrible hardships and exposures connected with his work.

All these qualities combined to produce in him that aggressiveness of the Christian spirit which made him in the fullest sense and all the time a missionary, "instant in season, out of season," the world his parish, and every soul an object of tender and anxious personal concern. Wherever in his incessant journeys he was delayed for a time at a private or a public house, he would hold two daily services at his lodgings, sometimes for the sake of a few English-speaking people who were present repeating in English the discourse he had delivered in German, giving instruction to the children, and entering into spiritual conversation with individuals wherever there was an opportunity.

That long and dreadful voyage in coming to America is a chapter of heroic and thrilling missionary effort. It was then that he made his first blundering attempt at an English sermon, using Latin terms where his vocabulary failed him, and having

the captain put them into English. Sunday after Sunday he preached in the morning to the few Salzburgers on board; in the afternoon in broken English; taking every one under special pastoral care, among other things holding a most interesting colloquy with the Roman Catholic cook, and endeavoring to give the germs of religious knowledge to several negro slaves whom he found on the vessel, and whose condition roused his warmest sympathy.

One time during the voyage from Charleston to Philadelphia, when he was so exhausted from sea-sickness that he could not stand, he preached from his bed, in a sitting posture, to the sailors, whose blasphemy had greatly shocked him.

His one chief concern was the saving of immortal souls.

And that he was a man of stainless and irreproachable reputation is evident from the notable fact that he stood proof against all the mistrust, calumnies and assaults which his enemies maliciously directed against him.

Endowed so liberally, and excelling as he did in the primary attributes of spiritual character, he had withal a very humble estimate of himself—had serious misgivings over his ability for the great mission to which he was called, and cherished such a consciousness of responsibility that he declared the care of even two or three souls overwhelmed him.

II. *His Work.*—From the survey of his personality it is not difficult to sketch the character of the man's work. A view of the state of things as he found them on these shores, the situation of the Colonies, the secular, intellectual, and moral depression of the people whom he served, the general demoralization in the scattered, feeble, impoverished, divided, and disheartened congregations, the opposition against which he had to contend, and the omnipresent impostors and clerical scoundrels whom he encountered—given all this, and a knowledge of the man himself, and it is made an easy task to draw a picture of the work done by him. Never were a man and his mission better suited to each other. Never was man's work a better index of the man himself.

No foreign missionary was ever called to a more trying situation. Scarcely an apostle ever faced perils and terrors surpass-



ing those which everywhere awaited Mühlenberg, his life again and again being saved only by that special Providence in which he trusted so implicitly.

His formal official call through Dr. Ziegenhagen, Court-Chaplain at London, was to the charge of the Evangelical Lutheran churches of Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover, but in a very few years the field of his labors had widened hundreds of miles in all directions, and included congregations in New Jersey, New York, and Maryland, along with the whole territory of Eastern Pennsylvania from York and Tulphocken to Philadelphia, requiring him to journey over vast stretches of unbroken forest, under drenching rains and terrific storms, through snows and floods and swamps and every hardship connected with frontier life, with the certainty, too, in advance, that his primary reward would in every place, be trouble and disgrace.

For the opponents of a pure Gospel, the enemies of order and peace, the agents of hell sporting the livery of heaven, and especially the emissaries and partisans of that semi-Jesuit, semi-fanatic, Zinzendorf, had everywhere preceded him and planted their guns against his approach.

Of the character of his sermons little is known, except that they were marked by faithfulness and zeal, were plain and popular in form, abounding in homely illustrations, practical and pointed, calculated to produce spiritual awakening and vital reformation, rather than to win admiration or fame. In this respect he strikingly resembled his contemporaries, Wesley and Whitefield, whose published discourses awakened surprise at their phenomenal power. Mühlenberg's preaching, like that of other men, can be judged best by its results. Increased attendance upon public worship began at once with his ministrations at a place, and symptoms of renewed spiritual life followed close upon his preaching. The man who in mid-winter, in the climate of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, preaches under the open sky, cannot have a tame sermon nor a sleepy audience to hear it. About the first thing in his pastoral career, and one that always had special prominence, was the instruction of the children. *A school-house was built before a church.* We know

what experience he had as a teacher of children at Eimbeck, Göttingen, Halle, Grosshennersdorf, and what talent for instruction and discipline he had there displayed. Assuming his pastoral work in each of the three congregations, he teaches week about in each, and English as well as German. This far-seeing apostle had not that hatred of the English tongue with which Satan afterwards inspired our churches, as a further means of enfeebling and distracting them. His capacity of adaptation was one of the crowning factors of his great usefulness. His intercourse, even in the days of his student life, with all ranks of society, enabled him to enter easily into the ways of thinking and feeling with all classes—to adjust himself considerably, always and everywhere, to circumstances and states of society. We see his admirable tact, as well as unquenchable zeal, in his course with the motley crowd on ship-board in crossing the Atlantic. When as pastor at Grosshennersdorf, he found a small colony of Bohemians, he felt it his duty to learn enough of the Czech language to enable him to administer the Lord's Supper. To him language was nothing, nationality was nothing; Christ was all, and in all. He preached German, Dutch, English, Latin—his one concern to save immortal souls; and like a true missionary he would learn and he would use any language in which he might preach Christ unto men. Hence in his earliest years he preached English regularly on the afternoons in his churches, and when supplying the church in New York he preached in the Dutch in the morning, in the German during the afternoon, and the English at night.

He was in the most real sense a pastor, caring not only for the size and appearance of the flock as a whole, but for their internal state, and for every individual sheep. He was not one of your easy-going shepherds who felt relieved of all responsibility when he had preached the word. He often preached every day in the week. No mere perfunctory services these. In view of the immense extent of his parish, and the "lamentable wilderness" in which it was situated, he mournfully exclaims: "My saddest concern is that to the *special care of each soul* there is too little time and opportunity given," And notwithstanding that roads, rivers and pitiless weather were such that "one would



not like to drive his dog out of the house," yet "willingly do I go," he says, "at any day or any time left free to me, and visit souls in whom the Spirit has begun his work." It was a common practice with him at the close of Sunday to spend the hours in private with awakened and penitent individuals, directing inquirers who were seeking life and light. Among the most valuable parts of his biography are the narratives of individual cases of spiritual awakening that occurred under his pastoral ministrations. Notice, for instance, his intense anxiety for the spiritual welfare of his father-in-law.

His faithfulness in this sphere commends him as a model to Lutheran pastors. The renewal and salvation of the individual was the burning purpose of his ministry. Notwithstanding the low standard that prevailed, he exercised strict discipline, and resolutely excluded from communion all who were known to live in gross and wilful sin. When in his congregation the people for the first time handed in their names for communion, he required the officers to testify concerning the moral character of these people. So afterwards at York, when on the occasion of his first visit there, the congregation asked to have the Holy Supper, he refused it, telling them they first needed repentance and the application of God's word.

He excelled especially as a peace-maker, a mediator, an organizer and administrator. On the first Sunday he spent in Pennsylvania, an ugly quarrel arose between a Jewish merchant and a cabinet-maker. The clerical stranger at once interposed, and constrained them to forgive each other. For the exercise of this faculty there was constant and pressing need. Wherever a dozen of Lutheran families were found, there some vagrant interloper had intruded. The want of true shepherds for one hundred years had proved a prolific source for the appearance of false ones, pretenders, impostors, hirelings, deposed preachers, Moravian fanatics calling themselves Lutheran pastors usurping lordship over the poor, ignorant Lutherans—sometimes two competing for the rule over the same congregation—resorting to all sorts of intrigues and manœuvres; like Zinzendorf himself, who, though holding a position of decided antagonism to the Lutherans, pretended to be a Lutheran pastor, and arrogantly

assumed to be inspector and supervisor of all the Lutheran congregations in the Province, unsettling the people, fomenting strife, dividing the congregations into warring factions, and converting the Church more than even the country into a howling wilderness.

Not another man in ten thousand could have succeeded as Mühlenberg did in removing difficulties, allaying strife, reconciling hostile factions, bringing order out of chaos, establishing rules for government, effecting sound organization, excluding the incorrigible, and guarding the Church from future inroads of shameless and unprincipled intruders.

On his arrival here there were a few isolated congregations, torn by dissensions, served at intervals by mercenary or drunken scoundrels, disheartened from long struggles and gloomy prospects, and ready to die. In a few years these had grown into peaceful churches, throbbing with renewed spiritual life, animated with a deep interest in God's word and sacraments, building houses of worship, enjoying the oversight of regular and faithful shepherds—and as early as 1748 brought together into a joint organization of pastors and churches wherein the individual congregations became organic parts of the Church body, and received through lay representation a voice in the government of the Church as a whole, and of its constituent parts. This form of church government was doubtless the best possible for those times, securing order and discipline, providing for common necessities, strengthening the whole and every part, guarding against disintegrating influences from within and disturbing influences from without, and laying the foundations broad and firm for the grand organic structure of Lutheranism which this western world presents to-day.

And all this in less than six years after his arrival, at a time, too, when by long experience the people had lost almost all faith in ministers of the Gospel, because of the despicable men who had brought the office into contempt. Surely here were results which, considering the obstacles in the way, indicate herculean labors—a work rivaling that of Washington in difficulties, in success and in moral glory, the achievement of an heroic mind, that in all its trials was never discouraged nor dissatisfied, but



found its greatest solace in being useful and valuable to others.

III. *His Theological Richtung.*—On what meat did this man feed, that he became so strong, so wise, and so efficient? We may rest assured that no thin milk-and-water dilution of theology is capable of nourishing such a life, or producing such a hero.

That he had imbibed entirely the Lutheran faith as taught with the glow of Pietistic fervor is a fact very well known and beyond question. That throughout his ministry he showed the warmest attachment to the distinctive Lutheran doctrines is a truth brought to view in a number of instances, both in his pastoral ministrations, in the organization of churches, and in the ordination of candidates to the sacred office.

When old grandfather Weiser visited him for the special purpose of consulting on the concerns of his soul, Mühlberg remarked in his journal, "I could here see how true it is that the Spirit of God is directly united with the Word. It affords sincere joy to see how the old Evangelical Lutheran teachings were revived in his soul."

It is superfluous here to go into details or to bring proofs. That Mühlberg accepted the Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church as a faithful interpretation of God's word, that he required the congregations organized under his supervision to hold to the Word of God, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and the other Symbolical Books, no one will deny who has any knowledge of the subject.

The study of his life makes it equally clear, on the other hand, that he had neither sympathy *with* nor *from* the conservative orthodox party, who are usually designated Old Lutherans. He was not at all given to that careful, minute and guarded definition of doctrines which has always distinguished that school. Having occasion at Hackensack, where "an interest had been excited on the Sacramental question," to preach on the Lord's Supper, and with many of the Reformed as well as the Lutherans present to hear what position Mühlberg would take, he refrained, as he says in his diary, "from all scholastic and unnecessary fancies, simply and sincerely rested on the clear testa-

mentary words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and acted therein like Queen Elizabeth who, when questioned \* \* about this article of faith, answered :

‘It was the Word that spake it ;  
He took the bread and brake it ;  
And what the Word did make it,  
That I believe and take it.’ ”

Mere orthodoxy of teaching was not with him the paramount concern. The life is more than the form. “Theology was not so much knowledge,” says Dr. Mann, “as the *habitus* of the whole man”—the life principle of a spiritual state new-created in Christ Jesus.

The phrase, “his religious views and feelings,” occurs so repeatedly in his biography as to indicate unmistakably that in spiritual experience and practical life he was distinguished from the so-called orthodox school. He was possessed of peculiarities which were lacking in them.

He came into collision with this party while he was pastor in Germany. The only publication from his pen that has come to light, except a sermon preached in Philadelphia, was a sharp and earnest defence of pietistic customs and new measures over against the assaults of the Old Lutherans. He plead manfully in this for a fervent preaching of repentance and Christ crucified, and strongly urged spiritual renewal, practical godliness, and the liberty for laymen to assemble in private conventicles or Christian families, for prayer and the study of God’s Word. On the latter point Dr. Mann says of him during his ministry in the Colonies: “He rejoiced when church members would from time to time privately meet, that they might together read the Word of God, and pray and sing.” Throughout the *Hallische Nachrichten* the subject of prayer-meetings takes up a very considerable space, showing the deep interest and hearty approval he felt for these devotional assemblies.

For his position on these measures he suffered persecution before coming to this country. The clerical dignitaries of his native place were so prejudiced against his Halleian Pietism that they applied “the Galesburg Rule” to him. Mühlenberg was not allowed to preach in a Lutheran pulpit. And because some



who sympathized with his views and feelings visited him at his private residence, he was charged with holding conventicle services, and officially commanded "to desist from holding Pietistic conventicles," "under the menace of imprisonment."

On this side of the Atlantic he had hardly begun his labors when Wagner, Berkenmeier and Knoll made it extremely unpleasant for him by raising objections to his orthodoxy, and circulating suspicions that he was not in agreement with the Form of Concord. They were so strongly prejudiced against this Hallean missionary that they declined to coöperate with him, and employed every opportunity to undermine his influence, persistently charging, sometimes in printed pamphlets, that he intended to lead the people away from Lutheran doctrine and church order. These Simon-pure Lutherans, "representatives of the old orthodox school," "who laid stress upon the orthodox faith and the old ways,"\* who had attempted even to depose Hartwig for what they considered his Moravian principles—these men would hold no fellowship with Mühlenberg. And when in 1748 he organized the first Lutheran Synod in this country, with a view to unifying the Church, they were conspicuous by their absence. Hartwig came from New York and heartily joined the body, but Berkenmeier and Knoll did not. Although Berkenmeier, after considerable hesitation, allowed Mühlenberg on one occasion to occupy his pulpit, he did not go to hear him. Dr. Mann frankly admits, "They were representatives of two different schools."

Nothing can be pointed to in his whole career that savors of sectarian narrowness or Lutheran exclusiveness. The intrigues and discreditable proceedings of the fanatical Moravians, who were tearing the Lutheran congregations into fragments, he strenuously opposed and counteracted; but to the Reformed, in the first year of his ministry here, he promised the use of the new church at Providence, and assured them that if "as good neighbors" they would assist in building the church, the Lutherans would in turn assist them when they should undertake the erection of an edifice for themselves. His intimate fraternal re-

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\*Dr. Mann puts it thus, p. 249.

lations with Schlatter, the Reformed pioneer, is further proof of his liberal position. Before he reached Philadelphia he preached for the Presbyterians in Georgia, and later he is found administering the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper even to the Moravians at Monocacy, after earnestly admonishing them on the necessity of repentance and of the righteousness of Christ.

So his biographer shows him at every stage of his career in practical fellowship with many who by no means avowed their acceptance of Lutheran doctrine. Whitefield, who was a "most rigorous Predestinarian," whose "denial of regenerating grace in baptism" was well known to Mühlenberg, and concerning whom Dr. Mann says he was far from consenting, without considerable restriction to all his ways and views, this *falschgläubiger* "was invited to participate in the services and exercises of the Lutheran congregation" in Philadelphia, and as soon as the large Zion church was ready for occupancy, he "was invited to preach in it." Previous to this he had been requested by a committee of the Synod to be present at the public examination of the children in St. Michael's, offered the prayer, and made an address from the pulpit. Both Reformed and Episcopal clergy participated in the dedication of the new church. And at New Providence the Rev. Richard Peters, of the Episcopal Church, preached in the afternoon where Mühlenberg had officiated in the forenoon. His catholicity was publicly so well known that when a vacancy occurred among the Episcopalians in Philadelphia, Mühlenberg was invited to fill it, and to preach to them.

"Mühlenberg's Pietism," says Mann, "brought him into a *certain affinity* with all those in whom he noticed the symptoms of a living, personal spirituality"—men like Whitefield, and the famous revivalists, G. and W. Tennent. "In his intercourse with such men, Mühlenberg found some spiritual refreshment and encouragement, and *the doctrines which formed a high and strong barrier between their respective Church bodies were left in the background.*" So "unionistic," in fact, were the practices and tendencies of Mühlenberg and his co-laborers, "all under the control of the same Pietism," so warm and so notable was their fellowship with other denominations, that the biographer finds himself under the necessity of shielding them from the suspicion



of entertaining the idea of a union of the various denominations. And in explanation of Mühlberg's catholic position, Dr. Mann naïvely observes: "Pietistic liberalism allowed him to use more freedom in practical interdenominational relations than appears compatible with his strict Lutheran convictions, but the question arises whether without that pietistic element in his spiritual framework he would have been that warm-hearted, self-denying, energetic, and humble servant in the cause of his Master," which, in briefer terms, amounts simply to this: that it is surprising to see so sound a Lutheran at the same time so liberal; but this was due to the pietistic element in him, and had it not been for that element which made him so liberal, he would not have been the grand servant of Christ he was.

We thank Dr. Mann for that testimony. Coming from him, it has great weight, and is likely to be pondered in quarters where its significance to-day needs to be practically enforced.

It is well for us, brethren, that we as American Lutherans have this memorial occasion to look back to the foundations of our Church in this country, and to review the principles and the methods by the adoption of which the Lutheran Church came into distinctive being this side of the Atlantic. Said one of the most eminent of the leaders of the General Council to the speaker not long ago: "The trunk from which our Church has grown in this country is Mühlberg, and not the reformers and dogmatists of the sixteenth century. You cannot wrench the branch, which has thus its vital and natural growth, from its parent stock, and graft it upon the hard old stem of long past centuries, and beyond the sea."

Mühlberg was an instrument of divine Providence as unmistakably as was Martin Luther. All parts and divisions of the Lutheran Church in this country gratefully acknowledge this and rejoice over it. And there can be little doubt that by all accepting his teachings, adopting his measures, and cherishing his spirit, we might not only come again under one banner, but follow Christ in one mighty body. For this let us all be praying. Amen!

## ARTICLE VIII.

## ISLAMISM.

By REV. GEORGE L. HAMM, A. B., Gettysburg, Pa.

Wrong views may arise concerning the progress of Christianity through her missionary agencies, unless at the same time the advance of other religions is taken into consideration. The activity of our age in mission work is well known, and this activity is often held up as an infallible proof that the complete evangelization of the world is near at hand. The great stimulating principle to increased endeavors is the constant review of what has been accomplished already. And when viewed from this standpoint alone the triumph of Christianity seems nearing its consummation.

The struggle of this age is not altogether a contest between Christianity and Paganism. Alongside our faith is another religion, which, with ours, is conquering the heathen of the world. The two systems are side by side, and while touching in some points are violently antagonistic in others. They are Christianity and Mohammedanism. The former dates back in its founding eighteen centuries and has 388,000,000 of disciples, the latter goes back twelve centuries and has more than 200,000,000 of adherents. Both, in the highest sense of the term, are missionary religions. The last command of the Saviour to his disciples was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," and his followers are laboring to carry out the command. The injunction of Mohammed to his followers was, "Propagate the faith throughout the world until all nations shall be converted to Islamism by persuasion or by the sword."

The Moslem religion has had a marvelous growth. One man, a fugitive from his native city, with no wealth, no education, no thought of winning honor to his name—such was its founder. In the sterile deserts of Arabia, and among her independent and barbarous tribes, it took its rise. But Islamism soon shook clear of the sands of Arabia. In its youthful and vigorous service of



Allah, it overthrew the corrupted and semi-idolatrous Christian Churches of Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor. Then from its central position it sent out radiations into the three continents and won a footing in them all. In addition to its earlier possessions in Asia, Persia and the greater part of India were added to its field. Northern Africa fell under its power, then Turkey, Spain and other smaller portions of Europe. The command of the prophet was carried out in part. The sword was the means, but in that period Christian people used the same agency in converting the heathen around them. Even the Mohammedans themselves in Spain were compelled to accept the Christian faith or cross back into Africa to escape the sword.

This movement of the Moslems was more than a military conquest. In many places this political power has been destroyed, but in Spain alone has the religion been exterminated, and there by force of arms. The "sword of Allah" seems to be broken. From that source at least there is no longer any reason for fear. So the Christian world has been taught to believe. Yet the sword may only be at rest. It is even now a doctrine of Islamism that "all the acts of soldiers in holy war, even their sleep, are considered as a prayer."\* The other agency by which the founder commanded his religion to be propagated, viz., persuasion or teaching, is working alone, and though it does not cause the smoke and din of war, it is gaining conquests in certain directions at present little less rapidly and surely. Mohammedanism in Europe is feeble. Yet recent reliable accounts declare that it has received quite a number of converts during the past year, and that it is beginning to assert itself in a way calculated to make the best impression of its faith upon Christians.

But what is its strength in Asia and Africa? The Turkish Empire in Asia is yet almost entirely Mohammedan, while India is witnessing a steady growth in her Moslem population. Notwithstanding all attempts to discover the contrary, nearly all the friends of Christianity are compelled at last to admit the growth of Mohammedanism in India. This growth from 1871

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\*Mohammedan Doct., *Independent*, Feb. 9, 1888.

to 1881 was somewhat greater than in former decades. There are about 50,000,000 of Mohammedans in India, and half a million native Protestant Christians.

In Africa all reports allow great gains to the Mohammedans. Whole tribes are brought under the religious belief of the Prophet. Mr. Bosworth Smith declares, "It is hardly too much to say that one-half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while of the remaining half one quarter is leavened and another threatened by it."\* The Arab missionaries set out alone and penetrate to the heart of the continent, persuading men to accept the faith of the prophet. They go by hundreds and are full of enthusiasm and earnestness. They have dwelt long in North Africa and are familiar with the characteristics of the people, and less repulsive to them than are missionaries from foreign countries. That their labors are very successful no one is ready to dispute. Many will admit that while the Africans are coming over to Christianity by tens, they are going over to Mohammedanism by thousands. This is no mere report. It is the confession of those who would believe otherwise if they could. Mohammedanism is not dead. It has more adherents to-day than ever before, and unless there is a strong effort on the part of Christian people, Africa will be almost entirely under its sway.

Some have said, "Let them propagate their religion; it will be a step toward Christianity." Mohammedanism is higher than heathenism.

In a recent \*letter to a German convert, the highest Mohammedan authority gives a summary of their faith. Among the principal articles of the belief are the following: "Islamism has for its base faith in the unity of God and in the mission of his dearest servant Mohammed. The book of God which descended last from heaven is the sacred Koran. The first of the prophets was Adam and the last Mohammed. The greatest of all is Mohammed. After him come Jesus, Moses, Abraham, Noah and Adam. The believer ought to have faith in God, in his angels, in his Books, in his Prophets, in the last Judgment, and in his

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\**Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1887, p. 796.

\**Independent*, Feb. 9th, 1888.



will as the source of all good and evil. He who accepts these truths is a true believer. But to be a *perfect* believer it is necessary to perform certain duties, to pray to God and to avoid falling into such sins as murder, robbery, adultery, etc.

Faith annuls all sins. A sinner who repents and in person asks God's forgiveness obtains pardon. A Mussulman prays all alone in any place which suits his convenience, and to merit the remission of his sins he goes directly to God. In all religious acts there is no intermediary between God and his servants. One of the things to which every Mussulman ought to be very attentive is righteousness in character. To revere the great and to compassionate the insignificant are precepts of Islamism."

Such is a very brief statement of their doctrine in its highest form as taught in the city of Constantinople. It has much less of grossness and superstition than might be expected or is generally laid to its charge. If Christianity has ever made a mistake in dealing with the Moslems, it has been in failing to recognize the truth at the foundation of their doctrinal system. Concerning the Koran it has been said: "With all its puerilities and false teachings upon minor matters, every fairminded student of its pages must admit, with Sale, that it teaches with a considerable degree of truthfulness the great doctrine of one spiritual and eternal God."\* The theological and ethical teachings in the main were evidently borrowed from the Bible.

Doctrines such as these would seem to be a preparatory instruction for the fuller and more spiritual system of Christianity. Then why any alarm at their evident progress in Africa? Were these teachings, as laid down above, brought in their purity to the heathen they would have power. But the Arab missionary of North Africa differs in his apprehension of truth from the cultured European. Even in its best form Mohammedanism is fatally deficient. It has been well said, "There is no room for the cross in the faith of Islam. From its conception of God to its doctrine of the last things it is everywhere hostile to the

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\*E. L. Clark, *Arabs and Turks*, p. 47.

cross, whether as a symbol of expiation or of self-sacrificing love. Neither in the eternal counsel nor in the apocalyptic vision, nor in the sphere of motive to human recovery does Mohammedanism leave any place for the Lamb that was slain."\* If Islamism is "Reformed Judaism, it is Judaism without its heart and center and hope; for it has cast away the whole propitiatory scheme, and denies by its doctrine and practice the need of a Mediator between God and man. This one fact alone fatally limits its uplifting power for the heathen, and together with its haughty demand for recognition as the final religion precludes the notion that it is a "school-master" leading to a higher and more perfect faith.

Again, in the practical working out of this faith is seen its deficiency. Abject formalism and self-righteousness arise everywhere as the fruits of the system. Regardless of the many tributes paid to their morality in general, it is undeniably certain that this is hollow and selfish to the extreme. The absence of intoxication, of adultery, and of games of chance may be named as the great virtues required by Mohammedanism. Yet even these in their formal observance do not prohibit polygamy, traffic in rum and the slave trade. And testimony to the existence of these evils among the Mohammedans is definite and well established.

A third reason for earnestness on the part of Christians to meet this increase in Mohammedan influence is found in the strength of the latter in its hold upon its followers. Among no other people have the efforts of our missionaries been so nearly a failure as among the Mohammedans. In Mohammedan countries since the removal of the death penalty upon those who turn from Islamism to Christianity, the converts do not seem to be increasing. In India, the most promising field for missions to the Moslems, the converts are very few. Max Müller has said, "It is very difficult to convert a Mohammedan to Christianity," and this is true not only in India but among all Moslems. The African tribes, once converted to Islamism, never revert to heathenism nor do they accept Christianity.

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\* *Andover Review*, Jan. 1888, p. 84.



There can be but one remedy. The Christian Church must cease "playing at missions" and begin earnest work.

The following are the words of one familiar with this great system in all its relations to Christianity. After reviewing the Moslem strength he adds: "Such is a cursory view of the Moslem world with its two hundred and one millions of people. The outlook is not encouraging. Marshaled as a mighty force of anti-Christian belief against a feeble band of Christian workers, the odds are overwhelming, but viewed with the eye of faith the day dawns. The cause of Christianity itself seemed hopeless when Thomas doubted, and the outlook of Christianity in England was not bright when the old church of St. Paul's stood in the midst of heathen London. Christian missions must be studied in the light of history and measured by the continuity of centuries. Thus viewed and thus measured who will dare to assert that Mohammedanism can hold its own against the great religious and political forces of Christianity. But Christianity must awake to energy."\*



## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

### I.—BIBLICAL.

*The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians and Philemon.* By Alexander McLaren, D. D. pp. 493. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This is the advance volume in America of "THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE," edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, editor of the "The London Expositor." The series will contain *Expository Lectures* on the Bible by the foremost preachers and theologians of Great Britain at the present day, embracing such names as Professors Blaikie, Milligan and Cheyne, Principals Rainy and Edwards, the Bishops of Sydney and of Durham, Dr. J. Monro Gibson and Dr. B. B. Warfield, of Princeton. With but one or two exceptions all the volumes will be absolutely new, and six will be published each year. They are offered by subscription and at remarkably low rates, the price for six volumes to subscribers in advance being only \$6.00, separate volumes \$1.50 each. Considering the quality of literary work that may be expected from such authors as those named above these figures are phenomenal.

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\*Missions to Moslems, Andover Rev., Jan. 1888, p. 9.

In contrast with such critical works as those of Meyer, Lightfoot and Godet, which are only appreciated by scholars, this series is essentially popular, practical and edifying, adapted to the general reader quite as much as to the clergy. It is gotten up in the form of lectures, with but little reference to the original and without any parade of professional exegesis. In fact while following of course the sequence of the text, with the Revised Version, the reader may easily imagine that he is poring over a sermon rather than examining a Commentary.

Dr. McLaren, who contributes the volume on Colossians and Philemon, is a writer of great force and in this work he reveals a clear insight into the apostle's mind and a profound appreciation of the heart of the Gospel system, as well as a thorough acquaintance with the Biblical scholarship of the age. Occasionally, misled by his Baptist principles and his denial of "sacramental efficacy," he has such a grasp of the salient characteristics of Christianity that his errors and deficiencies are reduced to a minimum when contrasted with his powerful exhibition of the principles of the faith.

Take as an illustration what he says on Asceticism, that "misapprehension of the genius of Christianity. Man's work in religion is ever to confine it to the surface, to throw it outward and make it a mere round of things done and things abstained from. Christ's work in religion is to drive it inwards, and to focus all its energy on 'the hidden man of the heart,' knowing that if that be right, the visible will come right." "Men's lives are pestered out of them by a religion which tries to tie them down with as many tiny threads as those with which the Lilliputians fastened down Gulliver. But Christianity in its true and highest forms is not a religion of prescriptions but of principles. It does not keep perpetually dinning a set of petty commandments and prohibitions into our ears. Its language is not a continued 'Do this, forbear from that'—but 'Love, and thou fulfillest the law.' It works from the centre outwards to the circumference. The error with which Paul fought, and which perpetually crops up anew, laving its roots deep in human nature, begins with the circumference and wastes efforts in burnishing the outside."

If this is not critical Exegesis it is translating St. Paul into English with a fidelity not surpassed even by Martin Luther, when he drew from this Apostle the truths that produced the Protestant Reformation.

St. Paul's position on the Sabbath, Dr. McLaren holds to be unmistakably that the Jewish Sabbath passed away "as much as sacrifices and circumcision." "But the institution of a weekly day of rest is distinctly put in Scripture as independent of, and prior to, the special former meaning given to the institution in the Mosaic law" "Many traces of the pre-Mosaic Sabbath have been adduced; and recent researches show it to have been observed by the Accadians, the early in-



habitants of Assyria." Still he is constrained to admit that "the religious observance of the first day of the week rests on no recorded command, but has a higher origin, inasmuch as it is the outcome of a felt want."

*The Biblical Illustrator* : or Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations, Expository, Scientific, Geographical, Historical, and Homiletic, gathered from a wide Range of Home and Foreign Literature, on the verses of the Bible. By the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A. *St. Matthew*. pp. 688. 8vo. Price \$2.00. New York : A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

No better idea of the character of this book can be given than what is furnished on the title page above. It is a ponderous and excellent work of its kind, but we do not favor the kind. It will be very much in demand, but the more's the pity of it. Preachers who rely on such ready-made, fully-digested material, betray their mental imbecility and offer a lamentable commentary on their education.

The author shows amazing industry in his collection of citations—the work is almost entirely compilation—and has availed himself of the writings of former generations as well as those of the present day, and with not much reference to the school they represent or the soundness of their theology. The character of the work is somewhat analogous to Spurgeon's "Treasury of David," but it proffers more homiletical help. It is in fact an immense treasury of excerpts from the most distinguished divines of all ages—not from commentaries, but from sermons, analyses and practical reflections on the text. It is so rich and complete in this respect that it is likely to supersede all similar works now in use.

*Keys to the Word*; or Help to Bible Study. By A. T. Pierson, D. D. pp. 148. New York : Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Price 75 cents.

As a rapid survey of the chief truths contained respectively in the successive books of the Canon this little volume will be found quite interesting. The author has evidently been a diligent student of Scripture and in this summary review he offers to others valuable guidance in their search for the leading truth of any given part. A single key-word with an appropriate key-verse is placed at the head of each book. Below this in bold types is given an epitome of the argument and this is followed by further details in smaller type. Dr. Pierson has mastered the art of condensation as well as the study of the Sacred Scriptures. In both respects this little volume will prove a help to students.

*The Story of the Psalms*. By Henry Van Dyke, D. D. pp. 259. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This is a delightful book on the Psalms. The author brings to it a reverential, sympathetic and loving spirit, broadened by study. He too has somewhat of the poet in him, and responds fully to the imagery of the psalmists. His English is pure, clear and concise, his thoughts

fresh and excellent, his descriptions life-like. There is a tendency to the later schools of criticism, sometimes undue. The love of the picturesque and desire for a romantic setting of the Psalm overpowering the critical faculty. This appears in the 46th Psalm which is unhesitatingly referred to the destruction of Sennacherib. So, in other instances the leaning is rather to that which produces a striking effect than to sober criticism. The book is a delightful one, as was first said, and will amply repay perusal,

C. S. A.

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## II.—THEOLOGICAL.

*The Humiliation of Christ*, in its Physical, Ethical and Official Aspects.

The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D. D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ," "Miraculous Element in the Gospels," etc., etc. Second Edition, Enlarged and Revised. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 12 mo. pp. 457. 1887. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

An affinity between the finite and the Infinite is the faith of the ages. How this affinity comes to realization is the question that confronts all theological speculation. Does the Infinite come down to the finite, or is the finite raised to the Infinite? According to the Creeds of the Church God becomes man in the person of Jesus Christ. According to other theories man is exalted to God.

This is the grave problem with which the present volume wrestles, the problem of the relation of the two natures—the divine and human—as they are united in the one person of Christ. The author is equipped for his task by a wide range of learning which embraces both patristic and German theology, by breadth of reasoning and by the subtle metaphysics characteristic of his race. On the other hand a singularly polemical temper largely unfits him for a just and satisfactory treatment of this profound and stupendous mystery. By general consent Lutheran theology has here entered depths into which but few others have ventured to follow, but to a Scotch Calvinist nothing seems more agreeable than to berate Lutheran theologians for their controversies, their inconsistencies and their unintelligible speculations. The moment they have to confront a distinctive feature of Lutheranism they grasp the sword and rush into the fray.

This defect apart, Dr. Bruce's work is really a notable contribution to the theological literature of the day, throwing much light on a very difficult subject that is now claiming fresh attention, offering the fullest and most satisfactory discussion of it to be found in English, and stimulating to further inquiries which must result in the further development of Christology.



The order followed in these lectures is "The Patristic Christology," "The Lutheran and Reformed Christologies," "Modern Kenotic Theories," "Modern Humanistic Theories of Christ's Person," "Christ the Subject of Temptation and Moral Development," and "The Humiliation of Christ in its Official Aspect," with an extended Appendix containing notes of great value to students.

Among the merits of the volume nothing has attracted us more than its appreciation of Thomasius and its lucid recapitulation of his Kenotic theory. It is a pity, however, that a writer of uncommon transparency of style like Thomasius, and whose views appear to be clearly grasped by the author, should be exposed to the unintelligible criticism which is leveled at him on p. 178. Not only does the great, devout and luminous German theologian suffer by this cross-fire of metaphysics, but the subject itself suffers very seriously from it, and most of all the author himself in the estimation of his readers. Had Prof. Bruce given us a translation of Thomasius' unsurpassed work, he would have done English and American theology even a greater service than by this very clever original work.

*The Fire of God's Anger: or Light from the Old Testament upon the New Testament Teaching Concerning Future Punishment.* By L. C. Baker, Author of "Mystery of Creation and of Man," Editor of *Words of Reconciliation*. pp. 282. 1887. Published at Office of "Words of Reconciliation," 2022 Delancey Place, Philadelphia.

Under this title Mr. Baker presents a contribution to the discussion of the problem of future retribution. Dissatisfied with the teaching of the creeds and the current eschatology of the Church, he seeks some view which may give larger scope to the redemptive plan and the victory of the divine love. He takes his starting point from the Old Testament, especially the song of Moses, Deut. 32. This is explained as presenting the fundamental principles of the divine plan and administration, viz, that *Judgment* and *Redemption* shall move forward in such interaction as to consume and destroy sin and save mankind. Judgment is both punitive and corrective, and is in order to redemption. Besides that part of it in which the wrath of God burns against sin in this life, its "consuming fire" is specially realized in death and the condition into which it introduces. While at death all those who have in this life been made partakers of the divine nature through Christ, go into life eternal, to the wicked death becomes entrance into "an abyss of inexorable dissolution"—a dissolution protracted beyond the death of the body, because it includes, also, the soul, which 'being of finer essence, it is longer in dying.' "Gehenna is the maw of those whirling forces down into whose vortex man disappears at death." This is the destruction of "both body and soul in hell." It is the unquenchable fire. After death cometh judgment. Thus God is a "consuming fire" against sins

and sinners. This loss of both body and soul, while destroying man *as a man*, "leaves the 'spirit' naked and outcast"—for our author is a trichotomist. This destruction, however, is not utter annihilation, beyond the possibility of a restoration. Here place is again made for the action of corrective discipline. The *resurrection* reinvests these dead with life in manhood again, and to new and continued probation. They are compelled to begin it over again, perhaps far down in the scale, and during it all they are under process of judgment, as men are in this world. "Resurrection is necessary in order to bring the generations of the dead who have not known Christ within the sphere of the knowledge of Him which may prove their salvation."

Mr. Baker does not maintain that even under this extended scope of Christ's redeeming work, all will at last be saved. But his theory concludes with the view that the incorrigible, if there be any, of both men and angels, will, at the judgment of *the great white throne*, be annihilated. This is "the second death," when 'death and hell are cast into the lake of fire.'

We have given this outline of the doctrine of this book because it adds another illustration of the forced interpretation to which men will subject the holy scriptures, when they are unwilling to accept some doctrine which the centuries of Christian interpretation have understood as plainly revealed. The book is of fine literary quality, and the discussion is conducted with ingenuity and skill—and withal with a reverential spirit. The author seems to feel himself *constrained* to relieve the divine administration of the gloom and mystery which surround the doom of those who are not brought to Christ in this life, as understood and taught in our orthodox theology. But his interpretation is forced at every step, and will add nothing of essential value to the Church's treasures of doctrinal knowledge.

M. V.

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### III.—PHILOSOPHICAL.

*The Gist of it:* A Philosophy of Human Life. By Rev. Thomas E. Barr, B. A. With an Introductory Note by Rev. D. S. Gregory, D. D., ex-President of Lake Forest University. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. 1887. pp. 350.

This volume, as the author explains, had its origin primarily in his own efforts to find for himself sure footing in the shifting, conflicting phases of modern thought. Having reached, through long and bitter struggle, settled convictions regarding the true solution of the life-problem, the right basis, method, and end of life-effort, he found the presentation of his conclusions helpful to others, especially among the young, who were seeking a settlement of the same questions. At the suggestion of numerous friends, he has here given permanent form to the discussion, for wider usefulness. The introductory note of Dr. Gregory is



a judicious commendation of the book as suited to meet the need of many minds in these days when there is so much skeptical thought in the air.

The scope of the discussion is wide, covering almost the whole range of subjects on which scientific and philosophic speculation has been recently unsettling the minds of men and putting them adrift in the uncertainties of doubt or the misleadings of error. It is divided into two parts, the first seeking to give the facts of life, under the questions: "*What am I?*" "*Where am I?*" "*Whence am I?*" "*Whither am I going?*" and "*What is my Relation to my Situation, my Origin, and my Future?*" The second part presents an interpretation of the facts, showing that these relations of our being with their momentous problems, can be solved only in the light of Christianity, as disclosing man's high and immortal calling, and affording him the help and strength for its attainment.

The range of the discussion being so broad, it does not undertake to be exhaustive on the varied topics that present themselves, but seeks to guide the reader through the essential truths involved, and pointing out the track of true solution. It is conducted with critical tact and sound judgment. On some points the author's explanations may be met by dissent but the general teachings of the book will be judged to be well sustained by the soundest thought of our times. The title of the volume does not please us, but the work cannot fail to be an intellectual, moral and spiritual tonic to those who read it. M. V.

*The Elements of Psychology: A Text-Book.* By David J. Hill, LL. D., President of Bucknell University, and Author of "Hill's Elements of Rhetoric and Composition," "Hill's Science of Rhetoric" and "Hill's Elements of Logic." With Illustrated Figures. New York: Sheldon & Company. pp. 419. 1888.

It gives us much pleasure to call attention to this new text-book in psychology. The fundamental principles on which it has been constructed, the plan and arrangement of the discussion, and the thorough correctness of the teaching in all the essential facts and explanations of the science, cannot fail to commend it to teachers and secure for it a wide use in class-room instruction. The examination is conducted on the method of careful analysis of the phenomena of consciousness, with auxiliary use of all the explanatory light afforded by biology, physiology and experiment. Judicious and full weight has been given to all that has been furnished by these latter sources, and conclusions have been reached in the light of the latest and best investigations in this department. The *plan* of the work is admirably adapted to class-room service. The divisions of the subject matter present its various parts in clear unity, symmetrical subordinations, and progressive analysis.

The defining statements and explanations, in the presentation of all branches and points of the subject, are marked by a happy brevity and clearness. These statements form the leading paragraphs, and constitute the body of the work, for thorough mastery and recitation by the student. They are followed by secondary paragraphs, opening the subject into some further relations, bearings, controverted aspects or speculative features, inviting and leading him on to more advanced investigation and knowledge. Experience has long since convinced us that this brevity-of-outline view is a prime excellence in a text-book. The overloading and confusion of the student's memory by long and exhaustive *discussions* of the various topics is thus avoided, and the teacher has opportunity to illustrate and amplify, and thus fulfil the function of a genuine instructor. The book furnishes the "text" for lecturing and true teaching, and not a substitute for these in a routine of hearing recitations. By the faithful use of the secondary paragraphs, moreover, directing the student in his farther examination and reading, and suggesting the teacher's additional explanations, almost all the important questions in psychology will be fairly traversed. Thus the primary statements will fix in the mind the essential truths of the science strongly and connectedly, and be made even clearer, instead of being confused, by the further discussions.

But the highest merit of the work is the prevailing soundness and trustworthiness of its teachings. Under what is now almost unanimously conceded to be the true method, with careful and discriminating insight and judgment, aided by wide familiarity with the subject, Dr. Hill has given us the psychological facts and explanations in a general systematic view that, as it seems to us, is best sustained by all the evidence brought out by seekers after truth in this department of science. In it the empirical and rational elements of knowledge find their true place and recognition, and a reliable foundation is found for metaphysics and ontology.

We cannot, indeed, assent to all the author's explanations. For instance, to our mind, the account of "Space" as "a relation of co-existence between material bodies," and of "Time" as a "relation of succession between changes," is utterly inadequate and unsatisfactory—missing indeed the very conception meant to be explained. The author justly rejects the view which holds Time and Space as either a "substance" or an "attribute." But as certainly as Space must be conceived as conditional for the *existence* of material bodies, and Time as conditional for changes, it will not do to resolve them into mere "relations between" those bodies or those changes. The explanation does not reach to the real conception. An incongruity is introduced in the early part of the book, by giving to the subject of the first section of Presentative Knowledge the narrower designation of "Self-consciousness" and then discussing general "consciousness" under it; instead of mak-



ing the generic term, as it certainly ought, stand for the whole power, covering the specific action of it indicated by the prefix "Self." The error, it seems to us, has confused the discussion of the topic. But these, and a few other things, are such small imperfections, and so easily revised, as to count nothing against the high excellence of the work.

It ought to be added that it includes a discussion of the Sensibilities and the Will—also illustrative figures and a well-prepared index. Taken altogether, in its sound method, excellence of arrangement, clearness of statement, trustworthiness of psychological explanation, and general adaptation to class-room use, the work deserves to rank among the very best of the text-books that have recently appeared. M. V.

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#### IV.—HISTORICAL.

*Institutes of Christian History.* An Introduction to Historic Reading and Study. By A. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York. 1887. pp. 328. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

This volume brings us the first-fruits of the Baldwin Lectureship, a new foundation established at the University of Michigan by a gift from Mr. Henry P. Baldwin and his wife, at the desire of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan. The Lectureship is established in close connection with the organization of a Guild, named the Hobart Guild, composed of students in all classes and departments of the University who may be members of or attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church, together with the Diocese, the Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Andrew's Parish, and all the Professors of the University that are communicants of the Episcopal Church, as *ex officio* members. The whole scheme of Guild and Lectureship has provided a special building called Hobart Hall. From this source an annual volume of lectures, delivered by some "learned clergyman or other communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church," may hereafter be looked for.

This inauguration of the lectureship by Bishop Coxe has furnished us with a unique and interesting volume. Though named *institutes*, the old designation for elementary instruction, it is a polemic discussion in defense and exaltation of the Anglican Church and the historic "episcopate." The keynote of the treatment is that the East gave to Christianity its historic form and shape, its creed and doctrines, its whole cast and visible outline before the world, and that the *catholicity* and *constitution* of the Church must be found where the Nicene truth and Church order have been followed. Under this principle Bishop Coxe traces the evidence that the Roman See, while possessing a conceded *primacy* of honor, on account of its seat in the old imperial city, never was by an *œcumenical* Council allowed *supremacy*, and that the Paparchy was but a usurpation in the western Church in the ninth century

in connection with the establishment of "The Holy Roman Empire" by Charlemagne and the fraud of the spurious Isidorean Decretals. This usurped tyranny of the Roman apostolic See over the western Church, could never form a "Roman *Catholic* Church." Catholicity remained with the Church which maintained the Nicene order and relations of the Episcopate—which was done substantially, though not fully in form, in the Anglican Church. The lecturer traces the persistent struggle of the Anglican Church for its Nicene liberties and constitution, still for a while they were held groaning under the false domination of Rome and the decretals. "There are abundant proofs that the Anglican Church was everywhere recognized as maintaining an exceptional position, other than that of the Latin churches connected with the Holy Roman Empire." "So stood the Anglican Church in the second half of the twelfth century, and all this she regained in the sixteenth; which proves that the Paparchy held its usurped sway over the Church of England only for four hundred years, more or less—years in which it was never undisputed, nor even unambiguously received. Leave out these four centuries, and we have fourteen of Nicene freedom, and in good degree of Nicene truth and purity."

The lecturer then traces the *restoration* of the Anglican Church, after its four centuries of bondage—using the word "restoration" rather than "reformation" against which, as a designation of the continental restoration, he plainly shows his dislike. He outlines it, from its emergence under the influence of the English scholastics, through Wickliff, the epoch of Wolsey, martyrdoms, etc., on to the conclusion, in the Anglican Church's restored autonomy, on the old foundations—her "lawful episcopate" preserved.

Bishop Coxe has written in strong and fervid style, often impetuous and dashing in its polemic ardor. There is no dullness in these pages. Unquestionably he has sustained the substance of his impeachment of the arrogant pretensions of the Roman papacy in its claims of supremacy over catholic Christianity. He uncovers the gross fraud of the entire paparchy. Would that the whole world could see and understand the enormous fraud, and the Church would assert its liberty. But in some other respects, his representations are without adequate evidence and we believe are utterly untenable. Bishop Coxe's whole ecclesiastical conception seems to be embraced in "apostolical succession" and the "historic episcopate." Where these are found there is the only true catholic and apostolic Church. The main purpose of his book appears to be to assert and prove these features for the *Anglican Church*, as preserved directly from the Eastern Church and Nicene Catholicity, without loss or vitiation from the subsequent usurpations of Romanism. But in doing this he has to make immense assumptions, and to keep up a continual fight with the historians. The plausibility of his showing for the wonderful preservation of the "historic episcopate" in



its unbroken apostolicity and undiminished catholicity, comes from his one-sided use of authorities. Indeed this "hop-step-and-jump" method, rushing through histories, taking and skipping what suits, can yield but uncertain results. It would have been well for Dr. Coxe to have dealt somewhat critically with counter authorities, some of them being themselves Anglicans, instead of simply making assertions in face of their differing statements and admissions.

He also repudiates for the Anglican "Restoration" any dependence on the continental "Reformation," and does not seem to love the term "Protestant." In connection with affairs under the three Edwards, as to the temporal relations of the English Church, he says: "We must note all these things if we would understand how thoroughly the progress of the Reformation in England was original with England; how it began and was making headway nearly two centuries before Martin Luther was heard of." Speaking of Wiclif he says: "He stood on the rule of Vincent, in point of fact, and he made it, as I shall yet show, the radical and glorious criterion of the Anglican Restoration, when compared with the Reformation on the Continent." "Nothing can be more the reverse of the truth than to begin the Reformation with Luther, and to import it into England, as if England borrowed her work from his or modeled it after any man's ideas or after any other standard than 'Holy Scripture and ancient authors.'" He assumes to set "two points" right, in the following paragraph:

"Perhaps I have sufficiently illustrated my points as to the Anglican Restoration and the 'Reformation' of Luther. (1) The Anglican work began and was wrought from within—began under Wiclif, who only brought to a focus what had been continuously maintained by Anglican witnesses, from the Norman invasion onward, and what was resumed, and brought to the issue of a restored autonomy under Henry and Edward his son. (2) The German Reformers lighted their candle from England; and there could have been no Luther but for Huss and Jerome, the disciples of Wiclif. How absurd and illogical, therefore, is the conventional instruction of our school histories, and even of Church historians, who treat of our Anglican Reformation as if it had begun with Luther's burning of the Pope's bull! They make it an importation from Germany, if not from the Diet of Spire, where the Lutherans were called Protestants. Let those admire a feeble and impotent name of negation and discord who can possibly do so; but the reader of Kahn's must exclaim,

'Can aught exult in its deformity?'"

As to this claim of priority to and independence of the German Reformation, surely Bishop Coxe is not ignorant how largely the Anglican Church drew for both her Prayer Book and her Thirty-Nine Articles on the Augsburg Confession and other Lutheran sources, as traced by such Anglican writers as Archbishop Lawrence, Bishop Short, Arch-

deacon Hardwick, Cardwell, Proctor, Bishop Bull, Blakeny, Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, and others, with various non-Anglican authors—all sustained by invincible evidence. It is surely a bold undertaking for him to simply waive aside, with sonorous assertion, all that Anglican authorities themselves have set forth. It is a pity that these *Institutes*, in many respects so good and interesting, should be marred by the partisan temper which, by making assertion take the place of proof, must seriously abate from their permanent value. M. V.

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#### V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Church and State in the United States.* Or The American Idea of Religious Liberty and its Practical effects. With official Documents. By Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary at New York. 8vo. 1888. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Untiring in his industry and unbounded in his versatility, Dr. Schaff continues to enrich our literature with works of permanent value on subjects of the greatest importance. In the present volume he presents a contribution to the moot question which is bandied about on the platform and in the literature of various reforms in a style that has its sole warrant in the colonial theocracies of the seventeenth century, whose confounding of Church and State was swept away from our system by the great statesmen who framed our Constitution.

The embodiment of the national faith in God and in Christ in the Constitution of the U. S. as proposed by the "National Association to secure certain religious Amendments," Dr. Schaff, very properly holds to be impracticable, resting on a false assumption, and casting an unjust reflection upon the original document, as if it were hostile to religion. "But it is neither hostile nor friendly to any religion; it is simply silent on the subject, as lying beyond the jurisdiction of the general government." To make this a "Christian government" by statute is shown to be in direct conflict with the First Amendment. "There is no prospect, says the author, "that such an amendment can ever command a majority in Congress and in the Legislatures of the States." The Constitution of the Confederate States did actually insert Almighty God in the preamble, but "the name of God did not make it more pious or justifiable"—nor, it might be added, did this save it from overthrow. And the title "Holiness" does not make the Pope of Rome any holier than he is, and it makes the contradiction only more glaring in such characters as Alexander VI.

The American idea, it is clearly maintained, is that of a free Church in a free State, or a self-supporting and self-governing Christianity in independent but friendly relation to the civil government. The Constitution it is claimed, not only contains nothing which is irreligious or



unchristian, but is Christian in substance though not in form. The most, however, that can be asserted by way of a formal acknowledgment of God is the requirement of an official oath from the President and all legislative, executive and judicial officers; while "the habits of a Sunday-keeping nation" are honored in the exemption of Sunday from the working days of the President for the signing of a bill, and by the use of the words "in the year of our Lord" assent is given "to that chronology which implies that Jesus Christ is the turning-point of history."

Strangely enough—and this point has suggestions for the religious amendment people—the fullest and most earnest tribute to the Christian religion ever given by a high official in this country, was pronounced by a President who was not a member of any Church. Lincoln's second inaugural is largely in the language and wholly in the spirit of the Christian revelation, and in his orders to the army for the "observance of the Sabbath," he does not hesitate to speak of "the sacred rights of a Christian people," and in the stirring language of General Washington "hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier."

The more explicit and positive recognition by a number of the States is brought out in the course of the volume and among its most valuable features are the official documents and standard opinions which are appended—among them the decisions of the Supreme Courts of Pennsylvania and New York affirming that Christianity is a part of the common law of these two States.

*One Hundred Days in Europe.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. pp. 329  
1888. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

We are most grateful to have in this beautiful and substantial form Dr. Holmes' "One Hundred Days in Europe," whose successive chapters in the *Atlantic* proved so delightful. Such a narrative of a brief European trip, limited to England and Paris, is one of the most charming species of literature extant, and one need not wonder that the volume in our hands represents the eighth thousand although hardly two months had elapsed since its issue and the great multitude which read the *Atlantic* possessed the work beforehand in that magazine. Some of us have seen Europe with our own eyes, but we find that we can see vastly more of it through the keen and cultured eyes of Dr. Holmes, and besides get a great deal more enjoyment out of what we do see. One feels as if he were visiting the famous places of England, looking at its people and sharing its social life with the best company and with an ample fund of good nature and bright humor that makes the time pass too rapidly

*Half-Hours with the Stars:* A Plain and Easy Guide to the Knowledge of the Constellations. True for Every Year. Maps and Text spe-

cially Prepared for American Students. By Richard A. Proctor, F. R. A. S., Author of "Half-Hours with the Telescope," "Easy Star Lessons," "A Large Star Atlas," and the articles on Astronomy in the "American Cyclopædia and the Cyclopædia Britannica," etc., etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.00.

This atlas is of quarto size, and the maps and text are on fine card boards. It is attractive in every way. With twelve maps it shows the position, for the United States, of the principal star groups night after night throughout the year. In the introduction and the separate explanations that accompany the maps any one can satisfactorily trace the constellations. Tracing constellations is not astronomy, and yet any one who would become acquainted with the real science of astronomy should be familiar with the star groups and be able to recognize them on any clear night. Mr. Proctor has the happy faculty of making things plain. He has shown this time and again in the books and papers he has written on puzzling scientific subjects, and it appears again in this atlas. Hence these maps may be used not merely by persons of special attainments in astronomy but by any one of average intelligence. It is the best thing of the kind we have seen.

*The Wonder Clock*, or Four and Twenty Marvelous Tales, being One for each Hour of the Day. Written and Illustrated by Howard Pyle. Embellished with Verses by Katharine Pyle. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1888. pp. 319.

Blessed is the boy or girl into whose hands this delightful book comes. "Pepper and Salt," a year ago, was good but this is much better. It gets its name from the fact stated on the title page, that there is a fairy story for each of the twenty-four hours in the day. The illustrations are by Howard Pyle himself—enough to say for their merits. His easy, familiar style of talking is very fascinating, and the child that reads these tales will be charmed. But it is not all mere entertainment. There are truths taught—wholesome truths that will profit the man and woman as well as the child. What he himself says, on page 251, is true: "Now, don't you believe folks, when they say that this is *all* stuff and nonsense that I have been telling you; for if you turn it upside down and look in the bottom of it, you will find that there is more than one grain of truth there; that is, if you care to scratch among the chaff for it." From his trip to wonder-land the author has brought rich treasures for his readers.

*Dog Stories and Dog Lore*. Experiences of Two Boys in Rearing and Training Dogs; with many Anecdotes of Canine Intelligence. By Thomas W. Knox, Author of "The Boy Travellers," "The Young Nimrods," etc., etc. 4to. pp. 234. New York: Cassel & Company. Mr. Knox has long been known as a friend of boys. Here it turns



out that he is also a friend of dogs, and that he knows all about them. The volume is filled with charming stories of the affection, the fidelity, the intelligence and the tricks of "man's most faithful friend." How dogs are trained for public performance, how they have learned to read, to count, to play cards, to communicate their ideas, all this is described in a vein that makes a very attractive book for both old and young boys. Sometimes they will pause to ask, Can this be true? The book is profusely illustrated.

*Jack the Fisherman.* By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. With Illustrations by C. W. Reed. Quarto. pp. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Quaintly bound and neatly printed on stiff paper, this story of our brilliant and profuse authoress is marked by her usual intensity and realism. The readers of *The Century* will remember its recent appearance in that magazine. It has received high praise from able and honest critics, but to us it is an awful book. To picture a wretched drunkard who was born with the appetite for drink and who despite all efforts at reformation went the full length of the drunkards wicked madness in killing his wife and finally by a suicidal leap flinging himself into the sea as he shouted "Rock of Ages! Cleft for me," may have been pleasant pastime for the authoress, but we cannot see what moral or religious interest is subserved by giving such a horrible and sacrilegious tale to the public.

*Beyond the Stars; or Human Life in Heaven.* By Rev. Archibald McCulloch, D. D., Minister of Rose Street Church, Brooklyn. pp. 106. Price \$1.00. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

This little volume was written under the impulse of a personal bereavement. Its aim is to focalize the various rays of divine truth scattered through the Word of God upon the subject of the condition of the blessed dead immediately after their departure out of this world, for the purpose of affording light and consolation to those whose hearts have been saddened and whose homes have been desolated by death. It will be eagerly sought for by the great company of mourners, and they will find in it no small measure of divine light and solace and hope, intermingled, unfortunately we think, with a few human speculations, like that of the "non-atomic, ethereal enswathement for the Soul" and that of a "gravity centre of the whole material universe" which answers for the locality of Heaven. Although written under the stress of a great sorrow, the author's thought is calm and sober, presented in a chaste and charming style, and marked by genuine literary excellence.

*Lights and Shadows of Human Life.* By Rev. John Philip, M. A. pp. 231. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

There is to this book a flattering introduction by James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., but a study of the book indicates that the Dr.'s warm heart has gotten the better of his judgment. The book is well conceived, but the matter belongs to the ordinary pulpit rather than to the library. The style is faulty, verbose, inflated, and involved at times. The thoughts are good, but they are neither very new nor vigorous. They breathe a spirit of ardent piety. The book, whilst of not much account for the scholar, has popular elements and states truth in such form as would be pleasing to the average reader. The table of contents is quite taking: "The Source of Life," "The Sweetness of Life," "The Problems of Life," "The Burdens of Life," "The Compensations of Life," "The Value of Life," "The End of Life," "The Sequel of Life," "The Crown of Life."

C. S. A.

*Out of the Shadow.* By Mary Hubbard Howell, pp. 341. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

The writer has given her readers an interesting book. The plot is rather old, but is effectively handled; the lessons are good, but the hero overdrawn and rather stilted. There is too much preaching and too little of the real development of Christian character, telling more powerfully for good than words. The book, however, will be a favorite in the Sunday School libraries.

C. S. A.

*The Book of Folk Stories.* Re-written by Horace E. Scudder. pp. 151. 1887. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Here are the familiar, delightful, old-time tales, done up in a fresh and simple style by an author who has become an expert in purveying healthy mental food for our juveniles. The Old Woman and her Pig, Puss in Boots, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast, Jack and the Beanstalk, &c., &c., stories ever old and ever new, the reading of which will furnish happy and healthy pastime for the little ones.

*Birds-Eye View of Gettysburg.*

One of the best things yet published on the town of Gettysburg and the great battlefield is this accurate and beautiful lithographic view, 23 by 36, published by Fowler & Downs. Besides the full pictorial sketch of the town, in which any one acquainted with the place can point out each dwelling, it contains special views, well-executed, of the National Cemetery, Seminary Ridge, Scene of the First Day's Battle, the Round Tops, the great Monument, and a large number of the State Monuments, with the designation of the organization which erected them. The College grounds are given in the general view. All who have an ecclesiastical or patriotic interest in this historic field will want this attractive



souvenir to adorn some wall in their home. Address: Fowler & Downs, Boston, Mass.

*Stall's Lutheran Year-Book and Historical Quarterly*, Feb. 1st, 1888.

Edited and Published by Rev. Sylvanus Stall, A. M., Lancaster, Pa.

The contents of the February issue of the *Historical Quarterly* are as follows:

1. The Rev. J. A. Brown, D. D., LL. D., (Biographical) with Portrait.
2. The Lutheran Church in the City of Philadelphia. By Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D.
3. Early History of the East Ohio Synod. By Rev. J. C. Kauffman, A. M.
4. Memorials of Lutheran Ministers Deceased from Oct. 1st, 1886 to Jan. 1st, 1888.
5. Lutheran Summary for 1887.
6. Statistics of the Lutheran Church in America, Jan. 1st, 1888.

The sketch of Dr. Brown is summarized from that by Prof. Biklé in this *QUARTERLY* for July, 1883. No credit is given, however, except in one instance where an extract is made without any verbal change. The rest is virtually taken bodily, so far as it goes, the changes being mainly in words or the structure of the sentences. It would have been more to the credit of the writer if he had given credit where it belonged.

The papers by Dr. Schmucker and Rev. Kauffman are of interest no less marked than the first. In concluding his article, Dr. Schmucker gives a summary which shows the strength of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. It is as follows:

"It will be seen from this account that there are in Philadelphia 3 Swedish, 15 German, and 17 English congregations, which have been established and maintained by the Lutheran Church. Of these, one was organized before 1700; three between 1700 and 1800; two between 1800 and 1829; four between 1830 and 1849; five between 1850 and 1859; seven between 1860 and 1869; seven between 1870 and 1879; and six since 1880, besides several missions not yet organized as congregations. These congregations number 11,245 members, and 11,203 scholars in the Sunday-schools—English, 4,807 members, 5,293 scholars; German, 6,229 members and 5,880 scholars; Swedish, 207 members and 30 scholars. The numbers are taken from the Synodical minutes for 1887. The facts and dates are mainly from accounts furnished by the pastors, and from all other available sources."

*In Memoriam.* Henry Melchior Mühlberg. Commemorative Exercises held by the Susquehanna Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, at Selinsgrove, Pa., Oct. 18 and 19, 1887. Published for the Synod's Committee. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication House.

The following are the contents of this interesting and valuable pamphlet:

1. Lutheranism in America prior to the Coming of Mühlenberg. By Rev. S. L. Ochsenford.
2. Pietism and Halle. By Rev. John B. Focht, A. M.
3. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg. By Prof. E. J. Wolf, D. D.
4. The Mühlenberg Family. By J. G. Morris, D. D., LL. D.
5. Lutheranism in America since the Death of Mühlenberg. By Rev. M. S. Cressman, A. M.

Dr. Wolf's address is given in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. Its concluding pages show clearly that Mühlenberg's Lutheranism was more in accord, in doctrine and practice, with that of the General Synod than of any other portion of the Lutheran Church in America. All the addresses are worthy of preservation, and we are glad to see them published.

*Close Communion.* A Tract for the Times. By Rev. G. T. Cooper-rider. Published by Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio

Here we find the usual arguments for close communion, but put with more than usual clearness. We agree with the author that there should be guards to the altar, but not to the extent of excluding all who do not bear the Lutheran name.

#### A REQUEST.

We will send our usual April 'statement' to subscribers still in arrears, which we trust will receive their attention and prompt response. Early remittances will be much appreciated. Remit to

P. M. BIKLE,  
Gettysburg, Pa.

#### NOTICE.

We still need copies of No. 1 (Jan. 1871), of the *QUARTERLY*, and will give \$1.00 each for as many as may be sent. To those who have already responded we tender our sincere thanks.

P. M. BIKLE.



THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW  
OF  
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.  
JULY, 1888.

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ARTICLE I.

ORIGINAL SIN.\*

By REV. J. B. REIMENSNYDER, D. D., New York.

I congratulate the Seminary and the General Synod of the Lutheran Church on the establishment of these lectures on the Augsburg Confession through the liberality and far-seeing wisdom of Dr. Holman. It is a hopeful sign of the times when we see this returning appreciation of the great confessions of Christendom, and of the distinctive Lutheran consciousness. The reaction from the end of extreme confessional indifference—by one of the primal laws of thought—was sure to set in. Its coming was only a question of time. Let us rejoice that it is already here. In the Augustana the Lutheran Church has its most glorious treasure. The great American historian of creeds says of it: “The Augsburg Confession will ever be cherished as one of the noblest monuments of faith from the Pentecostal period to Protestantism. It struck the key-note to the other evangelical confessions.”† Let it then be to Lutherans a task

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\*Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession (Second Series), II. Article, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., May 1, 1888.

†Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

of love to search into, and hold up to Christendom, its spiritual riches.

And there is another reason why this is a subject for gratulation. That is, because it involves the study and *esteem of Christian doctrine*. We live in an age when the tendency of many is to disparage doctrine. The spirit, the practice, the life, cry they, are every thing; as if there could be a spirit where there is no body; a practice, where there is no rule; a life, where there is no faith. It is not true, as charged, that there is a natural connection between pure, scriptural doctrine, and cold, dead formality. If this were true it would invalidate and stultify the whole Christian system. But it is the railing of empty minds and unspiritual souls. Orthodoxy and orthopraxy should, and do, as a rule, go together. The prejudice against theology, *i. e.* against the systematic and scientific correlating of Christian doctrine, is illogical. To know a thing thoroughly, in its depth and fullness, and to comprehend it symmetrically, do not destroy its force, but give it more concentrated and powerful impact upon the conscience. He who thinks most logically also acts most practically. I am glad that such a great lay-thinker,—who surely also is not an impractical idealist,—as Gladstone, fully catches this thought, which even so many clergymen miss, as he states it in his reply to Prof. Huxley, thus: “Those who take for the burden of their song: Respect Religion, but despise Theology, seem to me just as irrational as if a person were to say, Admire the trees, the plants, the flowers, the sun, moon, or stars, but despise Botany and despise Astronomy.” Theology is *ordered knowledge*: representing in the region of the intellect what religion represents in the heart and life of man.” So also writes a prominent non-Lutheran divine in a late number of that popular publication, the *Homiletic Review*: “Theological Science co-ordinates revealed facts into a thorough consistent system. This is the work of systematic theology, and it is sheer ignorance, advertising its voice as that of a dunce, which rails at systematic theology as a mere logomachy of the schools.”\* And one of our own divines has lately given forcible expression to this often

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\*Rev. J. L. Witherow, D. D., Vol. XV., No. 1, p. 6.



abused truth thus: "It is a slander to say, as has been said, that the 'churches are dying of theology.' The converse is true. The churches are dying for want of theology.' Theology, doctrine, is the life-blood of the Church, and many are weak and sickly and are oscillating to and fro, because doctrinal preaching has well-nigh departed from our pulpit."\* The noblest and most richly fruitful labor in the world, then, is that which occupies itself with bringing out in "the form of sound words" (2 Tim. 1 : 13) the precious doctrines lying deep down in the mines of God's revelation to man.

The subject of which the Second Article of the Augsburg Confession treats, and which we are now to discuss,—Original Sin,—is one of the most *recondite* that can engage human thought. Neander says of it: "The most difficult of all questions is this, Whence, in that human nature which feels itself attracted by the good, which is conscious of it as its original essence, whence the *evil* in it?"† Naturally we enter with diffidence upon an inquiry relating to the subtlest truths underlying our existence, and which has exercised the acutest powers of the ablest minds in all ages. We would remember, too, that we have been preceded in this discussion by one of the keenest theological thinkers in this country, who was the first nominee on this foundation, 21 years ago.‡ But arduous as is the task, we will endeavor to meet it as fully as is in our power. Acuteness and balance of understanding are needed here, but more especially divine grace: "For the spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God" (1 Cor. 2 : 10).

I. Original Sin, is a *fact*. It undoubtedly exists and always has existed. To support certain theories this has indeed been denied. Yet to do so is to resist the plainest demonstration of the senses. Mankind is universally corrupt. A perfect human being is never found. Every one bears the marks and characteristics of moral infirmity. No one aspect of human nature is more conspicuous than sinfulness. Especially is this seen in a state of nature. Rousseau, attributing the prevalence

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\*Prof. J. W. Richard, D. D., in *Wittenberg Theological Monthly*, p. 9.

†History of the Christian Church, Vol. II., 565.

‡Rev. S. S. Sprecher, D. D., LL. D.

of depravity to the corrupting influence of civilization, advocated as the remedy a return to nature. But this natural state is just the theatre of every moral abomination. And left to itself, history shows that no nation has been morally lifted up. But the constant tendency is to deeper degradation, so that we see "whole nations giving themselves up to the consuming fire of the wildest passions, or sunk in a slow indifference to existence, like petrifications in the world of mind."\* There have indeed been noble exceptions among the heathen, pure Pagan moralists, blind seekers after God, but these still have had their imperfections, and bore witness to the invariable rule. Actions, too, are not to be determined by outward correctness, but by their motive. And thus a moral act, not inspired by godly love or fear, often becomes in essence, immoral and impious. \* Now how is it possible that of all the countless race of men not one is found perfect in moral character except on the hypothesis that sin is inborn, that the gate of entrance into the world leaves its stain upon every one that passes it.

A further proof of original sin arises from the *dispositions observed in children*. In early infancy, before evil could have been learned from observation, it manifests itself. An innate wrongful bent is disclosed, requiring correction. Pain, sickness and infirmity, too, appear in little children, which are not the fruit of any actual sins of their own.

The *universality of death* is yet another evidence. All die. None escape this dire penalty. Now if sin were not innate but acquired, it is inconceivable but that some would be absolutely pure, and thus, above moral corruption, would also be beyond the reach of physical death. So strong are these considerations that the philosopher Kant in his essay on Inborn Depravity admits and demonstrates its reality. Original Sin is then an incontrovertible fact. The Scriptures are right that: "There is none that doeth good no not one" (Ps. 14 : 2), and "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually" (Gen. 6 : 5).

Admitted, then, the fact of Original Sin,—the universal de-

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\**Christian Dogmatics*, Martensen, p. 176.



pravity of mankind,—what is its explanation? How are we to account for this phenomenon? Whence this disharmony in the human spirit, these strange antagonisms, these traces of a higher obscured by a predominating lower nature? Here human reason is utterly at fault. As science, when it has pushed its daring spirit of investigation to secondary causes, stands baffled and lost when its feet touch the boundless ocean of the Great First Cause, so it is here. Philosophy cannot solve this mystery. It has not even a theory to offer. The *a priori* postulate of reason is that God is good, that man,—God's workmanship,—must therefore be good and perfect, and Original Sin thus appears as a sheer anomaly. It is absolutely unaccountable. We are accordingly here driven to the only resort, revelation. The Bible assumes to be the word of God. And almost on its first page, we find the explanation of this else insoluble enigma. According to the Biblical narrative, God created man holy and pure. Adam was endowed with original righteousness. He was invested with the image of God. This consisted in holiness and freedom. Before this, Satan, an evil spirit, had fallen. He tempted man, who, abusing his freedom, likewise fell. By this door sin entered into the world and tainted the entire human race. Such is the simple, straightforward Biblical account. It is told in a few lines, which however are weighted with the sublimest truths. And here, then, we have a satisfactory and full explanation. This brief narrative unfolds the mystery. God is vindicated. Satan and man are responsible. Original Sin becomes explicable. Its cause lies uncovered.

Much discussion has raged as to whether this Mosaic account of the fall is historical or mythical. Even those who have contended for the latter have been forced to admit the "profound psychological penetration" disclosed in it. I need scarcely say that orthodox Christians conceive it to be a veritable history. It has no mythical feature, but every concomitant of intensely sober, real history,—history too solemn and terrible to be trifled with under the mask of allegory. Not only is it not a fable, but one of the most conclusive illustrations of the uniqueness of the Bible, viz, that its writings are given with God's finger.

II. Accepting the Biblical history of the fact, what is the

*History of Original Sin as a Doctrine?* In the primitive Church there was no attempt to give it formal theological statement. It was simply assumed and held as a fact, without effort to correlate it in any doctrinal system. As a distinct tenet of theology its development was gradual. The apostolic Fathers do not definitely mention it. Justin Martyr in general terms bewails the universality of sin. Clement of Alexandria speaks more particularly of voluntary and "involuntary sins, sins of weakness and mistakes,"\* by which latter he refers to Original Sin. Tertullian is the first to speak of it by the specific phrase, "*vitium originis*." Origen, against the skeptic Celsus, adduces the example of the prophets "offering a sacrifice for new-born infants, as not being free from sin."† Athanasius thought there were exceptions to universal depravity, as Jeremiah and John. And Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, and others, held more or less similarly loose views. The Fathers of the later Nicene Age, as Hilary and Ambrose, teach the defilement of sin by birth, the latter affecting it. Ps. 51 : 5. In general, however, as Hagenbach remarks, the tendency was so great to regard sin as the direct act of the free will, that the Fathers of this era could hardly look upon it as simply a hereditary tendency. But while such great thinkers as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, gave more precise form to the conception of Original Sin, it was reserved for that rare personality, Augustine, in whom great original genius and deep piety were so beautifully blended, to give this doctrine its fullest and most accurate statement. Pelagius denied that men were born with sin. He considered the "sin of Adam as injuring only himself and not the human race; that new-born infants are in the same condition that Adam was before the transgression; and that the human race does not die in consequence of Adam's death and transgression."‡ Augustine opposed these positions as heretical. The whole Christian world was agitated with the conflict. The Christian consciousness sided with Augustine. Finally, in 418 A. D., Pope Zosimus, who had previously exonerated,—a remarkable illustration of Papal Infallibil-

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\**Stromata*, Book II, Chapters 14 and 15.

†*Origen vs. Celsus*, Book VII., Chap. 1.

‡*On Pelagius*, Chap. 65, Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. V., p. 211.



ity,—condemned Pelagianism as heresy. Thus Original Sin was established as an orthodox doctrine in the Christian Church. “That doctrine,” says Neander, “conquered which had on its side the voice of the universal Christian consciousness—the whole life and experience of the Church as expressed in its prayers and in all its liturgical forms.”\*

During the Middle Ages, the Greek, or Eastern Church, as represented by John of Damascene, leaned toward a mild Pelagianism, but the tone of the Western Church was decidedly Augustinian. There were exceptions, as Abelard, who denied that sin, as such, could be attributed to infants. But Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, St. Bernard, and others, stamped such views as heretical.

At the Reformation, there were some differences between the Evangelical party and the Romanists. The latter appeared to teach that only the punishment, the *reatus*, but not the guilt of the fall attached to Adam’s posterity. They looked upon its evil effects not as a fault or corruption of nature, but only as servitude, or condition of mortality. So Dr. Shedd, in his “History of Christian Doctrine,” and Guericke, in his “Symbolic,” contend. This was also the opinion held by Zwingle. But, on the whole, the difference was one more of logomachy than of reality. So that justice warrants the conclusion of Dr. Hodge: “From all this it appears that although the doctrine of the Romish Church is neither logical nor self-consistent, it is nevertheless true that that Church does teach the doctrine of Original Sin, in the sense of innate, hereditary sinfulness.”† Subsequently, the Pietists, though not formal theologians, were impelled by their deeply pious sentiments to the same convictions.

In the 18th century, in the era of Illumination and Rationalism, so-called “*enlightened*” theologians erased the doctrine of Original Sin from their systems.” But with the returning ascendancy of evangelical truth in Germany and elsewhere, the orthodox doctrine of the Church has been reinstated in Christendom, and will doubtless prevail through all time.

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\**History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I., p. 599.

†*Systematic Theology*, Vol. II, p. 180.

With these prefatory statements the ground is cleared for the discussion of the precise doctrinal statement of Original Sin as given in the Augsburg Confession. This was its first authoritative confessional statement. For the doctrine is not touched upon in the three Œcumenical Creeds. Nor was it distinctly treated of in the Tetrapolitan Confession presented at Augsburg by the Reformed. In the Schwabach Articles of the preceding year, 1529, which grew out of the Marburg Colloquy and were principally prepared by Luther, the doctrine is formulated essentially as we find it in the Augustana.

III. The Confession first directs us to the CAUSE AND SOURCE of Original Sin. Our Churches "teach that after Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature, are born with sin." The confessors here plant themselves unequivocally upon the word of God, the basis and rule of faith. They accept the Mosaic narrative as literal history. The fall of Adam, the father of the human race, was the originating cause of Original Sin. By the perversion of his freedom he lost his original holiness, and the fountain of human nature thus corrupted, the entire stream of humanity was polluted. The hypothesis of the ancients, so natural, as judging from the phenomena of blended right and wrong—of a God of good and a God of evil, an antagonism between eternal powers of light and darkness, is definitively rejected here. But man is himself held responsible for this great mundane calamity, Adam's voluntary act—deliberate, because he knew the consequence, and could have done otherwise—was the cause of Original Sin. He did the deed and "Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat, sighing, through all her works gave signs of woe, that all was lost."

And the *means* by which this sin is visited upon his posterity is *natural generation*. "All men begotten after the common course of nature, are born with sin." That is, it is transmitted in birth. Such is the declaration of scripture: "Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps. 51 : 5). "We were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Ephes. 2 : 3). Hence it is called "birth-sin;" original sin, *i. e.* the "sin of origin;" "capital sin," *i. e.* the head or fountain sin. In connection with this transmission of moral pollu-



tion to the newly born being, the speculative spirit of the human mind raised the question: How does the soul itself originate in birth? And here arose the respective theories of Creationism and Traductionism. The former holds that each soul is absolutely and independently created at birth and united with the body. The latter that the soul is propagated by traduction, *i. e.* spiritually transmitted from the soul of the parent. The inquiry leads us into those awful deeps of the secret divine laboratory where we must gaze with caution and reverence. So Augustine wisely advises: "Where Scripture gives no certain testimony, human presumption must beware how it decides in favor of one side or the other."\* However, the Lutherans generally inclined with Luther toward Traductionism and the Reformed with Calvin toward Creationism. Thus says Dorner: "The view that souls originate by generation was usually adopted as an auxiliary tenet to the Original Sin theory of Lutheran Theology."† And we cannot but think their view correct. Traductionism seems indeed to represent the soul after a sensuous manner, and to put the creative agency a step further back in the chain of causality. But on the other hand, Creationism would involve the absolute freedom from moral taint of the soul fresh from the divine creative mould, and so would conflict with the Scriptural doctrine of Original Sin. The argument of analogy from the body, and also that from experience—children reproducing the particular moral traits and mental characteristics of their parents, just as they show the symptoms of hereditary disease—tend to sustain the theory of soul-traduction. We may therefore conclude with Quenstedt: "The soul of the first man was immediately created by God, but the souls of the rest of men are created *per traducem* (*i. e.* through propagation) by their parents."‡ Thus parents are the real progenitors of their children, body and soul, and they and not God, are the authors of their physical and spiritual defects.

IV. The NATURE of Original Sin is the next topic of the

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\**De Peccaturum*, III, §59.

†*Protestant Theology*, Vol. II, 144.

‡*Schmid's Ency. Luth. Doctrinal Theology*, Hay and Jacobs, p. 187.

Confession: "that is, without the fear of God, without trust in him, and with fleshly appetite." The Confessors here properly apply to Original Sin descriptive terms which characterize a state rather than an action. And this is the first definition of Original Sin. It is not a sinful deed, but a sinful condition, propensity, state. The Roman Confutation, indeed, takes issue with the Confession here, saying, "that to be without the fear of God, and without trust in God is rather the actual guilt of an adult than the offence of a recently born infant."\* But they fail to adduce their reasons, and the charge is manifestly groundless.

Let us examine the state which these terms define. "Without fear of, or trust in God." That is, it is *negative*. Those tendencies natural to man in his uncreated original righteousness are lacking. He is born destitute of spiritual nature. In him "dwelleth no good thing" (Rom. 7 : 18). There is a "totalis carentia virium spiritualium." But it is also a condition *positively* evil. "And with fleshly appetite." "Concupiscentia" is the Latin term of the Confession, which, following the English version of Dr. Krauth, is thus translated. It could not perhaps be better rendered than, as here, by "fleshly appetite" as carnal desire. It was a word taken from the theological nomenclature of the scholastics, and well fitted for its task. It aptly expresses that "*fomes*" or evil longing, that inflammatory readiness, that innate propensity to sin, which at the first spark of temptation will kindle into actual transgression. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession calls it that "constant evil inclination of the nature."† To this indwelling evil propensity St. Paul refers in the words: "I find then a law that when I would do good, evil is present with me" (Rom. 7 : 21). This sinful state is then not only negative but positive. Not mere weakness, defect, infirmity, but inclination toward evil, opposition to all that is holy and righteous. Frailty, impurity, perversity and impiety are here wrapped up in embryonic form. It is a seed full of dire possibilities, a Pandora's box, which needs but devel-

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\**Confutation of the Augsburg Confession*: Book of Concord, Jacobs, II, 210.

†*Book of Concord*, Vol. I, Art. II, p. 76, Jacobs.



oping consciousness to uncover and set on fire its brood of woe-ful evils. To this aspect it owes its specific name as the source or origin, or originating cause of all actual sin.

Luthardt, applying this threefold negative and positive description of Original Sin to diverse heresies in the theological arena, makes this apt classification. The want of fear, *i. e.* pride, is manifest in the spirit denying a personal God, Pantheism; the want of faith, or the destructive, critical spirit, is exhibited in Rationalism; and the longing of concupiscence is shown in the sensual conceptions of Materialism.\*

This depraved condition, moreover, is *bodily*. Indeed its chief seat is in the body. Christianity, while rejecting the Pagan opinion that the body was naturally evil as opposed to the soul, still must and does recognize it as peculiarly prone to sin. Therefore says the Scripture: "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak" (Matt. 26 : 41). Again, "Abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul" (1 Pet. 2 : 11). So St. Paul tells us of "The law in my members warring against the law of my mind" (Rom. 7 : 23). The appetites of the body are perverted from pure desires to lawless and unhallowed lusts. And by the occasion of these carnal motions, how often man is ensnared into sin. But it is also *spiritual*. The soul as well as the body has experienced the injury of the fall. The spiritual perceptions and powers are inert, and inclined to evil.

Thus this corruption is *total*. It affects all the members of the body, and all the faculties of the soul. The heart is depraved, the mind is darkened, the will is weakened. The will is perhaps the most injured of the spiritual powers; since even what the understanding discerns and the judgment advises, it persistently refuses to perform. The entire personality of man is therefore infected and corrupted in the very innermost parts and profoundest recesses of the being. In the more detailed language of the Form of Concord: "The whole nature of man is entirely and to the furthest extent corrupted and perverted by Original Sin in body and soul."\*

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\**Moral Truths of Christianity*, p. 73.

\**Part II*, p. 545 (Dr. Jacobs' edition).

This depravity, further, is *tenacious*. It inheres about the very roots of the soul's being and cannot be gotten rid of. Left alone, this state will not grow better, but worse. It is incorrigible. It cannot be utterly extirpated. Even in the good man it still smoulders, and ever and anon stirs with the dangerous might of a subterranean ocean. It persists all through life. The material of it cannot be destroyed until death. And even then, its deadly taint by virtue of its feature of transmissibility, is perpetuated in the ills of posterity.

Such is this total and horrible corruption of human nature by means of Original Sin. May we not truly say, as we contemplate this galling burden with which every soul "begotten after the common course of nature" must enter the world: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death" (Rom. 7 : 24). Yet we must avoid the extreme of falling into the Manichean heresy, which was revived also in modern times by Flacius, that the very *substance* of human nature is corrupted by Original Sin. If this were the case man would wholly cease to be man. It is indeed now become natural to us, but not that it has utterly destroyed our original powers, but only entwined itself inseparably about them. It is indwelling sin, but not the substance of man. The essential human nature God created, and that still remains as the basis for renovation. If the very substance of man, *i. e.* those characteristics which constitute him a spiritual being—freedom, reason, conscience—were sin itself, he would no longer be a rational soul, a responsible agent. Hence this corruption is called in theological parlance that of *accident*. By this it is meant that it is not the soul itself, but only a quality, a condition of it. As the most virulent disease is not the body, but is only fastened upon it, so Original Sin is but an accident or property of human nature. It is "indwelling" sin and as Quenstedt finely says: "As the inhabitant is not the house, so sin is not the man." While then our inquiry leads us to the strong language of the Smalcald Articles: "This hereditary sin is so deep and terrible a corruption of nature, that no reason can understand it, but it must be believed from the revelation of the Scriptures" (Part III, Art. I), we rejoice to temper this statement by the asser-



tion of the Form of Concord that we must distinguish "the nature and essence of the corrupted man which are the creatures of God, and Original Sin, which is a work of the devil" (Part II).\*

V. Is this Original Sin *really and properly sin*? Is it sin in the true sense of guilt, culpability, and desert of punishment? This is the centre of the discussion, and the veritable *crux* of theology. No more difficult problem than this confronts us in the whole field of theological thought. In general, two views have been held by theologians. One school has asserted that Original Sin is no more than an impaired moral constitution, a natural infirmity, a misfortune, "*debitum*," involving personal fault, *i. e.* not truly sin. The other school has held it to be true and proper sin, involving guilt and deserving punishment.

The early Church Fathers rather inclined to the former theory, and did not consider it essentially sin. Thus, Tertullian, while admitting the presence of inherent depravity in children, holds it not to be a guilty condition. Cyprian, in the epistle to Fidus on the Baptism of Infants, draws a clear moral distinction between their corruption and sin.† So also Clement of Alexandria. In general, they do not deem the state of natural depravity to be invested with moral accountability. Augustine first protested against the expression "*peccatum naturale*," and used the phrase "*peccatum vere*," and argued that Original Sin was sin in the proper sense. Pelagius on the other hand protested that there could be no natural propagation of sin, as guilt could not inhere to a process of nature, but only to an act of the will. Orthodoxy decided with Augustine. Still at the Reformation we find Zwingli with his rationalistic habit of thought asserting that Original Sin is "only such a defect as comes by accident." The heretic Socinus taught that "there is no Original Sin, but Original Evil, which, however, involves no personal accountabil-

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\*"*Substance* in its logical and metaphysical sense, is that nature of a thing which may be conceived to remain, after every other nature is removed or abstracted from it. *Accident* denotes all those ideas which the analysis excludes as not belonging to the mere being or nature of the object."—*Hampden Bampton Lectures*, VII, p. 337.

†*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Cyprian LVIII, Vol. V, p. 354.

ity.”\* With the theology of the era of Illumination “Original Sin was a mere matter of natural necessity, so that the idea of responsibility was destroyed, and a doctrine introduced which would prove fatal to the ethical standpoint which rationalism had maintained from regard to practical morality.”† Still, as we have said, the general voice of the Christian Church has held Original Sin to be “*peccatum vere*.” Even the liberal Savonarola wrote: “Original Sin is the root of all sins, the *fomes* of all iniquity.”‡ The language of the Confession is here positive and unmistakable. “And, that this disease, or original fault is *truly sin*, condemning and bringing eternal death. \* \* They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny this original fault to be sin indeed.” This position the Roman Catholic Confutation endorses thus: “We approve their Confession, in common with the Catholic Church, that the fault of origin is truly sin.”§ So also the Form of Concord, Part II: “It is necessary that Christians should not only regard as sins their actual transgressions of God’s commands, but also that the dreadful hereditary malady by which the entire nature is corrupted, should above all things be regarded as sin.” Thus, too, a typical non-Lutheran, the Westminster Confession, Chap. VI: “This corruption of nature,—both itself, and all the motions thereof—is truly and properly sin.” The proofs that Original Sin is truly sin are these: first, the *Scriptures*. The *locus classicus* here is Rom. 5 : 12: “So death passed upon all men, *for that all have sinned*.”|| Here, and in all the ensuing argumentations of the apostle, death, which is the penalty of Original Sin, is declared to be inflicted on account of the guilt of this sin. Hence it is verita-

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\*Hagenbach’s *History of Doctrine*, Vol. II, p. 485.

†*Kurtz’s Church History*, Vol. II, p. 160.

‡Mere’s Savonarola, p. 260.

§*Book of Concord*, Jacobs, Vol. II, p. 210.

|| εφ’ ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, on which *Alford* comments, literally, ‘*in ground of*,’ ‘*on condition of* = BECAUSE ‘all sinned,’ not ‘*were sinful*,’ or ‘were born in sin’—sin is here *original*, as planted in the nature by the sin of our forefathers.” Similarly also *Ellicott*: “For that, or because all sinned, *i. e.* implicitly in Adam’s transgression.” *Commentaries*, Vol. II, p. 225.



ble sin. And so throughout Scripture. In Rom. 7, Paul calls man's natural hereditary corruption sin, no less than 14 times.

Again, it bears the *marks or characteristics of sin*. This original taint is inherently evil and immoral. It is by nature carnally and satanically inclined. It is but the passive side of sin and is of one essence with the active side. A stream is not radically diverse from its source. The root and the trunk are not different in character but equally component parts of the tree. So the corrupt state, and the evil act, are not morally diverse, but are the equally constituted elements of true sin. How can the original taint be moral evil at all if it be not a truly vile, wicked and sinful propensity of the soul?

Another ground is *consciousness*. We feel that this evil state in us is culpable. Our conscience accuses us for it. Experience moves us to confess its guilt and to mourn over it. The conviction of the truly pious is that of Luther, learned from the depths of his own bitter personal experience. He says: "Original Sin is the real and chief sin; if that were not, there were no actual sins. This sin is not committed like other sins; but it is, it lives, and does all other sins, and is the essential sin."\* A further proof is that *the wrath of God* rests upon it. "So Death passed upon all men." Now as it is an undeniable fact that God visits punishment and death upon Original Sin, it is more natural to conclude that he punishes that which is guilty than that which is innocent, and hence it must be sin indeed.

Dr. C. P. Krauth thus summarizes the proofs:

"We argue that Original Sin is truly sin:

1. Because it has the *relations* and connections of sin.
2. It has the *name* and synonyms of sin.
3. It has the *essence* of sin.
4. It has the *attributes* of sin.
5. It does the *acts* of sin.
6. It incurs the *penalties* of sin.
7. It needs the *remedies* of sin.
8. Consequently, it is conformed to a true *definition* of sin."†

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\**Werke*, XI, p. 336.

†*Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, pp. 398, 399.

These heads he then develops with characteristic fullness and acuteness.

So far all seems clear and simple. But there are undoubted arguments to be adduced on the other side. Julian of Eclanum, the disciple of Pelagius, pressed the argument that if human nature was tainted from birth, and this concupiscence was culpable or actual sin, then God, as the creator of human nature, became the Author of sin, which is contrary to his holiness; and punished the sin he had necessitated, which is contrary to his justice.\* To this the reply is made that God did make man originally pure, and that now souls are not independently created, but are propagated by generation, and innate depravity, which is real sin, thereby comes upon them not from God, but from the guilt of the race.

But the further question then arises: How can we be held responsible for Adam's sin, when it was not our own personal act? Is not the paramount distinction of sin that it be voluntary? And here even Augustine makes the admission: "The will is the original cause of sin. Where there is no moral freedom there can be no sin."† To escape from this difficulty there has arisen the theory of *imputation*. That is, as Adam was the federal head of the race, and the race is one integral whole, he sinned as our representative, and the sin of the race generically becomes its sin individually. This hypothesis, in which there apparently lies great force,—since we are willing to accept the good at one progenitor's hands, and why not then the evil?—was pushed to such an extreme by the intensely logical, Jonathan Edwards, that he even contends that Adam's act was ours in the sense that we did it voluntarily. To this Dr. Hodge replies, that this is manifestly absurd, for how could we act voluntarily when we did not even exist! Quenstedt, Gerhard and other of the Lutheran theologians sustain the theory of Imputation. Dr. Dorner, however, whose Lutheranism, in some respects, is far from infallible, remarks unfavorably: "At this point, the post-Reformation era advanced beyond the Con-

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\*Neander's *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. II, p. 600.

†*De Lib. Arbitrium*, III, 49.



fessions, which had been satisfied with admitting the *indirect* imputation of Adam's sin. Dr. C. P. Krauth is here in accord with Dr. Dörner, for he praises the "scripture-like reticence" of the Confession on Imputation, and calls it "a theory, (which) belongs to scientific theology \* \* as distinguished from the sphere of faith, and to that it should be referred."\* St. Paul states the true, guarded, evangelical doctrine of imputation in a single verse, putting Christ's imputed merit over against Adam's imputed guilt thus: "For, as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Rom. 5 : 19).

As regards the point that true sin must be *voluntary*, the answer is further made by some theologians that sin may be voluntary either subjectively, as it inheres in the root or stock of the human race, or effectively, as it proceeds from deliberate volition. And we know that individual sins grow to be committed from such a habit or fixed moral state, that we do them unconsciously, with no deliberate intent or volition at the time. They are therefore practically involuntary, though still sinful. Similarly, sins of spontaneous impulse, of sudden, violent passion, may often be considered involuntary and yet culpable. Nevertheless, that great difficulties present themselves here is undeniable. Julius Mueller in his great classic on Sin, and the philosopher Schelling, to escape this dilemma, have resorted to the hypothesis of the pre-existence of souls, and their punishment here for their voluntary actions in a former state. But Scripture gives not a hint of this; there is not the faintest reminiscence of it in the soul; and it is directly disproved by the reproduction of hereditary types, dispositions and peculiarities, showing a generic race connection, instead of an independent individuality, such as would be involved in pre-existence.

In general, on the one hand, it may be argued that as objections and difficulties do not destroy the fact of Original Sin, they cannot, either, destroy the doctrine. The moral character of our inborn corrupt dispositions is determined by their nature,

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\**Conservative Reformation*, pp. 382, 383.

not by their origin. Sin is sin no matter what be its source. Men are responsible for the moral evil underlying their acts and the groundwork and cause of them, and they cannot throw back this responsibility upon their primal progenitor. In this light, Original Sin is seen to be in accordance with the Confession "truly sin." But on the other hand there are incontestably marked distinctions between Original and Actual Sin. The first Actual Sin was the cause of Original Sin; and the latter is the consequence. Actual Sin is a conscious deed; Original Sin an unconscious state. Actual Sin is voluntary; Original Sin is involuntary. Actual Sin is our own personal deed; Original Sin is the punishment of the deed of another. And while the justice of "condemnation and eternal death" upon Actual Sin is self-evident, such a penalty visited upon a child dying in its corrupt natural state of Original Sin before it had done a single conscious sinful act, is revolting to our conceptions of divine justice. It does not mark it as exceptional from other leading moral facts and problems, when we say, therefore, that there remain inexorable difficulties and mysteries in this doctrine. And we believe the explanation of it is to be found in this, that while Original Sin is truly sin, and under the curse, yet "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. 13 : 8) and through whom the "trespasses" of mankind were not to be "imputed unto them" (2 Cor. 5 : 19), becomes the means of preventing any infraction of infinite justice. We agree with Brentius that "It is not necessary, neither perhaps is it wise, that we should pryingly inquire how God could so impute the sin of our first parents to their posterity not yet in existence, that they should necessarily be born sinners. For it is enough that the fact is revealed, though the explanation of it be unknown."\*

VI. What are the CONSEQUENCES of Original Sin? As it is truly sin, the punishment of sin is attached to it. So the Confession goes on to declare : "Condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again." The Confession here again simply plants itself wholly upon the divine word. The Scriptures make no distinction between the conse-

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\*Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology*, p. 261.



quences of Original and Actual Sin, but make the general statement: "For the wages of sin is death," (Rom. 6 : 25). This is first, a spiritual death in time, which, unless arrested, culminates in spiritual death everlasting. The condition of the soul corrupted by Original Sin is one of moral impotence. In theological phrase, this is called a state of inability. Such the Scriptures define it. "Who were *dead* in trespasses and sins," (Ephes. 2 : 1). "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; neither *can* he know them, because they are spiritually discerned" (1 Cor. 2 : 14). Here the paralysis and inability of the spiritual powers are asserted in the strongest manner. And the Confession likewise proceeds: "Our churches condemn the Pelagians who argue that a man may, by the strength of his own reason, be justified before God."

Pelagius did not believe in the utter moral helplessness of man until regenerated by divine grace. He thought the external assistance given by the word was alone necessary, and with this man could work out his salvation. Augustine took the most positive ground as to the absolute inability of man to move in the matter of salvation. God must quicken the inert nature with a new living principle, and carry forward the work which is all of grace. Hence arose the terms Monergism and Synergism. The Greek Fathers were generally synergistic, *i. e.* they believed that man could begin, and that the Holy Spirit thereafter was the only efficient aid in, the work of salvation. The Latin Fathers were generally monergistic, *i. e.* they held that God alone could begin, and that man was but a passive instrument, in salvation. "For no man can recreate himself, any more than in the first instance he could have created himself."

This naturally brought up the question of the *Freedom of the Will*. Has man no power of choice in moral things? Is he to be placed without his own consent under the penal consequence of Original Sin, and then by that same natural depravity, to be bound hand and foot so that he *cannot* free himself from the burden? Unquestionably the letter of the Confessions,—for here all are in harmony,—but allows ability and freedom in *rebus externis*, *i. e.* in temporal or secular affairs, and denies it totally in *rebus spiritualibus*, *i. e.* in moral or spiritual matters. Thus, the

Form of Concord, P. II. : Original Sin "takes away from the unrenewed nature the gifts, the power, and all activity from beginning, and effecting anything in spiritual things." So Luther : —speaking with that characteristic energy which made him at the time oblivious to the necessary limitations of his thoughts, "Yes, these two things, omnipotent power and eternal foresight, fundamentally destroy free-will, so that not a hair of it even is left."\*

If then, all are alike impotent in spiritual things through the paralyzing effect of Original Sin, and yet some are made alive and saved, and others die unregenerate, what causes the difference ? Calvin answered : the absolute sovereignty of God by a decree of unconditional election or reprobation. Those whom God operates upon by irresistible grace are saved ; the rest are lost. And this, it is contended by Calvinistic theologians, is no injustice on God's part, because he elects some out of pure goodness and merely leaves others to their merited fate. Still, the response of the human consciousness ever has been, and ever will be, that this does conflict with God's revealed attributes of love, justice and impartiality ; with the universality of the plan of salvation ; with the reality of the offer of grace ; and especially with the divine will to save all men as written, "God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth," (1 Tim. 2 : 4.) Besides, the Scriptures teach that man's salvation is conditioned by faith discerned by divine foreknowledge, "Whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate," (Rom. 8 : 29.) And when it is replied that God can only foreknow what must inevitably come to pass, the divine infinite prescience is thereby limited, for it does not require infinitude to foresee the result of laws working with absolute mathematical precision. Such a prescience even acute finite intellect might attain. Nor is it any more satisfactory to contend that certainty is consistent with freedom, namely, that God can make underlying motives so strong as to inevitably influence the will, while the superficial and apparent exercise of it is left free. For this is but the shadow of liberty, the title without the possession, the name

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\*Luther's Works, Walch, 434.



without the thing. "By the liberty of a moral agent, I understand a power over the determinations of his own will. But if, in any voluntary action, the determination of the will be the necessary consequence of something involuntary in the state of his mind, he is not free, he has not the liberty of a moral agent, but is subject to necessity."\* Nor is it any better explanation to contend that there may still be freedom where there is no ability. For while it is indeed true, as such argue, that God and the angels are free, yet that they *cannot* sin or fall, still this inability is only moral,—a certainty arising from their holy choice. But man's inability is both natural and moral. His impotence has not arisen originally from his free choice. And in as far as he is not the servant of his individual sin, but of original or race sin, his bondage is one of natural inability and cannot be laid to his charge. And to say, then, that as God is free but cannot sin, so man is free but cannot do good, is clearly a *non-sequitur*. There is no true analogue between the premises. While then Lutheran theology holds fast by the letter of her Confessions that man under the bondage of natural depravity has not a scintillation of spiritual power, it herein departs from the Calvinistic absolute decree, as a theory of necessity, fatal to self-activity and self-responsibility as to salvation.† "Our theologians have said that faith in Christ is the *instrumental cause* of the decree of election." "The doctrine of Calvin is accordingly distinguished from that of the Lutheran Church, in that according to the former, predestination rests upon an absolute decree of God, without a prerequisite condition."‡ And even Augustine in his earlier writings says: "Though sinners on the ground of the universal sin constitute one mass, yet there is a difference, *a something that precedes* their election or reprobation, and the decree is conditioned on these—(*occultissima merita*)—most deeply

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\**Act. Pow.*, Reid's Ency., IV, Ch. 1.

†"The theory that election to salvation, is as President Edwards repeatedly represents it, the 'arbitrary will of God' \* \* is withering to all rational zeal in a preacher's work; and builds a firmament of brass to his prayers. \* \* If the *animus* of such a theology were to control the pulpit, for all redemptive working, it would be like an organ in which the motor nerve is paralyzed." *Prof. Austin Phelps, D. D.*

‡Quenstedt, Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology*, p. 312.

hidden relations of merit." While, therefore, repudiating synergism, Lutheran theology yet believes that there must be some point of contact between the origination, and all, and only, potent agency of the Holy Spirit and man's voluntary self-determination,—some foreseen character distinction, which is the ultimate ground of the infinite and everlasting difference between the saved and the lost. And what this point is—whether it be simply non-resistance, or a state of the receptivity, or movement of faith, or whether it be altogether undiscoverable, does not matter. Divine Sovereignty and Human Freedom, Election and Choice, Absolute Inability and Individual Responsibility, All-efficient Grace and Personal Co-operation, may appear to us irreconcilable. But they do nevertheless co-exist, as we learn both from Scripture and the facts of experience; and in the depths of the mind of God, and in the apocalypse of the universal circle of truth, of which but a fragment appears to us, their harmony doubtless does and will appear. With man this may be impossible, but that does not limit the Divine possibilities. We, therefore, hold it as reconcilable with this uncompromising teaching of the Confession as to human inability to still use the words of the Lutheran Martensen: "Nothing can strictly speaking, be pronounced regarding the condemnation of the individual, unless he himself has made a personal decision, exercising freedom of choice in relation to divine grace, which will redeem him from the power of Original Sin."\* Such also were the opinions of the primitive Church Fathers as represented by Irenæus in his argument against the Pagan idea of Fate, viz: "And not merely in works, but also in faith, has God preserved the will of man free and under his own control, saying, 'According to thy faith be it unto thee.' But if men were incapable of being anything else than just what they were created, then they would be what they are by nature rather than by will, and of necessity, not by choice."† Let it ever be borne in mind, however, that in every age of the revival of deep personal piety and of living, experimental communion with the

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\**Christian Dogmatics*, Martensen, p. 206.

†*Irenæus Against Heresies*, chap. XXXVII, § 5 and 6.



Spirit of God, as in the eras of Augustine and Luther, there has been the most emphatic conviction and reassertion of the doctrine of human inability and natural impotence. Far better is it here to err on the side of extreme orthodoxy than to incur the dangers and errors to which Erasmian and Pelagian views, with their exaltation of the human and their depreciation of the divine agency in regeneration, have ever exposed their followers.

VII. The Confession now directs to the REMEDY provided for escaping the guilt and punishment of Original Sin: "Born again by Baptism and the Holy Spirit." That is, the spiritual remedy is *regeneration*, and the means by which it is effected is *Baptism*. Thus teaches the Scripture: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John 3 : 5). "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Tit. 3 : 5). These statements are explicit. Others define the conditions, repentance and faith. These are not causal but instrumental. The divine order then is, that the consequences of Original Sin are to be removed by the Spirit of God, conferred through the agency of water. Thereby the guilt of Original Sin disappears, so that "the condemnation of eternal death" no longer attaches to it. Its material, however, is not removed. Concupiscence still remains. The carnal tendencies and old sinful inclinations yet survive. However there is a "new creature." The soul is quickened from its moral apathy and death. The Spirit creates not a new human nature, but a new personal consciousness, grafted on the old substantial being. It is the old material but cast in a new die. That this new spiritual life is in the Confession connected with the Holy Sacrament as its means, shows that the Confessors did not hold those loose, depreciatory views of sacramental agency and churchly ordinances which are so flippantly prevalent now. The divine "treasure" is given in "earthen vessels" (2 Cor. 4 : 7), and to disparage the lowly vessel is little less unscriptural and profane than to make light of the grace it conveys. But as against the other extreme, this regenerating grace is not "*ex opere operato*." It is not wrought magically and by the mere ceremonial use of the external means. But, as the

Pietists rightly asserted in their protest against—not a dead orthodoxy, but an unorthodox formalism—it must be attended by faith, and then,—not the faith,—but the Holy Spirit through the water works a conscious, living change, begets a new soul. “The Holy Spirit, given through baptism, begins to put to death the concupiscence and creates new movements in man.”\*

All this is clear when applied to adults, but since the Christian Church administers baptism to *infants*, what is the effect as to them? Here a divergency of views meets us. Zwingli,—approaching, as Hagenbach says, closely to Socinus,—considered the baptism of infants as no more than their formal admission into the Church. Augustine voicing the ancient Church, says: “Baptism cleanses children from Original Sin. It ennobles their nature.”† “Infants were not only delivered from the punishment of sin but had imparted to them a divine regeneration. The remedy amounted to far more than the mere removal of an evil.”‡ Luther says: “We must declare it as a simple fact that a child, which by nature is oppressed with death, begins eternal life at the time of its baptism.”§ Gerhard: “It remains therefore that they are *regenerated*, cleansed from the contagion of Original Sin, and made partakers of eternal life through *Baptism*.”|| “The divines of the Church of England taught the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.”¶ Hodge, speaking for the Presbyterians, says: “Infants have always been baptized for the remission of sins.”\*\*

The confessional preponderance here appears largely to uphold the view, that, in baptism, the guilt of Original Sin is washed from infants, and there is imparted the beginning of the new spiritual life. The spiritual re-creation is thus the analogue of the natural creation. As in the one, life is given but in the most primal germinal powers, so in the other.

But how is this effected, since infants are unconscious and

\**Apology for Augsburg Confession*, Ch. I, Art. II, Book of Concord, Jacobs, Vol. I, p. 81.

†*Enchir. ad Laurent.*, 43. ‡Neander's *Church History*, Vol. II, 666.

§*House Postil*, Vol. II, p. 337.

||Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology*, Hay and Jacobs, p. 563.

¶*Hagenbach*, Vol. II, 366. \*\**Christian Theology*, Vol. II, 191.



cannot comply with the condition, faith. Augustine answered the Pelagians: "The faith of the Church takes the place of their own faith."\* Luther, followed by the principal Lutheran divines, held to an unconscious faith of infants just as there was an unconscious Original Sin, and pointed to Christ's words: "One of these little ones which believe in me" (Matt. 18 : 6). In practice the Reformed Churches generally adopt the Zwinglian view of infant baptism, deeming it simply a commanded rite, with only a declarative significance; while the Lutherans ascribe to it subjective efficacy. In this, they certainly have Scripture, as they have the Primitive Church on their side. The New Testament always connects regeneration with baptism. Now, when thus speaking, it either includes infant baptism or it does not. If it does not, then Infant Baptism is not scriptural baptism and should be rejected. If, however, these definitions include Infant Baptism, it is a true, full baptism, and carries with it all the spiritual blessings connected with the sacrament. This, as the *Baptist Weekly* remarks, is the only ground on which the ordinance can exist. Take from it its spiritual efficacy and its observance falls, remarks the same journal. And this is notably proved by the decadence of infant baptism in non-Lutheran Churches.

But this efficacy of infant baptism by no means justifies the adult. Arrived at a responsible age, faith and conscious regeneration are necessary. Here the Pietists were right when they insisted on living, experimental piety, but, standing likewise on firm scriptural ground, they referred this change for its source to the grace given and beginning to work in Infant Baptism. I cannot see the force of the suspicions and objections usually raised to the subjective efficacy of Infant Baptism. If the sin of origin, incurred in natural birth, without our guilty consent, condemns us to death, where is the difficulty or injustice, in the view, that what we may call the grace of origin, likewise, without our meritorious consent "offered" in baptism, should wash away the stains of natural depravity and restore to us our lost spiritual life?

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\*Neander's *Church History*, Vol. II, p. 670.

If this spiritual renewal is dependent on the means, Baptism and the Word, what is the case with *unbaptized infants* and heathen? Is it true, as charged by James Freeman Clarke, that "The unbaptized child goes to hell because of the Original Sin derived from Adam," no less than the worst criminal, and that this is the doctrine of every orthodox denomination in Christendom?"\* That the early Church and the Roman Catholic Church agree that unbaptized infants are lost is undeniable. This, however, our Lutheran theologians reject as opposed to the New Testament teachings respecting children, and as opposed to divine justice and love. They hold that not the want but the contempt of the sacrament condemns. Our duty is bound by the sacrament, but God's grace is not bound. Baptism is ordinarily but not absolutely necessary to regeneration and salvation.† The unbaptized infant must indeed be cleansed before it enters heaven. But this God can do in death, or in his own time and way. Infants dying unbaptized are saved.

As to the *salvability of the heathen*, lying in Original and Actual Sin, that seems a just view which supposes that their everlasting state will not be finally sealed until Christ be preached to them. Such *seems* to be the meaning of those passages which speak of their being judged "without law" (Rom. 2 : 12), and of Christ preaching unto the spirits in prison" (1 Pet. 3 : 19), and of "the Gospel being preached to them that are dead" as also of the "Tree of Life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations (Rev. 22 : 2), and which is located in eternity (1 Pet. 4 : 6). Luther, while protesting against the deadly, unscriptural error of a second probation for those who had the Gospel in time, yet admitted the possibility of a limited future probation for such as never had such an opportunity.‡ If Dr. Dorner's view, so much criticised, means more than such a surmise, then it is unscriptural. All this, however, is but hypothesis, and yet, I think, a hypothesis which more irrevocably seals the endless doom of those who voluntarily reject Christ. Nor should this hope en-

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\**Orthodoxy*, pp. 357 and 358.

†Gerhard, *Schmid's Doctrinal Theology*, p. 570.

‡Luther's Letters, *Doom Eternal*, p. 304. Who would doubt, he says, that God could give faith to some in dying, or after death? "But that he does it no one can prove."



tertained with humility—dogmatically asserted, it is generally a twin-sister of heresy—affect in the least the necessity and urgency of Foreign Missions. Assuredly the command of Christ, the consolations and hopes of the blessed Gospel, the riches of Christian civilization to suffering heathen, and the glory of God and his Church, are sufficient motives.\*

On the whole, this divine offer freely made “to all nations” (Math. 28 : 19) to have their natural depravity cleansed and to be “born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit,” is the blessed explanation of the dark and fearful problem of Original Sin. Yea! the remedy is even greater than the disease. “But not as the offence so also is the free gift, for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many” (Rom. 5 : 15).

VIII. The *practical aspects* of the subject of this II<sup>nd</sup> Article of the Augsburg Confession are of intense significance. Selecting from the many that crowd upon the mind, I can but in conclusion remark one which pertains to *Christian Theology*. Says one: “At present, the regeneration of the Church and of Theology is chiefly to be expected from a right understanding of the doctrine concerning sin.” And this is true. There is,—especially in America, where the want of a reflective habit of thought among the clergy is notable—a manifest weakness of definite and positive convictions respecting Original Sin. The disposition is to regard it after a Pelagian manner, as a mere infirmity, misfortune, or tendency, without specific moral character. And as the line where it passes into Actual Sin is an indiscernible one, so the conceptions respecting the enormity, the guilt and danger of Actual Sin, are correspondingly weaker.

And as the doctrines of Revelation constitute an integral system, other fundamental doctrines at once suffer. Where sin is

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\*I trust that no one, from this assertion, will suspect me of latitudinarianism with respect to the final state of the impenitent. An examination of my views, elaborately set forth in a special work on this subject, will satisfy any one that I stand here upon the faith of the Church universal, as impregably grounded upon Scripture and Reason, and as confessed in the creeds of Christendom.

felt to be but a light evil, low views prevail as to the nature and endlessness of punishment. And where the penalty is minimized, the infinite necessity and value of the Redeemer from sin, are abridged. "The more," says a Church historian, "the doctrine of the Natural Depravity of mankind was lost sight of, and the nature of man elevated, the more the difference between Christ and men, *i. e.* his divinity disappeared." And this is as true of the present as it was of the past. The glory of Christ and the unique blessedness of human redemption are inseparably bound up with sound convictions as to Original Sin. And similarly is affected the need of a deep, thorough-going, vital regeneration. Where the disease is grave, the diagnosis will be serious, and the cure must be radical. But here the reverse is the case, the grievous error will be committed of attempting to "heal the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly" (Jer. 6 : 14).

And we must now encounter a New Theology which seeks to subvert these old evangelical foundations. As Rothe with a striking profundity remarks: "What strange beings men are, that to them God should become small in proportion as the world becomes great."\* This paradox is illustrated by that modern theology, which, as science becomes richer and more brilliant, would attenuate religion. "Progressive Orthodoxy" would cripple inspiration, allegorize miracles, impair the force of Scripture doctrine, volatilize the visible Church, dispossess the sacraments of their spiritual gifts, &c. This danger is real and vital, and I rejoice that so able a non-Lutheran as Dr. A. A. Hodge thus detects and exposes it: "It is evident that this New Theology rests solely upon a passing Speculative Philosophy of the day. It conspicuously is not based upon any connected and critical interpretation of Scripture, and is as obviously opposed to its plain meaning, and the most clearly revealed doctrines. *It would be swept away by a deep conviction of the vileness and guilt of sin.* It is no less opposed, and that confessedly, to the consensus of the Creeds, Liturgies and Hymns of the whole historic Church of Christ."\* But the chief antidote to this movement—and this conviction ripens within me from day to day

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\*"Still Hours," p. 123.

\**Presbyterian Review*, Vol. VI, p. 377.



—is to be found in our Evangelical Lutheran Theology. It stands out in these modern times as the bulwark of the faith of God's Word,—the faith of old,—the faith of the Universal Church. Young Gentlemen, study that theology; dip deeply into it; fill your minds with its profound truth; imbibe its conservative spirit; encase yourselves in its evangelical armor, and you will not go forth to pliant alliance with loose rationalizing, destructive tendencies, but to do manly, Christian warfare for the truth of God, as it was, is now, and shall be—changeless evermore!



## ARTICLE II.

## THE THERAPEUTÆ.

By REV. B. PICK, PH. D., Allegheny, Pa.

## LITERATURE.

Philo's text is found in Mangey's edition, II, 471–486; in the Leipsic edition of 1828 (*Bibliotheca Sacra Patrum Ecclesiae Graecorum*) Vol. V, p. 304–323. The English translation of Yonge is found Vol. IV, 1–20 of the Works of Philo (Bohn's Library). A French translation of the treatise is published by Delaunay in his *Moines et Sibylles*, p. 89–112, Paris, 1874. Besides the works already mentioned, compare Gfrörer, *Philo und die jüdisch-alexandrinische Theosophie*, Stuttgart, 1835; Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, Halle, 1834; Ritschl, *die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1857, p. 216; Baur, *Die Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der alten Philosophie*, Leipsic, 1876, p. 216; Schwegler, *das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846, I, 190; Lutterbeck, *die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe*, Mayence, 1852, I, 131, 271; Clemens, *die Therapeuten*, Königsberg, 1869; Pick, Art. *Therapeutæ* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.; Lucius, *Die Therapeuten*, Strasburg, 1879; Ohle, *Die Essäer des Philo*, Leipsic, 1887; Ausfeld, *De libro περί τῶν πάντων σπουδαίων*, etc., Göttingen, 1887, and Harnack's review of the last two works in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 493 seq.

A strange phenomenon in Jewish history are the Therapeutæ, or Jewish ascetics, whom the Jewish Alexandrian philosopher Philo has described in a separate treatise entitled "On a contemplative life or on the Virtue of Suppliants" or *De Vita Contemplativa*, and found in the second volume of Mangey's edition of Philo's works, pp. 471-486. It is noteworthy that no other writer of that period, not even Josephus, knows anything about the Therapeutæ; and when Christian writers since the time of Eusebius, *i. e.* since the beginning of the fourth century, speak of them, they only follow Philo's narrative, and the erroneous opinion of Eusebius (*Histor. Eccles.*, II. 17), who regarded the Therapeutæ as Christians, has been followed by all Church Fathers, with the exception of Photius.

Modern criticism has, with a few exceptions, identified the Egyptian Therapeutæ with the Palestinian Essenes, and on account of some similarities between them, has put up the view that Therapeutæ and Essenes starting from like principles only differed in that the former were only theorists, while the latter were more practical. Of late, however, the genuineness of Philo's treatise has been questioned by scholars like Grätz, Jost, Nicolas, Derenbourg, Kuenen, Renan, more especially by Lucius in his treatise *Die Therapeuten* (Strasburg, 1879), who regard Philo's treatise more or less as an embellishment of Christian monasticism as it began in Egypt, and especially the last named scholar comes to the conclusion that the Therapeutæ were not Jews, and that the treatise bearing the name of Philo was written towards the end of the 3d century as an apology for Christian asceticism.

Leaving aside for the present the question as to the genuineness or spuriousness, we will examine first what Philo has to say about the Therapeutæ.

#### I. MANNERS AND USAGES OF THE THERAPEUTÆ.

The fatherland of the Therapeutæ is Egypt, and beyond that country the order has probably not been propagated. When Philo speaks of their diffusion throughout the world, or to use his own words "now this class of persons may be met with in many places, for it was fitting that both Greece and the country



of the barbarians should partake of whatever is perfectly good," we must not take his words in their literal sense, as does Lucius, l. c., p. 16, but in a more general sense, because we have no notice whatever of the Therapeutæ outside of Egypt. What he meant to say is that, outside of Egypt, there were also men of a similar tendency, without believing that they really belonged to this order in Egypt. This is also the view of Schürer (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1880, col. 113). Keim thinks, therefore, that Philo's words are an exaggeration, or rather that he confuses the hermit life of the Jews with like "phenomena among the Greeks and barbarians." Grätz, however, holds a different opinion, and adduces this as an argument for Christian monks who were generally diffused at an early age (as early as the time of Eusebius or of Philo?). "But," asks Keim, "has not Philo compared both the Essenes and Therapeutæ with the Gymnosophists and Magi, with the wise man Kalanos, with Anaxagoras and Democritus? Josephus again with Daci and Polistes" (*Jesus of Nazara*, I, p. 377). It is certain that Philo in describing this order, had a certain colony in view near the lake Mareotis, to the south of Alexandria, where the Therapeutæ lived. Here they lived not too "near to one another as men do in cities, for immediate neighborhood to others would be a troublesome and unpleasant thing to men who have conceived an admiration for, and have determined to devote themselves to, solitude; and, on the other hand, they did not live very far from one another on account of the fellowship which they desire to cultivate, and because of the desirableness of being able to assist one another if they should be attacked by robbers." The houses of these men were very plain, just giving shelter in respect of the two things most important to be provided against, the heat of the summer and the cold from the open air. In each house there was a sacred shrine which was called the holy place, and the monastery in which they retired by themselves and performed all the mysteries of a holy life, bringing in nothing, neither meat, nor drink, nor anything else which is indispensable towards supplying the necessities of the body, but studying in that place the laws and the sacred oracles of God enunciated by the holy prophets, and hymns and psalms, and all kinds of other

things by reason of which knowledge and piety are increased and brought to perfection.

Simple as was their house, their raiment was equally so, being a cloak of some shaggy hide for winter, and a thin mantle or linen shawl in summer; and in their religious assemblies they appeared in a white garment.

As continence was regarded as the highest virtue, their mode of living was very simple. None of them took any meal or drink before the setting of the sun, because they believed that the work of philosophizing was one worthy of the light, and that the care for the necessities of the body was suitable only to darkness, on which account they appropriated the day to the one occupation, and a brief portion of the night to the other. They ate just enough as not to be hungry, and drank just enough to escape from thirst, avoiding all satiety, as an enemy of and a plotter against both soul and body. They ate nothing of a costly character, but plain bread and a seasoning of salt, which the more luxurious of them further seasoned with hyssop, and their drink was water from the spring. Many also, Philo tells us, could fast for three days, several for six. For such a simple mode of living they naturally had no need of great earthly possessions; but as Philo says, they left their possessions to their relatives or friends, and without any property they went out, as if their mortal life had already come to an end, only anxious for an immortal and blessed existence.

As it was the endeavor of the Therapeutæ to attain the highest possible blessedness, their whole life was devoted to those things which led to that end and consisted in the study of the Holy writings and in religious exercises and contemplations.

They prayed twice every day, at morning and at evening. When the sun rose, they entreated God "that the happiness of the coming day may be real happiness, so that their minds may be filled with heavenly light, and when the sun was setting they prayed that their soul, being entirely lightened and relieved of the burden of the outward senses, and of the appropriate object of these outward senses, may be able to trace out truth existing in its own consistory and council chamber. And the interval between morning and evening was by them wholly devoted to



meditation on and to practice of virtue. To this end they took up the sacred scriptures and philosophized concerning them, investigating the allegories of their national philosophy, since they looked upon their literal expressions as symbols of some secret meaning of nature, intended to be conveyed in those figurative expressions."

As a canon of such allegorical exposition of Scripture the real home of which was in Egypt, they used the writings left by the founders of their sect. They also composed "psalms and hymns to God in every kind of metre and melody imaginable, which they of necessity arrange in more dignified rhythm. Therefore during six days, each of these individuals, retiring into solitude by himself, philosophizes by himself in one of the places called monasteries, never going outside the threshold of the outer court, and indeed never even looking out." And adds Philo, "they always retain an imperishable recollection of God, so that not even in their dreams is any other object ever presented to their eyes except the beauty of the divine virtues and of the divine powers. Therefore many persons speak in their sleep, divulging and publishing the celebrated doctrines of the sacred philosophy."

Women were also received into their order, the greater part of whom, though old, were virgins in respect to their purity, and were animated by the same admiration for, and love of, wisdom in the exercise of which they were desirous to pass their lives. These women like the male members of the order lived separately, performing the same duties; but at the meetings and banquets both sexes were united.

They did not use the ministrations of slaves, looking upon the possession of servants or slaves to be a thing absolutely and wholly contrary to nature, for nature has created all men free; but the injustice and covetousness of some men who prefer inequality, that cause of all evil, having subdued some, has given to the more powerful authority over those who are weaker. Accordingly at their common banquets, no slaves, but free men ministered to the guests, performing the offices of servants, not under compulsion, nor in obedience to any imperious com-

mands, but of their own voluntary free will, with all eagerness and promptitude anticipating all orders, for they are not any chance free men who are appointed to perform these duties, but young men who are selected from their order with all possible care on account of their excellence. Their dress was such that nothing of a slavish character could be seen in it; they come in, says Philo, to perform their service ungirdled, and with their tunics let down, in order that nothing which bears any resemblance to a slavish appearance may be introduced into this festival. For these young men, as Philo observes, eager to attain to the perfection of virtue, with affectionate rivalry ministered to their fathers and mothers, thinking their common parents more closely connected with them than those who were related by blood.

At the banquet they were presided over by a president, who addressed them and intoned a hymn, in which all joined. They sat according to their age, *i. e.* according to the length of time they belonged to the order. We must not, however, think that the president or elders exercised any gubernatorial power, for this is nowhere inferred; their functions were only restricted to the assemblies, in which also others acted as leaders of the choruses, such were the *hegemon* and *exarchos*.

The seventh day was especially distinguished. They anointed their bodies, and, clothed in white garments, they assembled in the common *semneion*. Here they sat down with all becoming gravity according to their ages, keeping their hands inside their garments, having their right hand between their chest and their dress, and the left hand down by their side, close to their flank. Then the oldest of them, who had the most profound learning in their doctrines came forward and spoke with steadfast look and with steadfast voice, with great power of reasoning, and great prudence, not making an exhibition of his oratorical powers like the rhetoricians of old, or the sophists of the present day, but investigating with great pains and explaining with minute accuracy the precise meaning of the laws, which sits, not indeed, at the tips of their ears, but penetrates through their hearing into the soul, and remains their lastingly; and all the rest listen in silence to the praises which he bestows



upon the law, showing their assent only by nods of the head or the eager look of the eyes. In this sacred assembly the women also shared, having the same feelings of admiration as the men, and having adopted the same sect with equal deliberation and decision. But they had their own seats, being separated from the male members by a wall rising three or four cubits upwards from the ground, but in such a manner that they could hear the voice of the speaker.

The seventh Sabbath was especially distinguished. The number fifty was regarded by them as the most holy and natural of numbers, being compounded of the power of the right-angled triangle, which is the principle of the origination and condition of the whole. Clothed in white garments, they came together to the common feast. Before they partook of the same, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven and prayed to God that it might be acceptable to him. After the prayer, they sat down, the men sitting on the right hand and the women apart from them on the left, on rugs of the coarsest materials, cheap mats of the most ordinary kind of the papyrus of the land, piled upon the ground and projecting a little near the elbow, so that the feasters may lean upon them. Before the feast commenced, questions were asked and answered. A passage of the Scripture was explained and religious questions were settled. All listened attentively to the speaker, indicating their attention and comprehension by their nods and looks, and the praise which they were inclined to bestow on the speaker, by the cheerfulness and gentle manner in which they followed him with their eyes and with the fore-finger of the right hand. When the president appeared to have spoken at sufficient length, and to have carried out his intentions adequately, so that his explanation has gone on felicitously and fluently through his own acuteness, and the hearing of the others had been profitable, applause arose from them all as of men rejoicing together at what they had seen and heard; and then some one rising up, sang a hymn which had been made in honor of God, either such as he had composed himself, or some ancient one of some old poet. After him others also arose in their ranks, in becoming order, while every one else listened in decent silence, except when it was proper to

take up the burden of the song, and to join in at the end. And when each had finished his psalm, then the young men brought in the table on which was placed that most holy food, the leavened bread, with a seasoning of salt, with which hyssop was mingled out of reverence for the sacred table, which was in the holy outer temple; for on this table were placed loaves and salt without seasoning, and the bread was unleavened, and the salt unmixed with anything else.

After the feast they celebrated the sacred festival during the whole night; and this nocturnal festival was celebrated in the following manner: All stood up together, and in the middle of the entertainment two choruses were formed at first, the one of men, and the other of women, and for each chorus there was a leader and chief selected, who was the most honorable and most excellent of the band. Then they sang hymns which had been composed in honor of God in many metres and tunes, at one time all singing together, and at another moving their hands and dancing in corresponding harmony, and uttering in an inspired manner songs of thanksgiving, and at another time regular odes, and performing all necessary strophes and antistrophes. Then when each chorus of the men and each chorus of the women had feasted separately by itself, they joined together, and the two became one chorus, an imitation of that one which, in old time, was established by the Red Sea, on account of the wondrous works which were displayed there before Israel, and where both men and women together, under the influence of divine inspiration, becoming all one chorus, sang hymns of thanksgiving to God the Saviour, Moses the prophet leading the men, and Miriam the prophetess leading the women. When the sun arose, they raised their hands to heaven, imploring tranquillity and truth, and acuteness of understanding. After the prayer each retired to his own separate abode, with the intention of again practicing the usual philosophy to which each had been wont to devote himself. Such then is the description of the Therapeutæ, as given by Philo, whose very words we have followed.



## II. THERAPEUTÆ AND ESSENES.

On account of the manifold similar traits which were found among the Therapeutæ and Essenes, it has been inferred that the Therapeutæ were but the Egyptian branch of Palestinian Essenism. This hypothesis is seemingly confirmed by what Philo says at the beginning of his treatise on the Therapeutæ: "Having mentioned the Essenes, who in all respects selected for their admiration and for their especial adoption the practical course of life, and who excel in all, or what perhaps may be a less unpopular and invidious thing to say, in most of its parts, I will now proceed, in the regular order of my subject, to speak of those who have embraced the speculative life, and I will say what appears to me to be desirable to be said on the subject."

The majority of critics have therefore not hesitated to believe in a causative connection between the two sects, and have thus, on account of Philo's words, separated the Egyptian Therapeutæ, as the theorists, from the Palestinian Essenes, whom they designated the practitioners. In this assumption, there can only be a diversity of opinion as to which of the two sects justly claims the temporal precedence—whether the theory of the Therapeutæ or the practice of the Essenes is the original, or, in other words, whether Egypt or Palestine is the fatherland of that tendency within Judaism which is designated by the name of Essenism. The opinion that the temporal precedence belongs to the Therapeutæ, and that after Therapeutism had been planted on the soil of Judæa the order of the Essenes originated, is advocated by *Gfrörer* (*Kritische Geschichte des Urchristenthums*, Stuttgart, 1831, part II, p. 335 seq.), *Lutterbeck* (*die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe*, Mayence, 1852, Vol. I, p. 275 seq.), *Mangold* (*die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe*, Marburg, 1856, p. 57 seq.), and *Holtzmann* (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel und der Entstehung der Christenthums*, Leipsic, 1867, Vol. II, p. 79 seq.) The opposite opinion is represented by *Ritschl* (*Theolog. Jahrbücher*, ed. Baur und Zeller, 1855, p. 343 seq.), *Hilgenfeld* (*die jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Jena, 1857, p. 278 seq.), *Herzfeld* (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2d ed., Leipsic, 1863, Vol. III, p. 406)—these three asserting that the Egyptian type was an exaggerated, forced and unsound de-

velopment of the sect, as it appeared in Palestine,—*Zeller* (*Geschichte der Philosophie der Griechen*, III, ii, 288 seq., Leipsic, 1868); *Bellermann* (*Nachrichten aus dem Alterthum über Essener und Therapeuten*, Berlin, 1821, p. 80, note), and *Harnischmacher* (*de Essendorum apud Judæos societate*, Bonn, 1866, p. 26) admit a causative connection of both, without deciding the time of the origin. *Keim* who seems to favor the views of *Ritschl*, *Hilgenfeld* and *Herzfeld*, says “it is evident that the exaggerated form must have resulted from that which was moderate rather than that the case was reversed. The course taken by Essenism itself, from the towns to the villages, and then into the deserts, will moreover serve to mark the time in which the Egyptian hermits had their origin” (*Jesus of Nazara*, Vol. I, p. 377).

In opposition to the above named critics we deny any connection between these two sects—and herein *Lucius* (l. c. p. 45 seq.) agrees with us—and dismiss the question altogether which of the two formed the connecting link for the other. In order to justify our assertion we will draw a parallel between the two sects, and first consider those points in which both agree.

#### A. POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

1. Both sects diligently studied the Scripture, and interpreted the same allegorically.

2. Besides the Old Testament, both had a high regard for the writings of the older members of their order.

3. Both abhorred slavery.

4. Both lived in a very simple manner, and were accustomed to appear at their religious exercises in white garments.

More common traits cannot be proved, excepting, perhaps, the fact that both led an unmarried life. But even this is no proof, because, according to *Josephus*, at least one part of the *Essenes*, though perhaps only the minority, married. It cannot also be said that both agreed in leading a life entirely separated from the world. Of the *Therapeutæ*, it is true, this can be said, but not of the *Essenes*, because, as *Josephus* tells us, they instructed the youth and took otherwise an active part in the weal



and woe of their people, as they did, for instance, in the war against the Romans for the liberty of their country.

B. POINTS OF DIFFERENCES.

1. The Therapeutæ led a monastic, secluded life, given entirely to contemplation. The Essenes, according to the rules of their order, were obliged to work. Their labor was prescribed and regulated by officers purposely appointed. They cultivated the fields, and were engaged in manual labors as well as in arts.

2. The Therapeutæ lived separated from each other in cells, and only came together on the Sabbath and on special occasions. The Essenes, however, wherever they resided, had their common lodges, where they lived and dined together.

3. The Therapeutæ anointed their bodies; the Essenes abstained from anointing.

4. The Therapeutæ, upon entering the order, left everything to their relatives and friends. The Essenes delivered their property to the order for the benefit of all.

5. The Therapeutæ did not eat before the setting of the sun; the Essenes enjoyed two meals daily.

6. The Essenes were divided into different classes, which were so marked that a member of the upper class had to bathe himself when he touched anything belonging to a lower class. The Therapeutæ had no such distinctions.

7. Of the Essenes we are told that the members of the higher degrees had the knowledge of mysteries, which was not communicated to the lower degrees; of the Therapeutæ we know nothing of the kind.

8. Each Essene had to bathe himself daily; such lustrations were not in use among the Therapeutæ.

9. The Therapeutæ revered the temple at Jerusalem and the Levitical priesthood, and were not so far apart from orthodox Judaism. The Essenes, on the contrary, believed their lustrations and their mode of living to be of greater importance than the ordinances prescribed to the priests for the service of the Temple. They furnished no offerings to the Temple at Jerusalem, and thus became guilty of apostatizing from an important part of the Mosaic law.

10. The Essenes were especially addicted to medicine and prophecy ; we know nothing of these practices among the Therapeutæ.

It is obvious that the differences between the two sects cannot consist in that the one was given to theory and the other to practice, because the supposition of a like ground-principle is not sufficient for explaining so many, and at the same time very important differences. After all that we know of both these sects, the supposition of a casual connection between the two must appear very hazardous ; for if there really were such a connection between them, and if both were essentially one and the same sect, it is surprising that Josephus has not recorded the fact. As little as we believe with Philo in a real connection between the Jewish Essenes, the seven wise men of Greece, and the Indian Gymnosophists, whom he compares in his book *Quod omnisprobus liber*, just as little connection is there between the Essenes and Therapeutæ, because Philo divided them into the theorists and practitioners. The Essenes did not originate from the propagation of Therapeutism in Palestine, because, as we know, Alexandrian religious philosophy did not find a fertile soil in Judæa, especially at the time in which both these sects originated. We cannot assume that the reverse should have taken place, otherwise the essential traits of Essenism would have been found again among the Therapeutæ. The stamp of both sects is so different that they cannot be identical ; and in treating of the Therapeutæ no regard is therefore to be paid to the Essenes.

### III. THERAPEUTÆ AND CHRISTIANITY.

Assuming that the Essenes were only consistent Chasidim has led the Jewish historian Graetz to make the assertion that Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ according to which they were hitherto regarded as an Egyptian offshoot of Palestine Essenism, could not be genuine. According to the same writer, it is not so much owing to the description of the Essenes by Josephus as to the book on *the Contemplative Life* that those not coinciding with the former's views have arrived at a false result regarding the essence and origin of the Essene sect. According



to Graetz the sect of the Therapeutæ never existed; they were Christians, ascetics of a heretic tendency, who sprang up by the dozen in the 2d and 3d centuries. The author of this book which has caused so much confusion is not Philo but a Christian "who probably belonged either to the Encratite-gnostic or Montanistic party, and intended to write a panegyric on monasticism, the high antiquity of which Philo's authority was to confirm."

This is the result at which Graetz arrives, and although he takes it for granted that the attentive reader of the book on the *Contemplative Life* must at once adopt the correctness of his assertion, he has nevertheless taken the pains to make good his hypothesis at great length.

This hypothesis of Graetz has been analyzed by Zeller (in his history of the philosophy of the Greeks) and the result is that the reasons adduced by Graetz are not sufficient and acceptable at all. In resuming the question once more, and examining the argument of Graetz in order to establish the Christian character of the Therapeutæ, we do so because of its close connection with the essence and origin of the sect—in this we differ with Zeller—and because there are some points to be proved against Graetz. The latter has denied the existence of a Jewish sect of the Therapeutæ, and consequently also the genuineness of Philo's treatise, on the ground of the silence of Pliny and Josephus, who wrote so much about the Essenes; while they know nothing of the Therapeutæ, the alleged Egyptian branch of this sect. Against this, Zeller has argued that the silence of Josephus cannot be so remarkable—an argument used also by Schürer (l. c. col. 113) against Lucius, and by Delaunay (*Moines et Sibylles*, Paris, 1874, p. 41) against Graetz, who says that one might just as well deny the existence of the Essenes from the silence of the Talmud—since the Therapeutæ were a branch of the Essenes restricted to Egypt alone, and because Josephus tells very little about the later affairs of the Jews in that country. Schürer alleges that Josephus in describing the main tendencies of Palestinian Judaism, he had no occasion to speak of the Therapeutæ and that this fact answers for the silence of

those writers who otherwise followed him. Delaunay explains the silence of Josephus because of the “*dedain des Juifs palestiniens pour la science des Juifs hellenistes.*” But if the Therapeutæ were really an Egyptian branch of the Palestinian Essenes, or had some connection with them, the Essenes in Palestine ought to have known something about it; and even if Pliny’s silence could be explained because he only knows *one* Essenic colony living by the Dead Sea, it might be supposed—and in this Graetz is correct—that Josephus, who otherwise speaks very fully about the order, ought to have mentioned the Therapeutæ. The silence of Josephus can therefore only be explained from the very fact—not as Delaunay is inclined to admit from the fact that Josephus has confounded both sects—that the Therapeutæ had no connection whatever with the Essenes, but that they formed an independent sect within Egyptian Judaism, the existence of which—since its number and activity were less important—was entirely unknown to Josephus. Graetz also finds incredible what Philo says about the female Therapeutæ, because Josephus marks it as one of the characteristics of the Essenes to avoid all contact with the opposite sex; hence he believes that these female Therapeutæ were nothing else than sisters (*sorores introductæ*), whom the Christian ascetics used to have about them for the sake of attaining, by constant temptation, a higher virtue, but who, as is known, have been the cause of great scandals. Against this Zeller remarks that in this respect the Egyptian Essenes or Therapeutæ might have had other institutions than those of the Palestinians, since their principles on the worth of an unmarried state were in the main not affected; and this difference of view does not indicate such a great deviation from the principles of the order as the practice of one branch of the Palestinian Essenes who married. We agree with Graetz that, according to Josephus, the wives of the married Essenes were not, like the female Therapeutæ, members of the order. But this actual deviation—that while the Essenes excluded women entirely from the common feasts and meetings, this was not the case among the Therapeutæ—is only another proof that Essenes and Therapeutæ are two different sects. This being the case, it must not be supposed, as Graetz believes, that



the Therapeutæ, not being Essenes, were *Christians*. Graetz's hypothesis of making the female Therapeutæ *sorores subintroductæ* is more ingenious than true. We admit that these sisters lived in very communication with the Christian ascetics, but who can infer from the participation of women in the common feasts and meetings, that the Therapeutæ really lived each with a female companion? From what has been said above, we know that all members were left to themselves in order not to be disturbed in their contemplative life, and besides where in the passage in Philo from which Graetz can prove that the Therapeutæ, like the Christian ascetics, had aimed at a higher degree of perfection by living together with the female members?

Another point which according to Graetz proves the spuriousness of Philo's treatise, is to be found in the fact that from the introductory words, it connects itself with the treatise *Quod omnis probus liber, i. e.* that every man who is virtuous is also free, erroneously, as with a writing on the Essenes. The words in question are: "having mentioned the Essenes, who in all respects selected for their admiration and for their especial adoption," etc. Graetz thinks that Philo could not possibly say that he "wrote a treatise" on the Essenes (*essaion peri dialechteis*), when the passage in question only occupies the twelfth part of the treatise, and he only mentions this sect as one of the many. But against this it must be argued that *dialegestai peri tinos* does not mean "to write a treatise," but to "speak on something," or as Delaunay says (l. c. p. 43): "qui peut faire allusion au passage," and this, as Zeller remarks, Philo has evidently done concerning the Essenes. Moreover, such an association of topics is not comical at all, as Graetz thinks, because by this two Jewish sects which have at least some traits in common were brought into connection.

But the main point for the spuriousness of the treatise on the Therapeutæ and for its being written by a Christian, Graetz thinks to lie in the fact that Christian writers as Eusebius and others after him, have recognized the Therapeutæ as "flesh of their own flesh."

The holy cells of the Therapeutæ are called monasteries. It is evident, argues the Jewish historian, that we have here the

beginning of the monastic cells, which existed even before Anthony of Thebes, the founder of monasticism. But even if we admit that the entire mode of living of the Therapeutæ is similar to that of the later Christian monks, it by no means follows that the Therapeutæ were *Christian monks*. Why—and herein we agree with Graetz—should there not have been in Egypt, the fatherland and the proper home of monasticism, ascetics even before Anthony of Thebes? And why should this not have been possible within the pale of Judaism? And are the Palestinian Essenes not a similar phenomenon? To impress on the Therapeutæ the Christian character because of the word *monasterion*, which the Christian monks used for their cell, is not reasonable, because, as Zeller reminds, the expression *monasterion* and *semneion* were only used by the Therapeutæ for a part, and not, as did the Christian monks, for the whole, of the dwelling. The supposition seems to be that the Therapeutæ, or rather Philo himself formed the words *monasterion* and *semneion*, and that Christian monks borrowed this nomenclature from their predecessors. But argues Graetz, the Therapeutæ had not only a common feast, but after the feast they had a kind of Lord's Supper, consisting of unleavened bread, of which only the better ones partook. Graetz evidently believes that we have here the difference between the *missa fidelium* and *missa catechumenorum*, from the former of which, consisting in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and in a kind of liturgy, those who were not yet baptized, together with those who were excommunicated, were excluded, for, he asks, is this not Christian?

To this we answer "no." Graetz, as Zeller remarks, has overlooked the fact that the so-called Lord's Supper did not take place after the common meal, but it was this common meal itself. At this meal not *unleavened*, but *leavened* bread was eaten, out of reverence for the unleavened showbread in the Temple at Jerusalem. But above all Graetz is wrong in his assertion that this supper was a prerogative of the better ones. Now the words *kreittones*, *i. e.* the better ones, do not refer to the Therapeutæ, but to the Jewish priest, to whom alone the Therapeutæ conceded the use of unleavened bread as a special prerogative. This unquestionably follows from Philo's words, "and when each



individual has finished his psalm, then the young men bring in the table on which was placed that most holy food, the leavened bread, with a seasoning of salt, with which hyssop is mingled, out of reverence for the sacred table, which lies thus in the holy outer temple; for on this table are placed two loaves and salt without seasoning, and the bread is unleavened, and the salt unmixed with anything else, for it was becoming that the simplest and purest things should be allotted to the most excellent portion of the priests, as a reward for their ministrations, and that the others should admire similar things, but should abstain from the loaves, in order that those who are the more excellent persons should have the precedence."

Another proof for the Christian character of the Therapeutæ, Graetz sees in the fact that the presbyters among them occupied the first positions and not because of their age but because of their strict observance of the Therapeutic life. Thus, argues Graetz, we see here the presbyters or *episcopoi* of the Christian congregations, who held one and the same office in the ante-Nicene period. But he forgets that the office of presbyters in the Church was not a new institution, but derived from the synagogue. The same we find among the Essenes also, yet on this cause Graetz will not assert that the Essenes were no Jews, but Christians, although he firmly believes that Christ proceeded from the Essene order.

Without arguing other points adduced by Graetz to prove the Christian character of the Therapeutæ, we will dwell only on his referring to Eusebius and those who followed him. Eusebius, he says, regarded the Therapeutæ as Christians; but this proves the least. Eusebius regards the treatise on the "Contemplative Life" as Philonian and makes the Jewish philosopher a disciple of John Mark, who accompanied the apostle Paul on his first missionary tour, and afterwards labored at Alexandria. According to Eusebius, the Therapeutæ already existed as Christians in the first century of our era, and can therefore not be adduced by Graetz in support of his theory that the Therapeutæ were a Christian monastic sect of the 2d or 3d century of our era, and with the exception of Graetz no writer has regarded the Therapeutæ as a heretical sect, and he himself is yet unde-

cided in what series of heretical sects, which sprang up by the dozen within the Church in the 2d and 3d centuries, he should place them. According to Graetz, the author of the treatise *probably* belonged to the Encratico-gnostic or Montanistic party, but he has given no reason for this his assertion. But we ask what reason could there be for a Christian, even for a heretic, to father upon Philo such a book, for the sake of recommending monastic asceticism? Throughout the entire treatise not once the name of Christ nor any of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity is mentioned, and yet the Therapeutæ should have been Christians? The linguistic character of the treatise is entirely Philonian and there is no internal nor external argument for denying Philo to be the author of the treatise. The Therapeutæ were Jews, such is also the opinion of Schaff, who in a note states that Eusebius "takes them erroneously for Christians" (History of Chr. Church, III, 152).

#### IV. CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE SECT OF THE THERAPEUTÆ.

From the manner in which Philo speaks of the Therapeutæ, there can be no doubt that he himself was very much prepossessed regarding them, and his treatise is nothing but a panegyric on the sect. This fact alone would lead to the supposition—which, indeed, is also supposed by the whole character of the sect—that the Therapeutæ cultivated and adhered to Jewish religious philosophy, which numbered Philo among its most zealous disciples. It is hardly conceivable, as Gfrörer (*Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie*, II, 281 seq.) has indicated, that in a time like that in which Philo wrote, when the religious movement was at a high pitch, and when the most diverse religious parties existed side by side, a man with such peculiar religious views should write such a panegyric on a sect unless it represented his own views. What Philo writes is not mere fiction, but as he says in the beginning of his treatise that in his narrative he strictly adheres to the truth, and on this account he is to be believed.

That the Therapeutæ represented a Jewish sect, is doubtless. The writings of the Old Testament formed the basis of their investigations and researches. In their *semneia* they had only the



law and the prophets. Philo calls them "the disciples of Moses," and further says, "that they devoted their whole life and themselves to the knowledge and contemplation of the affairs of nature in accordance with the most sacred admonitions and precepts of the prophet Moses." Besides their strict observance of the Jewish Sabbath, the Therapeutæ had great reverence for the Temple at Jerusalem and the Levitical priesthood. Their holy choruses are expressly said to be an imitation of those at the Red Sea. All these traits show them to be on the one hand strict adherents to the traditions and views of Judaism, while the deviations in many particulars on the other hand stamp them as a sect.

As to their name, Philo leaves us to choose between two meanings, either to call them "physicians of the soul," or "servants of God." The latter is probably the more correct, since it accords more fully with the whole tenor and character of the sect. Leading a contemplative life, the Therapeutæ worshiped God in the sense of Alexandrian theosophy, in opposition to the faith and worship of God of the great mass. And this shows that there existed a spiritual relationship between them and Jewish Alexandrian religious philosophy. The purpose of their contemplative life was to lead to the knowledge of the Deity. To achieve this it became necessary to suppress the material man and elevate the spiritual. For this reason they lived in a very simple manner, restricting their wants to the smallest measure. Continence and moderation they regarded as the foundation of all virtues, because by these man is brought nearer to the simple, which enables him to see the simple essence of the Deity and to indulge in the blessed intention of the same. On this account the Therapeutæ lived secluded from the outside world; they denied themselves everything that could bring them in contact with others, thus living only to themselves and their contemplation. They denied themselves marriage, because they preferred to live together with the divine wisdom; and sought not after the mortal, but the immortal fruits of a soul loved by God, and which the same only brings forth when she is impregnated by the spiritual rays of the heavenly Father. For this reason slavery too was banished from their midst, be-

cause in a community which was animated by such motives, the presence of men could not be tolerated who were degraded below the dignity of men.

But the relationship between the Therapeutæ and the Alexandrian religious philosophy shows itself more fully in the allegorical exegesis, which, distinguishing between spirit and letter, idea and symbol, endeavored to explain the writings of the Old Testament. According to Philo's testimony, the Therapeutæ possessed the writings of the ancients, who, as the heads of this tendency, left behind them many memorials of such an allegorical system. The same symbolic character we also find in their holy feasts, which in their historical connection were to remind of the exode from Egypt and the passing through the Red Sea, imitating at the same time the singing of Moses and Miriam on that occasion. Now according to the allegorical exposition of the Alexandrians and Philo Egypt is the symbol of the sensual life in earthly lust and bodily pleasure, and the song of Moses symbolizes the rapture which man feels when after denying himself every earthly thing and suppressing all sensual lust, as a purely spiritual being revels in the intuition of the Deity. Thus the Therapeutæ, like Philo and the Alexandrians, held the same view that the body is the seat of sin and that the flight from a corporeal into a purely spiritual existence ought to be the true and highest aim of life. And Philo expressly states that the Therapeutæ of their anxious desire for an immortal and blessed existence, thinking that their mortal life had already come to an end, left their possessions behind and retired into the solitude.

We have thus in the Therapeutæ a sect which earnestly strove after carrying out and realizing those principles and views, to which the Jewish Alexandrian religious philosophy did homage. At what time, however, this sect, with its fixed ceremonies, originated is hard to tell, as Philo does not say anything more definite about it. From the indication of Philo that the Therapeutæ possessed writings of the ancients which the founders had left behind them as memorials of the allegorical system, and which the Therapeutæ took as a kind of model, we may infer that the sect existed long before Philo. When it originated can merely



be conjectured, perhaps and probably at the beginning of the 2d century before Christ.

That the sect of the Therapeutæ was propagated beyond Egypt is not probable, and its number was, probably also, not very large. At any rate it is very interesting to know that about the time when Christ came into the world, the desire was felt in Egyptian Judaism also, to come into a nearer relation to the Deity and to be free from the existing but unsatisfactory relation. The Therapeutæ tried to reach this goal by renouncing all earthly things, and on this account they resemble the Christian monks, who may have borrowed many traits from them, since Egypt was the real fatherland of monasticism. When, however, Christians regarded them for a long time as their equals, they were mistaken because the history of the Therapeutæ plainly shows how far they were still from that goal which alone can satisfy the heart, but which human reason and power alone cannot reach.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### EMPTY PEWS—HOW SHALL WE FILL THEM?

##### SUGGESTIONS FROM A LAYMAN.

By G. D. STAHLEY, A. M., M., D., Easton, Pa.

This question is a difficult one and cannot be readily answered. Theoretically it has been frequently answered, but practically and experimentally the details of a successful solution are yet to be demonstrated. Nor is it my purpose to attempt an impossible task, or to stultify myself in an endeavor to give a categorical answer to a question which has puzzled wiser heads than mine.

The thoughts I shall here express are simply intended as elementary suggestions, in the study of this subject, and are offered in a kindly spirit, subject to revision if not found tenable. With the space at command it will only be possible to touch on a few points, and these drawn from only a limited division of

the subject. As a layman, I shall treat the question from a layman's standpoint, and as from the location of the pew the principal object in range is the pulpit, I shall direct my gaze and my remarks toward that quarter.

We miserable sinners in the pew get belabored quite frequently as to what our duties are, and as "turn about is fair play," and as the "golden rule" is of universal application, I think it is only fair that now and then the camera should be turned in the opposite direction. But I wish it to be distinctly understood, that whatever may be my criticisms or strictures on the pulpit, in the consideration of this question, I offer them in a kindly, Christian spirit.

It seems to me that the persons, whose church attendance we should first seek to improve, are the church members themselves. It is vital that these should feel their obligations in this direction. I do not believe that a military officer, in company with his drum major, and a few pieces of music, can do much service on the field. His willing and well trained soldiers must be close at his side. The regular attendance and co-operation of the membership must be secured.

Attracting large miscellaneous audiences by so-called "personal magnetism," and clap-trap oratory, or mountebank methods, does not win souls for Christs, and does not extend the boundaries of the "Church visible." Christianity recruits its ranks from the army of sinners, and the latter must therefore be brought within the hearing of the preached word, and it is their attendance at church that we greatly desire. But unless we have an attentive, a consecrated, and a co-operative church membership, we are powerless to influence these people. Instead, therefore, of considering that very interesting question, "How can we best get the masses to attend church?" I will only consider that more restricted, more primary and more vital point, "How can we secure a better attendance on the part of church members?"

This question may be answered comprehensively by saying—secure their attendance by securing their interest. He who does not have the interest of his auditors, speaks in vain, and a minister who does not arouse his people's interest, must necessarily



do the opposite,—develop their indifference, foster their inattention, and finally have the mortification of preaching to sealed ears or vacant pews. To interest does not mean to entertain. “Smartness,” so called, is nowhere so out of place as in the pulpit. Elocutionary eccentricities, theatrical postures, gymnastic contortions, the odd, the ludicrous, the sensational, all these things, “though it make the unskillful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve.”

This spirit of interest, which I consider so essential, centers, to a very important degree, in the minister himself. He must develop an attractive individuality. He should at least use all diligence not to make himself repulsive. Passivity will not answer, for a passive man is an aggravation, and soon becomes intolerable. Unless I have confidence in, or respect and admiration for the messenger, the message he brings to me must necessarily only secure my indifferent attention. If he is of like nature as myself, not only anatomically and physiologically, but by the affinities of a common humanity, through which he strives to influence me, then do I readily become responsive. But if he is ignorant of, or purposely ignores my human nature, and insists in approaching me only in his ecclesiastical capacity, taking special care to inform me that he is one of the Lord's anointed, and that it is my unquestionable duty to listen and obey, or be forever lost, then, because of a consequent repugnance for the man himself, I also develop an aversion towards the Gospel he preaches.

If I had the pecuniary means I would establish an additional professorship in our Theological Seminary, and this professorship should be devoted to careful and thorough instruction in the principles of the theory and practice of common sense and of human nature. The problem of “how best to handle a man,” which must be so thoroughly understood by those who would succeed in secular business, should be even more thoroughly comprehended by those who are engaged in that consecrated pursuit of winning treasures for Christ. True the woods are full of crooked sticks, which cannot be made to serve any useful purpose, but very much valuable timber is allowed to go to waste for want of a proper hewer and artificer. The Lord made

us with certain endowments, proclivities and frailties, and these human conditions need to be closely studied. The minister who is the least capable of doing this, is generally the first to open a tirade against what he calls the captiousness and antagonism of his people.

We laymen often get the name of being "stiff-necked and perverse," but this misnomer arises from the fact that we simply insist that we shall be dealt with on a common-sense basis, and whenever the minister approaches us on the principle of "come let us reason together," it is very seldom indeed that any trouble ensues. To be as "wise as serpents and as harmless as doves," is simply following out our Lord's teachings. Tact, judgement, hard common sense, are the weapons to conquer human nature with, and the fact that the preacher's message is of super-human origin, does not excuse him from neglecting human means and methods in the execution of his work.

Among these means the personal quality of sociability is important. Now in order to be sociable, a man need not grin, and giggle, and be silly. This is a sure way to make himself an intolerable nuisance. His remarks need not be frivolous or always common-place. This will only add to his offensiveness. There is such a thing as respectful sociability, good fellowship, nature touching nature in genial response. These qualities are hard to define, and harder still to acquire, *de novo*, and it is not my purpose to speak of them at length, but their importance cannot be overestimated, and if a minister cannot succeed in acquiring or developing this personal element of attraction, he fails in a most vital point. It may be an inexcusable weakness on our part, but we laymen, although we love the Gospel supremely, yet we are also very anxious to be able to love the man who preaches it to us, and if the latter by his manner and personal qualities, becomes obnoxious to us, we frequently exercise our free agency by remaining away from the sanctuary altogether.

Besides this desire of the laity to be socially attached to their pastor, it is also necessary that they should be able to respect and reverence him as the incumbent of a high office, the commissioned representative of God himself. Laymen enjoy good preaching, but no less do they also admire, and, by the peculiar



necessities of the case, *demand* good practicing from the preacher. Indeed they are quite unable to maintain a proper feeling of respect or reverence for the ministry, unless the ministry itself sets the example of religious compliance with its own precepts. The apostle Paul, in writing to his "fellow laborers," recognized this truth, when he said: "Giving no offense in anything that the ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, \* \* \* by pureness, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report." It sometimes occurs that a church member goes to his preacher and says: "How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him, till seven times? Promptly, and with the dignity of an oracle he replies, "not until seven times, but until seventy times seven," and he further commends him to the example of Christ, who, "when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him who judgeth righteously." Whilst the member is contemplating this personal and scriptural advice, and is perhaps preparing to act upon it, it may be that the minister himself is made the subject of adverse criticism. Now we naturally expect, that living under the same gospel, we should be guided and controlled by the same divine precepts, and that he who declares the law, should himself be willing to abide by it. It is therefore, a matter of great surprise, and of disgust even, for church members to observe that under the stress of criticism, the preacher will occasionally set aside pious precepts and scriptural injunctions, and defend himself with real carnal weapons of choicest selection. Such ministers are properly classified with those Jewish interpreters of the law, of whom Christ said: "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." A few such specimens do the general ministry a very great deal of harm. Such conduct destroys that respect for the ministerial office which is so necessary to secure the interest of the people and their attendance at church. It is my privilege and pleasure to be personally ac-

quainted with a great many of our General Synod Lutheran ministers, and I am happy to say, that as a class, I regard them with great respect and admiration. They are intelligently, religiously, and consistently devoted to the preaching and practicing of their high calling. But, as in other callings, exceptions do exist, and these few do great harm in subverting the power of the gospel, by poisoning the minds of the people against the sincerity of the ministry, and by thus keeping them away from God's house. I know several laymen, of limited acquaintance and observation among the clergy, who for many years have gauged the religious status of the general ministry by the revealed character of a clerical renegade, who, when everything went smoothly appeared to very good advantage, but under the stress of opposition revealed a most resentful and maliciously wicked heart.

Another reason why many people remain away from church, is because their minister preaches long sermons. I know that ministers do not like to be dictated to in this respect. I will not therefore run the risk of incurring their displeasure by advising the exact number of minutes a sermon should occupy, but I will venture to suggest that it is a mistake to preach longer than you can hold the interest of your audience. I have heard preachers, who did not seem to know if they had the interest of their audience or not, or if they did, they did not properly appreciate the importance of this principle as a guide. Some of the grandest sermons I have ever heard, did not occupy more than thirty or thirty-five minutes. I have heard choice and enduring gems delivered in less time. I have also listened to excellent sermons, which held the close attention of the audience for the first half hour, but when extended to forty-five and fifty minutes, interest flagged, impatience supervened, and the excellence of the first half of the sermon became completely overshadowed and neutralized by the tediousness of the latter half. It may be accepted as an axiom, that long sermons and empty pews go together. There are, of course, great subjects, on great occasions manned by great orators, which can easily command interested attention for an hour, or even two hours, but these are exceptional instances and should be so regarded. The quan-



tity of material furnished is not a good gauge by which to estimate sermons. It often seems to me that preaching is measured by the same rule as regulates the professional pedestrian,—so many feet to the lap, so many laps to the mile, and a given number of miles makes the full measure of obligation. Preaching should not be a matter of rods and furlongs, but should be made “the power of God unto salvation,” and a sermon composed of padding and platitudes, may easily discourage an earnest inquiring soul, and divert his attention forever. Advocates of long sermons tell us that we can go to the theatre or circus, and sit several hours uncomplainingly, and seem to enjoy it. This argument is utterly untenable. When once the minister attempts to draw a parallel between the consecrated ministrations of God’s house and Barnum’s circus, with its “three rings and three clowns,” the gilded trappings and paraphernalia or equestrian pageantry, the “ground and lofty tumblings” of athletes, and the thousand and one attractions of the “greatest show on earth”—such a minister, who is disposed to make such a comparison, should “with prayer and fasting” seek the privacy of his closet, and honestly endeavor to realize the vital differences between the two occasions, and I believe he will discover that the comparison is as irrelevant as it is positively odious.

Good and bad, as applied to qualities, are relative terms, and their standards vary. There are sermons that are considered good by some and poor by others, but there are types of sermons which are universally condemned as tedious and uninteresting. Of this class is the analytical and descriptive, which generally contains numerous hypothetical addenda. As for example some years ago I heard a sermon based on the pilgrimage made by that “certain man, who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves.” The speaker seemed quite distressed that neither the family name, the Christian name, nor the surname of this unfortunate individual was given; neither his nationality, nor his religious sect nor the various statistical items which pertain to a man, as a person and as a citizen. The lack of all this desirable information made this “certain man” a very uncertain man indeed. A very graphic description of the wilderness of Jericho was then given; its geography, topogra-

phy and sociology ; its geological and paleontological peculiarities and possibilities, served up with all the irrelevant adjuncts which an imaginative mind can supply. And then concerning this "certain man" himself—his ventures, his adventures, his misadventures, and all the thrilling peradventures, which might, could, would or should have occurred whilst traveling through that very blood-curdling region. And then the horrible wounds and intense bodily sufferings of this mysterious traveler were described with such minuteness of detail and such vividness of portrayal as to quite eclipse the horrors of statement contained in the medical and surgical annals of our late civil war. Perhaps such sermons are of a high spiritual order, and emanate only from the most profound intellects, but all the same, they make many people very tired, and are accountable for many vacant pews in church.

A special series of sermons based on a particular theme, or on some prominent Bible character, is a favorite practice with many ministers, notwithstanding the fact, that unless managed with extreme tact and wisdom, they as rule become very monotonous and tedious to the hearers. Companion sermons, on similar, or oppositely suggestive themes, treated in two or three discourses, can be made extremely interesting and profitable, and to this kind I do now refer. Let me illustrate my point: A highly esteemed ministerial friend of mine at one time essayed to preach a series of sermons on "The Prodigal Son." One day after he had preached about five of these sermons, a few being still in reserve, he met one of his genial members on the street, who happened to be carrying a very large blank book, and the minister, out of good natured curiosity, asked him why he was carrying so large a book; to this, the member with ready wit responded, that he was getting up a subscription with which to bury "the prodigal son." The preacher, who is largely endowed with common sense, besides real piety and ministerial dignity, accepted the facetious reply with courteous acquiescence, took the well intentioned hint, and did not preach the concluding sermons on "the prodigal son." These sermons, besides being very exhaustive of the subject, are also very exhaustive



of the congregation, and are sure to lessen the general attendance.

If a sermon is to awaken any interest, it should surely, at least, possess three qualities. It should be of such a nature and so presented, that the mind can understand it, the memory recall it, and the soul feast upon it. Personally, I believe I have an average intellect, an average memory, and an average spiritual appreciation of God's word. On this basis I measure the merits of the sermons I hear. Now, if on returning from church I am able to recall the preacher's theme, and a fair outline of the discourse, then I feel as if I had gained something, and am encouraged to "call again." But if I am only barely able to give the text, and then get lost in the mazy labyrinths of mystification whilst endeavoring to recall the avalanche of scriptural references, the wordy platitudes and the irrelevant amplifications of truisms which composed the sermon, then do I feel, like I imagine the disciples felt, when it is recorded that they "toiled all night and caught nothing." I must confess that I have not the courage to make such experiments very often.

We are often told about the parable in which "a sower went forth to sow." The sower is the preacher, the seed is the word of God, the soil is the heart of the hearer. We are frequently informed that the only duty of the sower is to sow the seed, and that he can in no wise be held responsible for the condition of the soil. Now I protest against such an indolent, evasive, and false interpretation of this parable. The preacher comes to us and he says, I am the Lord's messenger, here is the message he sends, it is your duty to receive it, or be eternally lost,—and immediately he gathers his ordination vestments about him, and with official strides he proceeds to furnish other miserable sinners with like information. Now when I was a farmer's son, and somewhat devoted to agriculture, I remember very well that we considered ourselves responsible for the condition of the soil, as well as for the kind of seed we sowed. In this parable of the sower, I believe the figure will justify us in holding the sower responsible for the condition of the soil,—or in other words, the preacher is responsible, to a large extent at least, for

the receptive and responsive condition of the hearts of his hearers. Some years ago, a ministerial friend of mine, who belongs to another denomination than ours, preached in one of our churches, whilst attending the sessions of his synod, then convened in that town. In speaking to me afterwards of this occurrence, he told me that he had never preached with greater personal comfort or satisfaction; the people, he said, gave him their close attention, and really seemed to enjoy what he had to say. Such receptiveness on the part of the people, was not a surprise to me, for I knew the pastor well, and also knew that he was an adept at keeping the soil in order. This right state of the soil, this receptive and responsive condition on the part of the church membership, is brought about by that attention and interest, which we have already referred to, and which centres to a considerable extent about the personality of the preacher himself,—his sociability, his aptness as an interpreter of human nature, the respect and reverence which he develops toward himself by his consistent Christian character and his fidelity to high religious principles. These are the things which open the heart, and make it receptive of the divine message. Under these conditions, the gospel is received as a message of love, and not as an official communication.

There is another glaring blunder, chiefly committed by those who speak oftenest and loudest about their fidelity in sowing the seed of God's word. They preach and preach and preach, and take great credit as to the amount of seed they sow, and the regularity with which they do it; and because nothing ever comes of it, they complacently fold their arms and blame the soil, saying they have nothing to do with that. Now it is often found that on account of the manner, means and methods by which they do their sowing, the seed itself becomes dwarfed, shriveled, devitalized, and thus they go on sowing "screenings" all their life time, and are obtuse enough to expect crops from such sowings. Well, if a sower doesn't know the difference between screenings and good wheat, he is deserving of failure every time, and he is sure to get it. A lifeless membership and empty pews are inevitable results.

But I will hasten to close this article, already too long. Let



me simply say in conclusion, on behalf of us laymen, that we are not half so unreasonable as we are sometimes taken to be. We can be argued with, coaxed, and even at times coerced, if it is decently and judiciously done. We like strong preaching, and truth honestly and fearlessly spoken. We like to be hit, provided the blow is given with proper interest and in accordance with gospel rules. We dislike this perambulating, and discussive sort of preaching, which is too "spready" to arouse a purpose, and too tiresome to claim respectful attention. Give us a man, a human man, so to speak, not so thickly covered with ecclesiastical varnish, or so puffed up with the divinity of his mission, but that he can come down and meet us on the basis of a common humanity, and by methods adapted to our natures, gain our confidence, secure our interest, and instruct us in those blessed truths of God's word, which we are assured will make us wise unto eternal salvation. Do this, and we pledge the fidelity of our hearts, and the service of our hands. Our pews at church shall be occupied, and we will be ready to cheerfully coöperate with our pastors, in devising ways and means, to secure the attendance at church of the masses, whom we so much wish to influence for Christ.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

##### THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY.

[Concluded from Vol. XVIII, p. 183].

By PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D., Springfield, Ohio.

##### V.

In this same year (1536) Calvin published his *Institutio*, and in the next year his *Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia*, in which, according to Schaff (*Creeds*, I. p. 455), he makes an ingenious compromise between Luther and Zwingli in the matter of the Lord's Supper; which, however, is denied by many profound and capable students of doctrine, who maintain that Calvin's view of the Eucharist is both new and original, and that it was not constructed with any regard to the view of either Luther or Zwingli. Leaving this as a question for Calvinists to settle

among themselves, it seems to us very doubtful whether Calvin ever fully understood Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, inasmuch (*a*) as all of Luther's sacramentarian writings are in the German language, which Calvin did not understand; (*b*) he did not have that deep spiritual intuition, the possession of which enabled Luther to penetrate so profoundly into the mysteries of salvation; (*c*) he did not equally with Luther grasp the Chalcedonic faith of the person of Christ in its full significance.

And as for the reference to Zwingli, it is certain that Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper contains, in its dogmatic development and practical application, very little that is really distinctive in Zwingli's view, which he calls *profane* (*Gieseler*, IV. p. 415), but much that in these respects closely approximates the doctrine of Luther. In two points, however, he is in principle (though by no means does he go to the same extent in the application of the principle in either case), somewhat in the same line with Zwingli, viz.: He denies the *full, literal* meaning of the words of institution; he verges towards a Nestorianizing view of the person of Christ; which may explain in part why it is that as a matter of fact the majority of Calvinists are practically Zwinglian on the subject of the Lord's Supper. But as against Zwingli, Calvin recognizes the sacrament as a means of grace; declares that Christians have real communion with (eating and drinking) the very substance of the body and blood of Christ, but by the power and instrumentality of faith, and through the agency of the Holy Ghost who in the act of communion lifts the soul up to heaven, there to receive Christ in a manner not less real and true and substantial than that conceived of by Luther. That is, the eating and drinking the substance of Christ as emphasized by both Luther and Calvin in unmistakable language, is spiritual and immaterial, illocal and incapable of being comprehended by the reason. The only difference between the two views at this point, is, that according to Luther the eating and drinking take place here on the earth; according to Calvin the eating and drinking take place in heaven. But the thing eaten and the thing drunk, are the same with both, viz.: the veritable substance of Christ, his body and his blood which were given for



us.\* At this point Calvin says in his *Institutes*: "In his Holy Supper Christ bids me under the symbols of bread and wine take his body and blood, eat and drink; nor do I doubt but that he truly gives and I receive." This, without doubt, is the essential thing in the sacrament, and brings the two views into practical harmony, for as to whether this real presence and eating and drinking of the substance of Christ, occur on earth or in heaven, must be regarded as a matter entirely secondary, and as belonging to the sphere of speculative dogmatics, rather than as demanding expression in an article of faith, since the scriptures do not specify the locality in which the communion of the body and blood of Christ take place; although that we may not be misunderstood, we do not hesitate to decide for ourselves in favor of the view of Luther, viz., that the participation takes place on earth, as it seems to us far more reasonable, and if philosophy is at all to enter here, far more philosophical, to conceive that the communion takes place where the Supper is dispensed.

These views of Calvin, first set forth in the *Institutio* and in the *Confessio*, were more fully elaborated in the *De Coena Domini* (French 1540, Latin 1545), in which he declares "that all the benefit which we should seek in the Supper is annihilated if Jesus Christ be not there given to us as the substance and foundation." \* \* "For this reason I am wont to say that the substance of the sacraments is the Lord Jesus, and the efficacy of them the graces and blessings which we have by his means. Now the efficacy of the Supper is to confirm to us the reconciliation which we have with God through our Saviour's death and passion; the washing of our souls which we have in the shedding of his blood; the righteousness which we have in his obe-

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\*Marheinecke in his *Institutiones Symbolicae* says of Calvin's view: "Denique mysterium sublime ac ratione superius in sacra coena deprehenditur. Docetur a Calvino vera, realis, substantialis in sacra coena praesentia corporis ac sanguinis Christi, sed fide tantum animadvertenda et amplectenda signisque figurata; non admittitur localis ulla praesentia (a Luthero ipso negata) aut literalis verborum Domine interpretatio; docetur fideles tantum et electos veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi participes fieri, reprobis et infidelibus contra nil nisi signa administrari." p. 106.

dience, in short, the hope of salvation which we have in all that he has done for us. It is necessary, then, that the substance should be conjoined with these, otherwise nothing would be firm or certain. Hence we conclude that two things are presented to us in the Supper, viz., Jesus Christ as the source and substance of all good; and, secondly, the fruit and efficacy of his death and passion. This is implied in the words which were used. For after commanding us to eat his body and to drink his blood, he adds that his body was delivered for us, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins. Here he intimates, first, that we ought not simply to communicate in his body and blood, without any other consideration, but in order to receive the fruit derived to us from his death and passion; secondly, that we can attain the enjoyment of such fruit only by participating in his body and blood, from which it is derived." \* \*

"To deny that a true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper, is to render the holy sacrament frivolous and useless—an execrable blasphemy unfit to be listened to."

\* \* "As the bread is distributed to us by the hand, so the body of Christ is communicated to us in order that we may be made partakers of it." He further declares that Jesus Christ is the substance of the sacrament, and that the bread and wine are instruments by which the Lord distributes his body and blood." (See *Calvin's Tracts*, II. p. 164 et seq. English Translation). These views of Calvin as expressed in the *Institutio*\* and in the *Confessio* were so acceptable at Wittenberg that Luther in a letter (Oct. 14, 1539) to Bucer, his "most dear brother in Christ," commands: "You will salute reverently Drs. John Sturm and John Calvin, whose books I have read with great delight." (*De Wette*, V. p. 211). Melancthon also wrote: "Luther and Pommeranus have sent salutations to Calvin and Sturm. Calvin has come into high favor." This so surprised and gratified Calvin that he wrote to Farel (Nov. 20, 1539): "Now consider seriously

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\*It is altogether probable that Luther had read the second and greatly enlarged edition of the *Institutio*, published in August, 1539, while Calvin was at Strasburg. And Dorner is in error when he says (*Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I. p. 407) that Luther sent his salutations to Calvin on account of the *De Coena Domini*, for this treatise had not yet been published.



what I have said there about the Eucharist ; think of the ingenuousness of Luther : it will now be easy for you to see how unreasonable are those who so obstinately dissent from him." (*Bonnet's Calvin's Letters*, II. p. 167). And Christopher Pezel (see *Gieseler*, IV. p. 415, n.) relates the following anecdote of Luther : On reading the *De Coena Domini* which had been sent him by Moritz Golsch, a Wittenberg bookseller, he exclaimed : "Moritz, this is certainly a learned and pious man, with whom I could at the very beginning have settled the whole matter of this strife. I confess for my part that if the opposite party had acted in this way we would have been agreed at the outstart. For had Œcolampadius and Zwingli expressed themselves thus we would never have fallen into such prolix controversy."\* But that Lu-

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\*This speech is nowhere recorded in any of Luther's writings hitherto discovered ; but it is accepted as historically true by such Reformed as Hospinian, Henry, Gieseler *et al.*, and as at least expressing the true sentiment of Luther it is accepted by such Lutherans as Dr. Julius Müller and Dr. C. F. Schaeffer. (See *Evangelical Review*, X. p. 65). And not less did Calvin believe himself to be in essential harmony with Luther. In his answer to Westphal (1556) he says : "When on beginning to emerge from the darkness of Papacy, and after receiving a slight taste of sound doctrine, I read in Luther that Zwinglius and Œcolampadius left nothing in the sacraments but bare and empty figures, I confess I took such a dislike for their writings that I long refrained from reading them. Moreover, before I engaged in writing, the ministers of Marpurg having a conference together, had laid aside somewhat of their former vehemence, so that if the atmosphere was not altogether clear, the denser mists had to a considerable extent disappeared. What I justly claim for myself is, that I never by employing an ambiguous mode of expression captiously brought forward anything different from my real sentiment. After I thus made my appearance without disguise, none of the dissentients then in highest fame and authority gave any sign of offence. For I was afterwards brought into familiar intercourse with the leading advocates and keenest defenders of Luther's opinions, and they all vied in showing me friendship. Nay, what opinion Luther himself formed of me, after he had inspected my writings, can be proved by competent witnesses. One will serve me for many—Philip Melancthon." \* \* "Gasper Cruciger subscribed with me in sentiment, and privately declared it as much as those who openly gave their names." \* \* "In regard to the Confession of Augsburg my answer is, that (as it was published at Ratisbon) it does not contain a word contrary to our doctrine" (*Tracts*, II. p. 251 et seq.) Sleidan says (*Hist. Ref.*, p. 272,

ther should so express himself in regard to the Eucharistic sentiments of Calvin, is not surprising, when we consider as Dorner says (*Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I. p. 407), that "Calvin had carried the matter back essentially to the standpoint of the *Swabian Syngramma*," which Luther had so heartily endorsed in two prefaces, and which expressly denies *oral manducation*, and declares emphatically in favor of a spiritual reception by *faith* as the *organ*: *ut fides verbum, quod oribus capitur, pro sua ratione recepit, ita et corpus, quod pane accipitur, pro ratione fidei assumitur*, and which as Köstlin says (*Luther's Theologie*, II. p. 144), "manifestly knows nothing of the reception of the body of Christ into the bodies of the communicants, much less into the bodies of the unbelieving." That is, Calvin, who closed his *De Coena Domini* with these words: "We all confess with one mouth, that on receiving the sacrament in faith, according to the ordinance of the Lord, we are truly made partakers of the proper substance of the body and blood of Christ" (*Calvin's Tracts*, II. p. 197), had reached essentially the Lutheran standpoint, so that as Dorner says (I. p. 407), "the new attack [against the Zwinglians after the publication of Zwingli's writings] made by Luther in the Smaller Confession of 1544, in no way applied to Calvin." That is, taking into consideration all these facts, viz., that Luther sent his congratulations to Calvin, and spoke so kindly of him to Golsch, that as shown by the *Syngramma*, ORAL MANDUCATION is no *essential* part of Luther's view, and so likewise the *eating of the ungodly*, as shown both by the *Syn-*

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Bohn's Trans., 272): "The Duke of *Saxony* sent thither (to Ratisbon) a splendid embassy of divines," and Seckendorf says (Lib. III. 23, p. 352 et seq.), that the Protestants made no innovation in the articles of their faith, and subscribed the formula: "Fatemur, in coena Domini vere et realiter corpus et sanguinem Christi adesse, et cum pane et vino exhiberi sumentibus," which no one imagined to be in any sense a modification of Luther's views, and which was and had been for a long time a well-known formula of Lutheran confession, as witness the doctrinal statement of the Wurtemberg churches: "Corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, *i. e.* substantialiter et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel localiter praesentia esse et exhiberi in coena." *Kurtz*, II. p. 79. See also the Apology. Moreover, it was the *Confessio Invariata* which was published and subscribed at Ratisbon.



*gramma* and by the *Wittenberg Concord*; and that Luther nowhere has left on record a line against Calvin's view—taking all these facts together, it is made historically and morally certain that Luther, while *not surrendering* his own views (see *Smaller Confession*), recognized the views of Calvin as sufficiently pious and Christian to meet all the demands of a sacrament as a means of grace, as a pledge of redemption, as a food for the soul, as a real communion of the body and blood of Christ, and hence that they ought not to be assailed, but to be tolerated as fully within the limits of concord. For it is simply unreasonable to suppose that Luther when writing his *Smaller Confession*, would have made no allusion to Calvin, had he thought that he was in any way tainted with the Zwinglian fanaticism, or lacked in any element fundamental to the Christian conception of the sacrament. And hence again, as at the *Wittenberg Concord*, we have the most conclusive evidence that Luther was not a narrow bigot, and that he was not stubbornly attached to his own form of words, but that on the contrary he could and did distinguish between that which is essential, and that which is subordinate in doctrine, and was perfectly willing to allow diverse verbal statements of doctrine, provided only that the essential truth was held; and that Calvin held the great body of truth in the sacrament, no one, unless blinded by prejudice, will deny, who has carefully examined his foundation. And hence it is that many profound theologians, both Reformed and Lutheran, have declared that the difference between the views is not irreconcilable. Among the latter we mention Kurtz (*Ch. Hist.*, II. p. 136), who says of Luther's *Shorter Confession*: "If this demonstrated an incurable rupture with the Zwinglians, it also showed that a union with the incomparably more profound doctrines of Calvin was possible." But it is demonstrable that on the one hand many of Luther's followers, and not a few of them at the present day, lay undue emphasis on certain subordinate parts of Luther's doctrine of the Real Presence, as for instance *oral manducation*, the sacramental union, and the eating of the unworthy; and on the other hand that many of Calvin's followers have strongly inclined towards the view of Zwingli.

But reconciliation, or a better understanding on this subject of the Lord's Supper, cannot be effected along the line of either of these extremes. It must come from the acceptance of the true Christology as expressed by the third and fourth general councils, which requires that wherever Christ is, there he is whole and entire as man not less than as God, and that he is with his people without regard to locality or space. It was the non-recognition of this principle, that is, the location of the human nature of Christ in heaven as in a separate place, that begat and continued the Sacramentarian Controversy. A better, truer, more historically correct Christology is now finding recognition and expression in the Reformed Churches, as witness what we quoted above (see Vol. XVIII. p. 168, n.) from Drs. Hodge and Hitchcock, and the following from Dr. Apple of the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, Pa.: "It may be asked, must not the human *body* of our Lord occupy space? Must *it* not be in some given place? No, we reply, because his body is now a spiritual body, which means it is no longer subject to the limitations of time and space."\* It was that false Nestorianizing

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\* Dr. Apple makes an almost unpardonable error in the following: "Both parties (Lutheran and Reformed) argued on the supposition that our Lord Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, is still under the limitations of space. The Lutheran *ubiquity* was nothing more nor less than omnipresence in space." That the Reformed doctrine and confessions locate the human nature of Christ in space is most certain. In these two sentences of Dr. Apple there are at least three points of objection as regards the Lutheran doctrine:

1. The separation of the human nature of Christ from the divine. The Lutheran doctrine affirms that the two natures are so firmly and inseparably united in the one person of Christ, that wherever the divine is, there the human must be. (See *Luther's Greater Confession* and *Form of Concord*).

2. In the Marburg Colloquy the Lutherans distinctly and expressly denied that the body of Christ is subject to the limitations of space. (See *Zwingli's Works*, IV. p. 177. Also *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII. p. 174). Melancthon in explaining Luther's doctrine while the Diet of Augsburg was yet in session, says: "Although we say that the body of Christ is really present, yet Luther does not say that it is present in a place, as in a mass by circumscription." "We deny transubstantiation and that the body is locally in the bread." (*Cælestine*



Christology which subsequently received confessional recognition in the Heidelberg Catechism and elsewhere, that led to Luther's exposition of the different modes of Christ's presence and to the hasty suggestion of a potential ubiquity of the body of Christ (because of the personal union),—not so much as an explanation, and not at all as the ground of the real presence, but as a set-off and an answer to Zwingli's location theory, which fixed the body of Christ in heaven and denied that it could possibly be on the earth.\*

But if we are to take Drs. Hodge, Hitchcock and Apple as representative teachers of the Calvinistic and Reformed Christology of to-day, we may truly say that a formidable barrier to a better understanding is removed. In addition, also, Dr. Hodge expressly rejects Calvin's dynamical theory, and calls it mechanical (*Popular Lectures*, pp. 413-4), and declares his "unshaken faith, not in abstract, material flesh and blood, but in the actual objective, effective presence with the believing communicant of the whole divine-human Person of Christ." And as for Dr. Apple, the entire article from which we quote, goes upon the same principle of a true objective presence of the whole Christ in the Eucharist here on earth, and is indeed so appropriately Lutheran in its whole teaching (barring the error already noted) that

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*Hist.* III. 300; *Corp. Ref.* II. 222 *et seq.*) At the Wittenberg Concord, Bucer and the other Strasburgers were required expressly to deny, as a condition precedent to union; that the body of Christ is in a place. (*Seckendorf*, III. 15, 47). And the Concord itself agreed upon and signed by "both parties," denies that Christ's body is present in the Supper as in a place. See *Luth. Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII. p. 166 *et seq.*)

3. Luther's doctrine was not founded on the *ubiquity* of Christ's body. (See *Luth. Quarterly*, XVIII. p. 167, n.). He only taught in opposition to Zwingli's location theory that Christ (the whole Christ, not his body merely) could be wherever he wished to be, which differs nothing from Dr. Apple's own declaration that Christ is "no longer subject to the limitations of time and space," which Luther's *Grosses Bekentniss* clearly proves. Our wonder is that the *Lutheran*, which is so zealous for pure doctrine, should have given to its readers, unchallenged, such an incorrect statement of Lutheran doctrine.

\*The Heid. Cat. says: "Christ is true man and true God: according to his human nature, he is now not upon earth."—*Ques.* 47. This of course is to divide Christ.

it was deemed worthy of a place in *The Lutheran* of February 2, 1888. Dr. Apple expressly says of the two views, Lutheran and Reformed: "There is no difference as to the real presence in the Eucharist; both Churches teach it. As to the theory of the presence, the nature of the relation of the body and blood of our Lord to the elements, and their reception by believers and unbelievers partaking of the sacrament, a difference still remains;" which in reality reduces the difference to the questions of ORAL MANDUCATION, the SACRAMENTAL UNION, and the reception of the substance of Christ by the *ungodly*. These questions, as his relation to the *Swabian Syngramma* and the *Wittenberg Concord* unanswerably prove, Luther did not regard as an essential part of a true doctrine of the Lord's Supper. And it is certain that these subjects would never have found a place in the Lutheran system, had they not been forced into view through opposition to the Schwarmgeister, who denied *in toto* a bodily presence and reception of the substance of Christ. Moreover, it cannot be denied that they belong to the sphere of inference and deduction rather than to that of the plain didactic import of the divine word, which alone can form articles of faith; they find no place in either the Marburg or the Swabach or the Torgau Articles or the Augsburg Confession, and were especially repudiated by John Brentz, who next to Luther and Melancthon was the greatest theologian of his age, and was always in special favor with his brethren. Hence whatever may be the prejudices, the preferences and the dogmatic conceptions of Lutherans in regard to these features of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, they cannot ignore the very great subordinateness, both real and historical, of these features to the one supreme feature on which Luther justly laid so much stress, and defended so manfully in the Marburg Colloquy and stated so concisely in both the Marburg and the Swabach Articles. Therefore taking the Lutheran doctrine as that which Luther defended at Marburg, and wrote in the articles above-mentioned, and confessed in the Augustana; and taking the Calvinistic or Reformed doctrine as the real substantial presence and eating and drinking of the essence of Christ, as so clearly enunciated by Calvin, and adding to it the Christological views of Drs. Hodge,



Hitchcock and Apple—doing this, we will find that the difference is one which has no appreciable value for theology or for practical Christian life. In either case we will find a doctrine which contains a correct Christology, and a sacrament which feeds our souls, strengthens our faith and nourishes body, soul and spirit unto everlasting life. More than this can not be required as a condition of Christian fellowship. More than this was not required by either Luther or Melanchthon, as history incontestably and unanswerably proves; yea, both were so well pleased with the view of Calvin, that notwithstanding its somewhat defective Christology, they not only saw nothing in it worthy of strife, but, on the contrary, such a close approximation to the fulness of the truth as brought its author into high favor at Wittenberg and called forth Luther's salutations, and the declaration that with this man he could easily have settled the dispute.

Are the Reformed now ready to adopt the Christological principles of Drs. Hodge, Hitchcock and Apple, and to combine with them the real substantial presence and eating and drinking of the very substance of Christ as so unequivocally declared by Calvin in the *De Coena Domini*? Are the Lutherans ready to relegate to the realm of purely dogmatic discussion and to the precincts of private judgment, the questions about the organ of reception, the sacramental union and the relation of the body and blood to the wicked? What we need to know and to believe in this sublime mystery of the Christian faith is that in the Eucharist Christ communicates his theanthropic self to every one who truly apprehends the words, "This is my body which was broken for you; this cup is the New Testament in my blood shed for you for the remission of sins." More than this can not be plainly established from the divine word; more than this did not at any time exist in the ancient Church; more than this ought not to be required of any man as a condition of ecclesiastical fellowship.

We close this chapter of our paper with the inquiry of Dr. Apple: "Is it not time that the Lutheran and Reformed Churches should review this controversy and seek to come together? If this difference would once be resolved it would go

far towards bringing in harmony in a more general way between Lutheran and Reformed theology."

## VI.

This study of the Sacramentarian Controversy would not be complete if it should fail to include an examination of the claim made by the Reformed, and fully conceded by many stringent Lutherans, viz., that Melanchthon abandoned the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper and accepted that of Calvin. Loescher says (*Historia Matucem*, 2, 23): "Many Reformed and especially Hospinian represent that Melanchthon openly and secretly propagated the Calvinistic doctrine in writing and by word of mouth, not only after Luther's death, but before." Dr. Schaff says *Reformed Quarterly*, July 1887, p. 298): "His (Melanchthon's) eucharistic theory closely approached that of Calvin," and declares (*Creeds*, I. 241, n.) that *exhibeantur* is more indefinite than *distribuantur*. Dr. Fisher says (*Hist. Christ. Church*, 1887, p. 324): "Melanchthon gradually came over to his (Calvin's) view of the Sacrament;" and again (*ibid.*, p. 424): "Melanchthon's departure from Luther on the question of the Lord's Supper." The first Lutherans who intimated that Melanchthon had inclined to the view of Calvin, were the Jena theologians, Wigand, Heshusius and Kirchner (*Walch, Introduc.*, p. 193, and *Streitigkeiten*, III. 75). In 1592 John Mattheus, professor of theology at Wittenberg, published a book in which he openly charged that Melanchthon had consented to the doctrine of Calvin and had changed the Confession for the purpose of propagating it.\* As the claim of the Reformed and the charge of some Lutherans are based upon Melanchthon's change in 1540 of the tenth article of the Confession, we begin our examination at that point by giving the article both unchanged and changed.

### UNCHANGED.

*De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi VERE ADSINT et DISTRIBUANTUR vescentibus in Coena Domini; ET IMPROBANT SECUS DOCENTES.*

### CHANGED.

*De Coena Domini docent, quod CUM PANE ET VINO vere EXHIBEANTUR corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Coena Domini.*

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\* *Walch's Introduc. in Lib. Symb.*, p. 193.



The question naturally arises, Why did Melanchthon make this change? Salig, who by common consent, has written the fullest, the fairest and the most impartial history\* of the Augsburg Confession, answers this question as follows: "The Wittenberg Concord [which Melanchthon had composed] is not in conflict with the unaltered Augsburg Confession, but is in all respects in conformity with it and explains more fully the controverted points. Now since the theologians of Upper Germany had received the Augsburg Confession, Melanchthon conceived that the bond of union would be greatly strengthened, if he should remove from the Augsburg Confession those words, which before had made concord difficult, because even yet at Strasburg the *Tetrapolitana* had not been fully abandoned. In this way he thought to make full harmony between the conflicting confessions; and because the theologians of Upper Germany had acted as mediators between the Swiss and the Saxon churches, he thought thus to reach a full understanding with them, inasmuch as the correspondence between the Swiss and Luther had not resulted in agreement. For this reason *Improbant secus docentes* was removed. *Vere adsint*, he thought, had occasioned the suspicion of a local inclusion. If these stones of stumbling could be removed, lasting peace must follow. Melanchthon who was in high esteem in the whole Lutheran Church, had attracted to Wittenberg from all quarters thousands of admiring youths. Hence when he conceived the idea of changing the Confession, it was an easy matter for him in so great a multitude of followers to execute his purpose, and to explain it not as a *change*, but as an *improvement* of the Augsburg Confession; and because he was universally regarded as its author, no one thought of blaming him, if he should more and more improve it, as he had done along from the year 1531. It took its place among the former *improvements* and *additions*, and the followers and other friends of Melanchthon took no offence, since they knew that he was unwearied in his efforts to bring about a complete union of the confessions. Melanchthon thought that in this way students from Upper Germany would

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\* *Tom. I. p. 482.*

not hesitate to come to Wittenberg, and that the confessions would be nearer together than before. This then was Melanchthon's real intention, viz.: so to order the Augsburg Confession as to do away with the scruples on account of which the people of Upper Germany had stumbled before the Wittenberg Concord, and had not been fully satisfied since, and thus to prepare the way for union of the Swiss and the Saxon churches through the intervention of Bucer, Capito and others." But now the question arises, Did this change in the tenth article mean that Melanchthon had really changed his view of the Lord's Supper, and now accepted the view of Calvin? Or more generally, Is there any good and sufficient reason for believing that Melanchthon accepted and propagated the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper?

Taking Salig's statement of the reason for the change as the true one, the first question must be answered in the negative. The change was made for the purpose of conciliating the cities of Upper Germany and of confirming the Wittenberg Concord. But the answer to the second question must take a much wider range.

1. Melanchthon made the change in the year 1540.\* In that same year at the Colloquy of Worms Melanchthon declared that he still adhered to the *Invariata*. (*Buddeus, Isagoge*, p. 477).

2. When Eck charged at the Colloquy of Worms that Melanchthon had changed the Confession, the latter replied: "As

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\*There is strong reason for believing that the *Variata* was made in the year 1538. This is the date given by Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, and by Selnecker. (See *Corp. Ref.*, XXVI. 341, 342). Cyprian (*Hist. Augs. Con.*, p. 145) accepts 1538 as the date of the change and says that in 1540 Melanchthon took the varied Latin copy to Worms. This is probably the true explanation of the seeming conflict in dates. The variation which has now become famous was doubtless made in 1538, and was regarded as on a par with Melanchthon's other changes and improvements, which may have been the reason why Luther instructed him to take it to Worms. If 1538 be the true date, as we believe it is, then Melanchthon's letter of February 12, 1540, given in the text below, is itself alone decisive against the charge of intentional change of meaning, unless we are willing to charge him with the most shameless violation of the eighth commandment.



to the dissimilarity of copies, I answer that the meaning of the things is the same (*rerum eandem esse sententiam*) although some things here and there, in the later edition, are more free from harshness (*mitigata*) or are more explicit." (Quoted in *Salig*, III. p. 508, note, and *Corp. Ref.*, XXVI. p. 341). This corresponds exactly with what he wrote, September 2, 1535, to Camerarius, (*Corp. Ref.*, II. p. 935): "I now have softened (*mitigavi*) many things in my *Loci*." And again to the same, December 24, 1533, (*Corp. Ref.*, II. p. 1027) when discoursing of the Lord's Supper: "In my *Loci* even I seem as it were to have second thoughts. You see I do this that I may give some light to dark and intricate subjects." And yet in the edition of the *Loci* (1535) to which he refers, he declares: "Christ is truly present (*vere adest*) in his sacrament." And in 1538 (*Corp. Ref.* III. p. 514) he writes to Veit Theodorus: "In those things which are given, Christ is truly present (*vere adesse*) and is efficacious." This though softened in language is still the true Lutheran doctrine, and if perchance it could awaken any doubt, that doubt would be put to flight by the Wittenberg Concord, which all agree is in full harmony with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Hence as the learned Krauth says (*Conserv. Reformation*, p. 247): "If Melanchthon consciously made a change of meaning in the Confession, it is impossible to defend him from the charge of direct falsehood." He simply stated the truth in the premises, and as a matter of fact had actually used the same form of expression in the *Loci* of 1535: "*Datis his rebus, pane et vino in Coena Domini, exhibentur nobis corpus et sanguis Christi.*"

3. At the Diet of Ratisbon, 1541, Melanchthon signed the *Unaltered* Augsburg Confession, and again at Worms in 1557, and acknowledged in addition as his Creed, the Apology and the Smalcald Articles, and by name and in writing condemned the Zwinglian doctrine. At Nuremberg he said: "Calvin knows as much about the Lord's Supper as my sleeve. I will have to write him again on the subject." To the Elector Augustus he said, "We stand by the Catechism and the Confession of Luther,

and by the grace of God will continue to stand by them." (*Salig*, Tom. I. p. 488).

4. The *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum* to which Melanchthon wrote a preface only a few weeks before he died, contains *inter alia* (a) The Apology unchanged. (b) The Repetition of the Augsburg Confession, written by Melanchthon in 1551, to be sent to the Council of Trent, and signed by Melanchthon and thirty other theologians and pastors. The article on the Lord's Supper contains the following (p. 270): "In this communion Christ is truly and substantially present (*vere et substantialiter adesse*), and the body and blood of Christ are truly (*vere*) administered to those who commune"—in which it is not possible to discover any other than the purest type of catholic Lutheran doctrine; as likewise (c) in the *Examen Ordinandorum*: "What is the Lord's Supper? It is the communication of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ as it was instituted in the words of the Gospel, in the reception of which the Son of God is *truly* and *substantially* present." On the twelfth of February, 1540, the year in which the change in the Confession is said to have been made, Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon, sent a long letter to the ministers of Nuremberg, in which they say: "In regard to doctrine we have decided positively, that ABSOLUTELY UNDER NO PRETEXT WHATEVER will we admit any change of ANY ARTICLE of the Confession and Apology." (*De Wette*, V. p. 263). This letter is found also in Peucer's edition of Melanchthon's letters, and was, as the style and other internal evidence clearly evince, written by Melanchthon. It is not possible to conceive that at this very time Melanchthon was *intentionally* and *consciously* changing the *meaning* of the Confession. And in this same year when he lay sick at Weimar and was thought to be dying, he wrote his *Confession and Testament*, (*Salig*, I. p. 476 and *Corpus. Ref.*, III. 825), "wherein he confessed the article of the Holy Supper according to the Wittenberg Concord." And Loescher tells us (*Hist. Mot.*, II. p. 143): "In this same year (1558) Melanchthon stated expressly in his German Examen that in the matter of the Lord's Supper he stands by the Catechism of Luther and the doctrine of the Lower Saxon churches, which had openly opposed Calvin."



5. Melanchthon made no change in the German Confession, "to which," says Hase (*Lib. Sym.*, p. ix.), "he had given greater care." It requires but a glance to see that the thesis of the tenth article in the *Variata* is closely conformed to that of the German text.

6. Melanchthon's contemporaries never charged him with apostasy from Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Loescher says (*Hist. Mot.*, II. p. 33) that Calovius has conclusively shown that Melanchthon was not a Calvinist so long as Luther lived. Peucer declares: "The later (editio emendatio Aug. Conf.) was written by Philip at the command and with the inspection and approbation of Luther; and it was necessary that it be written on account of the adversaries, because they were caviling at many things which it behooved to explain in order that the occasions and reasons for such cavils \* \* might be removed." Nic. Selnecker says: "The later Augsburg Confession was recognized, and was read again and approved by Luther, *as witnesses still living affirm.*" And David Chytraeus and Martin Chemnitz "say, at least, that it was brought forward at the conference at Worms with the approbation of Luther." (See *Gieseler*, IV. p. 433, n. and *Corp. Ref.*, XXVI, 341). It is unreasonable to suppose that Luther could live in daily personal intercourse with Melanchthon and not know his true sentiments, or could approve the *Variata*, if he suspected that Melanchthon had consciously changed its meaning. Or if this supposition be entertained, then it proves more than the Reformed have ever claimed, more than the defamers of Melanchthon would allow, viz., that Luther himself had changed his doctrine, or had become indifferent to it. Nicholas Selnecker, one of the authors of the Form of Concord, wrote an answer to John Mettheus (See *Walch's Introductio*, p. 193, and *Salig's Historia Tom.*, I. p. 486) in which, while expressing his preference for the *Invariata*, he defends Melanchthon against the charge of forsaking Luther's doctrine, and contends that the change was made with good intention and with the hope of concord. He says: "We know that as regards matter and substance of doctrine nothing was in the least changed. Some things were illustrated and sometimes more fully explained, and that not by *private council*, but by the

*public authority of other teachers.* Wherefore if any say it was a mistake, I have no objection, provided no injury or reproach be brought upon pure doctrine and upon our preceptors and teachers." As paraphrased by Salig (*ibid.* p. 487) Selneccer declares that the Landgrave (Philip) had written to Melanchthon and begged him to omit the *improbant secus docentes* from the Confession, as that was the reason why the Swiss did not sign at Augsburg, and that they would sign it if this antithesis were omitted.

The evidence collected in this sixth paragraph shows beyond even the shadow of a doubt that not Melanchthon *alone* was responsible for the *Variata*. The responsibility must be shared by those who counseled its preparation, and who approved and used it after it was prepared; and hence in so far as it indicates a change of view in Melanchthon, in so far does it indicate a change of view in Luther himself and in others of our theologians. This conclusion is irrefutable.

But what are the facts adduced by those who maintain that Melanchthon abandoned the views of Luther and accepted those of Calvin? The Reformed rely on the *mitigation* in the *Loci* of 1535 and on the *variation* of the tenth Article of the Confession, which they call not a corruption but an improvement. (*Buddeus, Is.*, p. 477). The stringent Lutherans support their charge of change (*a*) by the statement of Wigand: "I heard from George Rorarius that Luther said to Philip, 'Philip, Philip, you do not do right in changing the Augsburg Confession so often. The book is not yours; it belongs to the Church.'" (See *Cyprian's Hist. Augs. Con.*, p. 150). But this much-flourished observation is given (1) as a mere *hearsay*, (2) by a bitter enemy of Melanchthon, (3) is without date, and may, if true, just as well have reference to Melanchthon's earlier changes of the Confession, (4) and can have no weight whatever as against the testimony of Peucer, Selneccer, Chytraeus and others as given above; (*b*) by the following facts allowed by Loescher (*Hist. Mot.*, II. p. 30): That Melanchthon did not assail the *Declaratio* of Calvin and Martyr written in 1549 in favor of the Zwinglians, but remained in friendship with them; that when Westphal wrote against them, Melanchthon in private letters manifested



his disapprobation; that he allowed Jo. a Lasco, a Zwinglian, to do as he pleased in Germany; that he did not resist but apologized for his pupil Hardenberg who at Bremen opposed the doctrine of Luther. These are the main facts relied on by both parties, viz., the Reformed and the stringent Lutherans, in support of the proposition that Melanchthon gradually abandoned the Eucharistic views of Luther and adopted those of Calvin. The reader is asked to weigh the facts adduced on the other side, and to draw his own conclusion.

There is, however, one more point on which the same two parties agree in support of the same proposition. It is found in the statement of Dr. Schaff (*Creeds*, I. p. 241, n.), that EXHIBEANTUR is "more indefinite" than DISTRIBUTANTUR.

1. This contradicts Melanchthon's express statement of his reason for making the change. He told Eck that he had changed the Confession in order to make it more *explicit*, not more *indefinite*. And Selnecker declared that the changes in the *Variata* make it clearer and plainer. (*Salig*, III. p. 487, n.)

2. The word *Exhibeo*, as used by the theological writers of the sixteenth century, means *to present, to give, to deliver*. The standard and almost invariable Latin title of the Augsburg Confession is: "*Confessio Fidei Exhibita \* \* Carolo V. Cæsari*. No one will pretend that the word *Exhibita* does not here describe one of the most definite acts known in history. The Confession was *presented* to the Emperor, not merely *tendered*, which might imply that it was not received, as Zwingli *tendered* his hand to Luther, who did not receive it. Hence Dr. Jacobs is inconsistent when in the title of the Confession (*Book of Concord*, I. p. 33) he translates the word by *presented*, and in the Apology and *Variata* by *tendered* and in the Wittenberg Concord by *offered*.

3. In the Apology Melanchthon used *Exhibeantur* to express exactly what in the Confession he had expressed by *Distribuantur*. His full statement here is: *Vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi, et VERE EXHIBEANTUR cum his rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino*. It is inconceivable that here in the Apology, Melanchthon's most positive and dogmatic work, he should have intended to be more *indefinite* than in the Confes-

sion. When asked, as it were, what he means in the Confession by *vere adsint et distribuantur*, he replies in the Apology: *Vere et substantialiter adsint, et vere exhibeantur*. And *vere exhibeantur* which as used by Melanchthon in the Apology, is the chief thing, and means that the body and blood of Christ are *truly presented*, or *communicated* to those who eat in the Lord's Supper, cannot mean something *less*, or something more *indefinite* in the *Variata*. The phrase had become technical already, and had acquired *symbolical* authority in the Lutheran theology. Yea, Luther, even before Melanchthon had published the Apology, had used the phrase: "We confess that the body of Christ is *truly presented*, (*vere exhiberi*) to the soul for food." (*De Wette*, IV. p. 216).

4. The dogmaticians, in stating the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, show *emphatic* preference for *Exhibeo*.

(a.) Chemnitz in his *Fundamenta Sacrae Coenae*, the standard Lutheran dogmatic treatise on the Supper, has for the title of his book, and for the title of the third chapter: "*De Praesentia, Exhibitione et sumptione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini*"; and, p. 16, he writes: *Paulus affirmat \* \* exhibitionem et sumptionem illius panis, esse exhibitionem et participationem Corporis Christi, \* \* unâ exhibitâ simul altera exhibeatur*; and throughout the treatise, to the almost utter exclusion of every other word of similar import, does he again and again use *Exhibeo* and *Exhibitio* in setting forth the *presenting* or *administering* of the body and blood in the Eucharist.

(b.) In the *Strasburg Formula* of 1563, prepared and signed in express opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper and of Predestination, we have the words: "Body and blood of Christ which with the bread and wine are *presented*" (*exhibentur*)—the very form of the *Variata*, except that it lacks the *vere*. (Found in Loescher's *Hist. Mot.*, II. p. 229).

(c.) In the Saxon Visitation Articles (1592), the most positive confessional exhibition of Lutheran doctrine ever written, we have in the article on the Lord's Supper, *Exhibeo* used three times: "In the sacrament there are two things which are *presented* (*exhibentur*) and at the same time received. This union, *presentation* (*exhibitio*) and reception, take place here on earth. The



true and natural body of Christ is *presented* (*exhibetur*) and received." The word in the German text corresponding to *Exhibeo*, is *geben*, to give.

(d.) In Heunisch's *Analytical Epitome of Hutter's Compend.*, p. 262, we have: "The *form* of the Supper consists partly in the *giving* (*δόσει*) or *presenting* (*exhibitione*) of the body of Christ with the bread, and of the blood of Christ with the wine"—in which again we see the very phraseology of the *Variata*.

(e.) Gerhard repeatedly employs *Exhibitio*, as, X. pp. 134, 159, (Cotta). The fact is, the dogmaticians use the word *Exhibitio* more frequently than all other words put together, to state the peculiar Lutheran doctrine that the body and blood of Christ are *presented*, *administered*, to those who eat in the sacrament. They often distinguish between *distributio panis* and *exhibitio Corporis et sanguinis*. *Distributio* is more properly applied to the earthly elements of the sacrament, which are *distributed*, in the sense that each communicant gets a *part* of the consecrated bread and wine. But there is no such *distribution* of the body and blood of Christ. The *whole Christ*, according to the Lutheran doctrine, is presented to each communicant *in*, *with* and *under* each distributed *part* of the consecrated earthly elements. In the supper the natural elements are *distributed*, but the supernatural element is *presented*, and there is no word in the Latin language which can more elegantly and definitely set forth this latter conception than the word *Exhibeo*.

Therefore, all these examples considered, we do not hesitate to say that any effort that may be made to disparage the *Exhibeo* of the *Variata*, is met by a most emphatic protest from the creeds of the Church and from her greatest theologians, who certainly understood the meaning of Latin words, and knew quite as well how to use them as either their admirers or their critics of the present day. Hence, while no more approving, as an act, the *variation* of the Augsburg Confession in any article, than we approve, as an act, the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Nicaenum; nevertheless, after traversing again and again the whole ground of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, we do not hesitate to say that in our humble opinion the *varied* tenth article of the Augsburg Confession, sets forth the Lutheran

doctrine of the Lord's Supper with more scientific accuracy than the same doctrine is set forth in the *Invariata*. Therefore those who with intelligent conviction and with honest intent, subscribe the *Variata*, by that act confess the historical Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and any preference for or dislike to the *Variata* on the ground that it marks a conscious departure from the historical Lutheran faith, is based upon a lack of intelligence or a lack of candor. Hence it makes no difference whether Calvin, Beza and other Reformed theologians subscribed the *Variata* or the *Invariata*, they nevertheless subscribed that form of sound words which had the approval of Luther, Melanchthon, Brentz,\* of the Weimar Confutation-Book and of all Lutherans until in 1560 the *Variata* was *first* rejected by Flacius, that Ishmael of the Lutheran Church whose hand was against every man. (See *Gieseler*, IV. p. 433, n.)

But the true judgment in regard to Melanchthon is expressed by two Lutheran historians of ample information and of acknowledged freedom from *Philippism*: Walch (*Introductio*, p. 194) says: "Since he was led by the character of his mind strongly to desire peace, it is altogether probable that he made the change for the purpose of removing the cause which hindered those who differed from us in the Supper, from embracing our Confession. But it does not follow from this that he so approved the doctrine of the Reformed as to be interested in the propagation of it." And Kurtz, (*Ch. Hist.*, II. p. 136): "He became convinced, not indeed that the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine was erroneous, but that Calvin's doctrine of a spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ (through faith) in the Supper, did violence to no essential religious point; therefore he sought to avoid what seemed to him an unessential difference in confession and doctrine." This was undeniably the position of Luther

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\*In 1541 Brentz wrote to Veit Theodorus: "I am in the habit of comparing this later edition of the Confession with the former in order to see what is changed, and I find that many things have been changed. But I know that Philip does not change anything rashly and without judgment. Wherefore when I compare and consider the reasons for change, I am wonderfully benefited by the reading." (*Corp. Ref.*, IV. 736).



himself, who sent his salutations to Calvin in 1539; who in the Smaller Confession of 1544 made no reference whatever to Calvin's doctrine; and who in 1545 declared that he could easily have settled the sacramentarian strife with "this pious and learned man." Any other judgment in regard to Melanchthon than that expressed by Walch and Kurtz, will brand with double-dyed hypocrisy the immortal author of the *Augustana*, of the *Apology*, of the *Loci*, the man whom Luther loved and cherished and trusted to the last, as he loved and cherished and trusted his own soul. Notwithstanding his soft and yielding temper and his ardent desire for peace, and his dread of the *rabies theologorum*, any judgment or supposition which denies to Melanchthon inviolable fidelity and unyielding attachment to fundamental truth, affixes a cruel and outrageous imputation to the memory of one of the purest and best of the sons of God; for in 1557 he subscribed the Smalcald Articles, which contain the strongest and most emphatic confessional statement of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper known during his lifetime; and in 1551 he wrote and subscribed, and again as one of the last acts of his life endorsed, the *Repetition of the Augsburg Confession*, which declares: "In this communion Christ is truly and substantially present, and his body and blood are truly presented to those who commune; *vere et substantialiter adesse Christum, et vere exhiberi summentibus corpus et sanguinem Christi.*" (*Corpus Doctrinae*, p. 270).

But after Melanchthon had passed away, two things were discovered: (a) That he had refused to join in open controversy against Calvin, who most unjustly and unrighteously was classed with Carlstadt, Zwingli and Œcolampadius, and stigmatized as a sacramentarian—a mistake and an injustice perpetuated even by the Form of Concord. (b) That he had not emphasized *oral manducation*, nor *sacramental union*, nor the *ubiquity of the body* of Christ, which were brought into prominence and given the chief place by Joachim Westphal and Tillmann Heshusius who with great vehemence spoke of *tearing the flesh of Christ with the teeth*, and declared "that the bread is *substantialiter* the body of Christ; the latter is every where (*Dorner Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I. p.

410. But had Melanchthon followed here the lead of such men as Westphal and Heshusius (see Dorner *ut supra*, Kurtz and Herzog's Real-Encyc. *sub nominibus*), he would not only have exhibited great moral weakness and become *particeps criminis* in an unprovoked and unmerited assault, but he would have departed from the true position of Luther, who, (be it here again emphasized, because of its great importance and because of its capability of the most ample and convincing proof) in all his controversy with the Sacramentarians, laid the chief stress on the *subject-matter* of the Supper, and treated only in a secondary way the relation of Christ to the elements, and who in the various agreements, confessions and concords which he wrote and subscribed, was content always with declaring the *real presence* and *eating and drinking* of the body and blood of Christ, without any attempt to describe the organ, or the mode of reception. Nay more: Any emphasis laid by Melanchthon on these secondary questions would have shown him to be out of harmony with the latest confessional deliverances of the Evangelical churches of Germany; as notably the *Confessio Saxonica* which was prepared to be sent to Trent as exhibiting the doctrines held and taught in Northern Germany; and likewise the *Confessio Württembergica* prepared by Brentz, approved at Wittenberg as agreeing with the *Saxonica*, signed by a commission of ten Swabian divines, and intended also for Trent as the creed of the churches in Southern Germany; for neither of these contains the slightest trace of *oral manducation*, of the *sacramental union*, or of the *ubiquity of the body* of Christ, as long before this, Brentz had expressly denied *oral manducation*, and had not yet seized upon the doctrine of the absolute ubiquity of Christ's body as a basis of agreement in the matter of the Holy Supper. (See *Hase Ch. Hist.*, p. 408; *Schaff, Creeds*, I. p. 344; *Chytraeus Hist. Augs. Conf.*)

And in this statement and presentation of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, both Luther and Melanchthon and the two confessions above named, have been followed, but at a distance, by eminent teachers and preachers of our own day, who have been especially careful to proclaim their zealous and faithful adherence to historical Lutheranism. For instance, Dr.



Seiss in his sermon entitled, "THE LAST SUPPER" (*Lectures on the Gospels, 1871*) has not come up to the statements of either the *Saxonica* or the *Württembergica*; after exhibiting a few glittering generalities from the ancient fathers, which may mean much or little, he has declared his faith in a literal translation (without marks of quotation) of the German of the tenth article of the Augustana, *without the antithesis*, which is exactly the position of the *Variata*.

Dr. Walther in a sermon published in an English translation by the Lutheran Book Store in 1874, goes not one step beyond the language of the earlier Lutheran Confessions, though the distinct proposition which he discusses is "THE IMPORTANCE AND NECESSITY OF ADHERING WITH UNSWERVING FIDELITY TO THE PURE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER." Neither he nor Dr. Seiss says one word about *oral manducation* or the *sacramental union*, though both subjects come fully within the range of the propositions discussed by each. And Mr. Gerberding, in "THE WAY OF SALVATION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH," a book "written for the common people," introduced by a prominent pastor of the General Synod, highly commended by a professor of theology in the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, said to be undergoing translation in both German and Swedish,—in this most excellent book "for the common people," Mr. Gerberding contents himself with the words of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, and says not one word about *oral manducation*, or *sacramental union*. That is, not one of these three distinguished authors and preachers states the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper and of the real presence of Christ in the Supper as strongly and as unmistakably as that doctrine is stated in either the Apology or in the *Saxonica*. This now shows very clearly what is regarded as the Catholic Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that the predicates and sharp distinctions of the Form of Concord have no practical value for the people; yea, doubtless, that in the estimation of these honored public teachers, these very predicates and sharp distinctions can not even be safely presented to the people. At least they all three publish themselves to the world as saying and declaring that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper can be taught

by *withholding* those features of the doctrine which give Chapter VII. of the the Formula its chief characteristics. What then is this but a return to the original position of Luther and Melanchthon, and a practical and therefore real vindication of the latter? For if *oral manducation* and *sacramental union* are to be maintained before synods and conferences, why are they not taught to the people? The Lutheran confessions are the confessions of "our churches." Are not the people to hear the doctrines of "our churches?" If not, why not? If *oral manducation* and *sacramental union* are *important and necessary in adhering with unswerving fidelity to the pure doctrine of the Lord's Supper*, or if they have any practical bearing on *the way of salvation*, why are the people left in blank ignorance in regard to such grave matters? If these doctrines can be so easily and quietly ignored, or if they be held as at least unprofitable, possibly as dangerous to the people, why then should they be made a test of soundness in the faith or a condition of ecclesiastical fellowship? Manifestly there can be no accommodation along this line. Let us then take a new departure, not with Westphal and Heshusius, but with Luther and Melanchthon as our leaders; let us place emphasis where emphasis belongs; let us allow questions which have so long gendered strife to slide into the background. Drs. Seiss and Walther and Rev. Gerberding, whose views of the Lord's Supper (except in so far as Dr. Seiss scarcely comes up to the required standard) we heartily endorse, have shown us the better way,—the way pursued together by Luther and Melanchthon, who were content to affirm the true essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, and the reception of the same by the communicant, and desired nothing so much as to be allowed to leave to God all questions of mode and of Christ's relations to the elements.



## ARTICLE V.

## HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF THE WALDENSANS.

Translated and Abridged from the Article of Dr. Emil Comba, in Herzog & Plitt's "Real-Encyklopädie," by THEODORE BENZE, Erie, Penn.

The history of the Waldensians may be divided into three periods :

I. The *period of dissolution* which extends from Valdo to the Reformation.

II. The *period of the schism* which begins with the Reformation and ends with our emancipation.

III. The *period of freedom* which begins with the year 1848 and which embraces the awakening of the Waldensian Church and its missions in Italy until the present day.

I call the latter the period of freedom because we have enjoyed no liberty as Dissenters or Reformed; because this liberty invites us to arise and occupy our place in the light of day; to cast off sectarian prejudices and to maintain the catholicism of all Christians, in opposition to the Vatican sect, convinced that unity comes through liberty according to the words of Vinet: "Through liberty to unity; that shall be the devise of Christianity."

## I. THE PERIOD OF DISSOLUTION.

The beginnings of the Waldensian movement reach back to the time of 1215. During the 13th and 14th centuries it developed further; the time following until the period of the Reformation, is a period of retrogression. The movement had its origin at Lyons, the city of Irenæus, Agobard and Amolo. The city however, does not explain the origination of the Waldensian tendency, for here Catholic superstition held sway over men's minds. In this very city, toward the middle of the 12th century, several monks dared to disseminate the germs of the absurd doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

Here, as in Milan and other metropolitan cities of the time, there was room for everything. Lyons was in course of becom-

ing what it has since become, "a city open to all merchants, susceptible to all improvements, corruptions, passion through which nations are inflamed, the ardor of discussion, the insatiable desire of riches and luxury, frivolity, moral degeneracy, fanaticism, religious liberty." (Clerjon). No trace however is found of Cathari, if the silence of the chronicles on this question justifies a conclusion. We only read that one of the merchants whom the city received was named Valdo (Waldus). Whence came he? Of this we know nothing. His name is said to have been Waldez or Valdès according to the oldest Waldensian document. Does this name denote an extraction from a certain place? Where shall we seek it? In the Ager Lugdunensis, in the Dauphiné or even in a district of the Canton de Vaud, where perhaps Henry of Lausanne also was born? Idle conjectures, this the more as this name was not entirely unusual since the time of Charlemagne. Valdo had acquired his riches unjustly, if we may believe the *Chron. Laudonensis*: "Per iniquitatem foeneris multas sibi pecunias co-acervaverat." Moved by conscience, he began to feel religious wants; we learn that he was "a hearer of the Gospel, and curious to understand what it taught."

Perhaps he already had the intention of divesting himself of his property, when he witnessed a dismaying occurrence, one of his friends falling dead at his side. Impelled by fear, he no longer hesitated to give up his riches. It is further related, that being moved by the story of St. Alexis he determined to think of his salvation and that he went to a theologian, probably a canonicus of St. John, and asked, What must I do to be saved? Which is the surest way—*quae via aliis omnibus certior atque perfectior*? The doctor replied, quoting Matt. 19 : 21, "*Si vis esse perfectus, vade et vende omnia quae habes.*" Valdo complied with this commandment of the Lord without forgetting the one following: "*Et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in coela, et veni sequere me.*" We believe that our rich merchant carried out these words to the end, a thing which the monks, who pretended to imitate him, did not do. The *Chron. Laudun.* everywhere, though alone, affirms the voluntary poverty of Valdo. It reports further, that he divided his possessions



among his wife, his two daughters and the poor, and that when he came to Rome, he was exhorted by Alexander III. who even embraced him, to persist in his vow of poverty; but at the same time, his attention was called to the fact that he could not preach without the consent of the clergy of the city. Richard de Cluni and Stephen of Bourbon especially mention the fact of his reading the Scriptures, translating certain books of the Bible (in which he was aided by two clergymen) and also of his preaching to the people. Here is revealed the real Waldensian standpoint which induced discussion and persecutions. Moreover, it must not be overlooked, that Valdo suffered voluntary poverty, without however, identifying it in mind or practice, with monkish poverty.

An author recently contended that Valdo made begging a duty both for himself and his disciples, while the Cathari renounced all mendicancy. This appears to me to go too far. The Chronicles of Lyons simply say that he had made the vow to possess no property, neither gold nor silver, and, they added, "nor caring for the morrow." He once asked a friend for support. Can that be called begging? George Müller at Bristol carries out great charities by acting on the same principle as here designated, without ever resorting to begging. The original and real Waldensians thought that the laborer of God is worthy of his hire. Their spiritual leaders set aside manual labor, but usually not entirely, so that they could devote themselves wholly to their brethren. We do not see that Valdo "preached mendicancy" nor that his disciples became mendicants. Alanus very appropriately says, the Waldensians "*nullo modo propriis manibus laborare debent, sed ab iis quibus prae-dicant, recipere necessaria.*" (Should in no wise work with their own hands but receive what they need from those to whom they preach). "Recipere" does not signify "demand." But this is not the decisive question. This we find rather in the liberty of proclaiming the Holy Scriptures, as well publicly as privately. I do not believe that Valdo originally had the intention of preaching, in the common acceptation of the word. He wished to employ his liberty to bear witness of that which he had learned to know through the Holy Scriptures. And as this liberty had

not yet been formally constrained he believed he possessed it as a catholic one. This appears from his mode of conduct. He appeals to the Pope in this question, and is not ill received there at first. Moneta, who is our authority that he also went to Rome, writes, that he even received the right to preach, although with the restriction, not to depart from the teachings of the four Fathers of the Latin Church. "He came to the Pope and promised to follow the four Doctors, scil. Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome and so received from the Pope the license to preach." Afterwards the Pope repented of this impulse of tolerance, as he foresaw, perhaps better than Valdo, the consequences to which it might lead, and thereupon followed a prohibition, alluded to in the *Chron. Laud.* and treated more in detail by Mapes. The latter reports, that at a council held at Rome by Alexander III. (1179) several Waldensians appeared who requested that the right to preach be confirmed to them, ("multa petebant instantia praedicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmare.") It is known that they were objects of the ridicule of the prelates because they did not know the meaning of the scholastic term "credere in." (See Hagenbach *Dogmengeschichte*, §186). Moreover, the right to preach was withdrawn from them, and all manner of preaching forbidden. Besides, the scoffing of the prelates did not hinder them from regarding themselves as menaced. But the Council did not yet excommunicate them. As Neander remarks, it was their intention to see whether Valdo and his disciples would not submit. But they did not submit, and, as they were already in conflict with the Bishop of Lyons who had forbidden them to preach, they were driven from his diocese and by a later Council were condemned as schismatics. Dieckhoff has in vain contended, that the question is here concerning a Council which was held in 1212 in Rome, before the great Lateran Council.

The anathema was not long delayed. It was proclaimed at Verona, at the Council convened under the presidency of Pope Lucius III. in 1183-1184. It denounced heretics in general and in particular "eos qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur," (those who under a false name pass as Humiliati or Poor of Lyons), and passed sentence upon them



in the following words: "And since some under pretext of piety, denying its virtue according to what the apostle says, assume to themselves the authority of preaching when the same apostle says, 'How shall they preach, unless they are sent,' we bind with equal bond of perpetual anathema, all who publicly or privately shall presume to preach when prohibited or not sent, except with authority derived from the apostolic seat or from the bishop of the place." (Decretum, ap. d'Argentré). While they were condemned at Verona, the disciples of Valdo spread further and further into the provinces in the vicinity of the Diocese of Lyons where their way was prepared by the Cathari, and everywhere their adherents increased in number. As they always considered themselves good Catholics, it was hoped they could yet be overcome. The Chronicles mention the disputation which took place at Narbonne in the year 1190. This record is characteristic; in it we find the original Waldensian assertion which may be thus stated; the *Universal Priesthood of the Sermon*, without any ecclesiastical discrimination, not even that of sex. (Praedicant omnes passim et sine delectu conditionis, aetatis vel sexus.) Their duty is: "Ab omni qui scit verbum Dei in populis seminare, praedicandum esse." (Every one who knows how to disseminate the word of God among the people should preach.) The proof of this assertion was based on James 4 : 17; Mark 9 : 38 seq.; Phil. 1 : 15 seqq. For the preaching of women they referred to Titus 2 : 2 seq. Their protest, which was more than once reiterated, may be stated in the words of the apostle Peter: "We ought to obey God rather than men." This is the principle of the liberty of laymen as far as concerns the reading and interpretation of Holy Writ which the council could not cease to condemn. Thus, at Toulouse in 1229, and at Tarracona in 1234. As polypes around a rock, so around this nucleus subsequently clung new principles, as well of a dogmatic nature, (the denial of purgatory, of intercession for the dead, of the mediation of saints), as of a moral nature (the limitation of the vow of celibacy, rejection of the oath) and of an ecclesiastical nature (a certain independence in worship, discipline of the ministry and regulation

of pastoral activity). Some of these principles had their source in the original one, others in the current of ecclesiastical opposition, whether they were Catharistic, Arnoldic, Wickliffian or Hussitic. The first is the life-principle of the Waldensian tendency; the principle which has caused their opposition to the Church and which justifies it. Certainly also, the vow of poverty must be taken into consideration, as well as the common condition of affairs of the time, if we would correctly judge the whole movement. If, moreover, the vow of poverty be the pedestal, then the universal priesthood is the statue erected upon it.

The Waldensians, once condemned, learned by experience that, if they were Catholic, they were not so in the sense of Rome. They had to choose between peace and resistance. But to withstand the Pope, an Innocent III., the veritable Jupiter thundering from the Roman Olympus, they needed a strength of conviction which not all of them possessed. A separation became unavoidable, and doubtless aided the Waldensian cause. I allude to the disputation at Paniers in 1207, and the separation which took place in the ranks of the Waldensians.

This disputation took place between the Bishop of Osma and several other Romish clergymen on the one side, and several Waldensians on the other. Influenced by this discussion, a cer-Durand d'Oscá, after having for some time been allied to the Waldensian movement, returned to the bosom of the Church. Still he did not wish to give up the vow of poverty. For this purpose he applied to Innocent III. in 1209 and his poverty was allowed him on condition of obedience to the Pope. In this manner was formed the small brotherhood of *Pauperes Catholici*, which hardly survived its founder. That was not yet a "glorious return!" Durand went to Milan and promised the Pope to bring back into the Church about one hundred Waldensians if they were promised a place of meeting. Innocent III. does not seem to have opposed this in the beginning. What came of it? We can not say. Another similar brotherhood was formed under the direction of a certain Bernardus, called Primus. They surrendered, arms and baggage, in the camp of Rome. This desertion, which was directed more



by priests than by laymen, was well suited to the spirit of the times, for the storm which had been threatened by the decision of Verona, began to rage and orders of persecution had already been given. Alphonse of Arragòn, Marquis of Provence, also published in 1194 an edict against the Waldensians. It was confirmed, two years later, by his successor. In the year 1209 appeared an edict of the Emperor Otto, in reply to the complaint of Jacob of Caristo, Bishop of Turin, against the Waldensians. (Praesertim tibi auctoritate mandamus, quatenus hereticos Valdenses et omnes qui in Taurinensis diocesi zizaniam seminant falsitatis et fidem catholicam alicujus erroris seu pravitatis doctrina impugnant, a toto Taurinensi episcopatu imperiale auctoritate expellas. This edict has by mistake been dated sixteen years earlier by Monastier whom Herzog follows.)

In the same year began to rumble the frightful thunderstorm which Innocent III. let loose over the south of France, the bloody crusade against the Albigenses, which was to crush the hopes of the Cathari and to scatter the Waldensians. In the year 1215 a new sentence of condemnation was published by the Lateran Council and was followed by new thunderbolts. Dieckhoff very correctly remarks that then ended the period of the beginnings of the movement started by Valdo. The persecution continued, and on a thousand paths brought the Waldensians to a new stage of development.

Let us follow the Waldensians in their Diaspora. Some spread toward the west, where since 1192, their traces are found in the diocese of Toul, where they received the name of Wadoys; according to Blair, they also came to Aquitaine, Guyenne and Gascogne. Then, during the British invasion, a small band crossed the Canal de la Manche and were well received in the county of Kent; others are said to have gone into the countries along the Rhine, and perhaps united afterwards with the Lollhards. Others moved towards the north and north-east. They had a center at Metz. ("In urbe Metensi pullulante secta, quae dicitur Waldensium" as we read in a chronicle of the year 1199). There they read and commented upon books of Scripture and Innocent III. interfered directly in so much that he caused an investigation to be held. As the Waldensians sometimes min-

gled with the brethren of the "Free Spirit," or were sometimes induced to conceal their name, it is difficult to say where they have not been. We meet them in Alsace, beginning at Strasburg; along the banks of the Rhine, as well in Germany as in the Netherlands. Later researches have multiplied the places of refuge and dwelling already known. So the labors of Dr. Herman Haupt who brought to light new proofs of the appearance of the Waldensians at Würzburg, Nürnberg, Bamberg, &c. (Haupt: *Die religiösen Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation*). He has, besides, thrown much light on the relations between the Waldensians and Hussites. We can estimate now, especially after the successful investigations of Prof. Loserth (*Huss und Wicliff*) the decisive influence Wicliffe exerted over the convictions of Huss, and Huss over those of the Hussites. The relations of the Waldensians make it apparent, that this influence also exerted itself in the Waldensian literature. I can add nothing to what has been told by men as Herzog (*Waldenser III*), Zegschwitz, (*Die Katechismen der Waldenser und der böhmischen Brüder*), Palacky (*Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Sekten in Böhmen*), all of whom ought to be compared with Preger (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldensier aus den Abhandlungen der königl.-baier. Akademie*) and Keller. The treatise of Preger discloses the teachings of the Waldensians who had settled in Austria, and the importance of the spreading of the Waldensians in the diocese of Passau where they numbered no less than 42 communities. Herzog alludes to the appearance of the Waldensians in Switzerland toward the end of the 14th century, as well at Bern as at Freiburg. Ochsenbein has now published copious notes on the trial of the year 1399 and on a still more important trial of the year 1430, which concerned the Waldensians of Freiburg. We confess, that the more light there is shed on the dissenters and heretics of Freiburg, the less are we inclined to recognize them as real Waldensians. According to a manuscript discovered by Preger at Munich, and which he published in his "*Beiträge*," we know that a Colloquium assembled representatives of the Waldensians living beyond the mountains (*Oltramontani*) or Poor of Lyons on the one side, and of



the *Pauperes Italici* or Lombards on the other, at Bergamo, in May 1218. They here treated of the points by which they were held apart, especially of the conditions of the legitimacy of the priesthood, of the sacraments of baptism, the holy communion, and kindred subjects. There is no doubt but that these *Pauperes Italici* had Arnoldic blood in their veins. If in the thirteenth century, Alanus and other Catholic writers assign to the Waldensians in general, the opinion that the ministerial validity of a priest's functions depended on the moral worth of the one performing them, we must seek the reason with the "*Pauperes Italici*" who, in this point, were the heirs of the views of Arnold of Brescia. Both sides acknowledged belief in Transubstantiation; but according to the Poor of Lyons it is the effect of the word of God that causes it, while according to the Lombards it is not possible without the personal righteousness of the one administering. The views of the Lombards caused a much greater independence in the opposition to the Roman clergy.

Let us follow the Waldensians into the valleys of the Alps, where they found a refuge from persecution. We can understand that they spread into the Dauphiné, all of Provence, the valleys of the Hautes-Alpes, whither the schism had spread since the time of Peter de Bruys and had perhaps originated in the valley Loyse, once called Vallis Gyrontana. But what attracted them in the Hither Alps, the valleys of Italy? It has been attempted to prove the existence of a dissenting population in these valleys, in order to explain the spread thither. It has been added, that Valdo himself had come thither to raise the banner for his disciples. But these are conjectures. If this, especially the first point, could be proved, all were said; but we find no historical evidence. We have in vain searched for these evidences in the memoirs of de Luserna, from whom we have the somewhat modified motto," "*Lux lucet in tenebris.*" The documents relating to the founding of the Abbey of Pignerol also mention nothing of it. But not even this question is necessary in order to understand three things: *First*, that as Gilles says, our emigrants had to find people who were "not far distant from their faith, especially if we consider that they themselves had not departed widely from the creed of the Catholic Church."

*Secondly*, that they did not fail to till the land in the unoccupied regions and that de Luserna had an interest in this cultivation. *Finally*, that they made a virtue of necessity, as the persecution at last dispersed them. The time was not at all unfavorable for immigration. Thomas, the first Count of Savoy, was under guardianship, or rather, he was on the point of going to war, accompanied by de Luserna and de Piorrosque. So we are informed by a treatise in the library of Victor Emmanuel at Turin, entitled "*Histoire veritable des Vaudois.*" (The fragment relating hereto may be found in my essay "*Valdo ed i Valdesi.*"). We can also compare Ughelli, "*Italia Sacra.*" He says, that Angrogne at this time was a part of the Dauphiné. It is a fact, that the first mention which is made of the Waldensians this side of the Alps is the one found in the edict of Otto IV., which was published during his sojourn in Italy in the year 1209. If their arrival was alarming, as Ughelli thinks, we can the better comprehend the haste of the Bishop of Turin to get the decree; but this presumption is not necessary.

But were all the fugitives who settled in these valleys Waldensians? We doubt it, and for this reason. It is a fact that the common fate allied the persecuted with the Cathari against Rome. They already divided the land between them and at times were, so to speak, one and the same family. For example, the wife and the sister of the Count de Foix, lord of the castle of Pamiers, where the first disputation took place, had been received among the Waldensians, while a second sister had joined the Cathari. What is more natural than the mingling of these two sects in their flight over the Alps? Is it not absolutely necessary to presume this intermingling in order to understand the traces of the spread of the Cathari in the plains of Piedmont? We find them afterwards not only in the plain, but in the very valleys of the Waldensians, where like many of the Waldensians they also bear French names. This appears from the records of several law-suits of the Inquisition. But however this may be, the Waldensian point of view was the ruling one among the fugitives.

The population grew to such an extent, that it became necessary to spread further. Towards the year 1332 it is reported



that the assemblies of the Waldensians numbered as high as 500 members "per modum capituli." If this was a case of synods, the lay element must have been largely represented and delegates had to come from either side the Alps. According to a computation which may be considered exact, the population which had gathered within the limits of the Cottian Alps, in the diocese of Turin and Embrun, numbered about 50,000. The next emigration created a flourishing colony in Calabria. The historian who narrates this, speaks of uninterrupted connections between the bee-hive in the Alps and the swarm in the south of Italy. They have not been sufficiently cleared up. Likewise, we do not see that we can accept the fact upon positive indications that the Waldensian community was the possessor of houses from which the mission was conducted in the larger cities. We believe that a confusion may have been made with what is said of the Cathari and other sects, in case we do not accede to the views of Dr. Keller, according to whom the Waldensians strove to imitate the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and in connection with them built houses of refuge as a means of making proselytes. It is a fact, that the *Pauperes Lombardi* stopped here, and we only wish that the notes furnished by Gilles for a period of three centuries were better confirmed and less contested.

But let us return to the Cottian Alps and report in a few words on the condition of the populace which from now on formed the center of the Waldensian community. At the same time we shall comprehensively state what may be said of their discipline and their writings.

The Waldensians had hardly settled in the Alpine valleys, before they became subject to oppressive legislation. We have alluded to the decree of Otto IV. of the year 1209. Eleven years later, the authorities of Pinerolo, a little town situated near the terminus of the valleys of Perosa and Luserna, published the following edict: It has been decreed, that if any man or any woman entertains any Waldensian, male or female, having a knowledge of it, shall, within the jurisdiction of Pinerolo, pay a fine of ten solidi, as often as he or she shall entertain. It has been computed, that these ten solidi would to-day have a value

of about 280 francs. However, there are no indications of a bloody persecution on this side the Alps, before the end of the thirteenth century. Still, we can not say, with Léger, that this respite lasted several hundred years. He probably thinks of the time before Waldo, when the Waldensians did not yet exist. In the year 1297 the persecution was again begun in the valley of Perosa. We find in the state archives of Turin a patent of appointment of the year 1301, which had been granted to Stefano d'Argentario of Bergamo to remain at Perosa in the quality of an Inquisitor, and he was given full power to arrest the heretics of every sect condemned by the Church of Rome. These patents were no dead letter. In the year 1312 a Waldensian was burned to death at Perosa. (Hahn. *Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter.*) In the year 1354, the Prince of Achaie published decrees of persecution against the heretics of the valley of Luserna, which Monastier confirms, but they do not seem to have been very efficient. The heretics, on the other hand, began to retaliate, *e. g.* at Susa, in the year 1375 when the Dominican Convent was attacked and the Inquisitor killed; and at Angrogne in the year 1332. It is difficult in these retaliations to determine the share of the Waldensians and of the Cathari. They have equal share. The Inquisitor Borelli perpetrated a cruel revenge for this, about Christmas 1400, when he surprised the Waldensians of Pragelas; 50 to 80 children, naming but one incident, who had been carried by their parents in the flight over the mountains, died from the cold. A Catholic priest, Vincenzo Ferreri had visited the valleys in the year 1403 and now called the attention of the persecutors to them. He reports that Garari or Cathari and Waldensians had intermingled, that they formed *scholæ distinctæ*, congregations of a certain kind, and that for thirty years no catechist of the Church of Rome had been there. He boasts of having here converted several inhabitants. The bloody atrocities committed in the year 1475 by the Duchess Iolanthe, through the agency of the Nuntio Albert de Capitaneis, and upon instigation of Innocent VIII., are but too well known. Her example was followed in the year 1500 by the Marchioness of Saluzzo. So much concerning the Waldensians in the valleys of Italy.



On the French side they were fiercely persecuted. We read that Benedict XII. ordered the bishops of Valence and Vienne to expel them, after the persecutions had already put to death numerous victims. According to what Camerarius relates of the Waldensian fugitives of the valleys of Piemont and Provence, they were for a while protected by the municipal authorities and then, on instigation of Gregory IX. were furiously persecuted, several of them being burnt to death. It seems that the survivors then enjoyed a period of comparative quiet, which lasted about 20 years. Towards 1400, however, came the Franciscan monk Borelli, of dark renown. He imprisoned many, and several were committed to the flames. Afterwards, the inhabitants of the valleys Loyse, Fraisinière and Argentié appealed to the protection of Louis XII., who, convinced that this was not a matter of heretics separated from the Church, promised them his protection in a decree dated at Arras, May 18th, 1478. But the decree contained one restriction: "Unless, however, there were some, who wished obstinately and with hardened courage, to maintain and affirm anything against the holy Catholic faith." This restriction had a certain validity and the inquisitors knew how to make use of it. (Herzog, *Die romanischen Waldenser*). Towards the end of the century, the persecution was on the point of taking still greater proportions; but thanks to the intervention of Louis XII. it was restricted by a decree published Oct. 12th, 1502, at Lyons, and Pope Alexander VI. must have found some advantage in it, although he was the same who had executed the Reformer of Florence, for he assented and gave to this decree his priestly sanction.

In this epoch the diminution of the Waldensians had already begun. It continued until the time of the Reformation. This has been confirmed by the most various researches, including those on the Moravians in the year 1497 and 1498 (Camerarius), and those of Claudius Seyssel, Bishop of Turin. This, however, by no means hinders us from presuming their presence in several cities of Piemont.

The opposition itself, however, was not suppressed. What explains its duration and the restoration itself? It is the doc-

trine of the Waldensians, in considering which we must also bear in mind their ethical principles and maxims, and their very manner of opposition to Rome.

For a foundation the Bible was sufficient, for we must not assign too great importance to the glosses of the Fathers which they sought to combine with it. If anything characterizes them, it is the definite purpose not to break with Catholic tradition. It is indeed not difficult to determine the chief points of their opposition which began with the continued reading of Scripture and its free interpretation. If they rejected Purgatory, they could in so doing, employ the words of Gregory the Great and of Jerome; if they made the validity of ministerial functions dependent upon the moral worth of the priest, they seem to follow the impulse also given by Gregory and by Ambrose and Bernard; although in fact it was a direct consequence of the Arnoldic movement. If they did not wish to swear, they acted like Isidore; if they preferred to seek absolution only with God, they had for this a rich selection of sentences of the Fathers; but it was the Bible that gave authority to all of these; it is sufficient as rule and criterion. Although they did not reject every Symbol or Confession, yet they laid chief stress upon the Sermon on the Mount. This was their code, although it is not necessary to see in this an approach to the old *Λιδαρχή*. But there is no doubt that after the persecution had once been begun, the Waldensians made an approach to the other dissenters and even to the more direct opponents of the Catholic Church, as, *e. g.* the Cathari, from whom they derived more than one decisive impulse. Herzog and Ochsenbein, as well as others, have sufficiently demonstrated the influence of the Cathari; Tocco has also tried to prove the same; but, as appears to me, in a somewhat exaggerating manner. For, after all, the Waldensian dogmas remained Catholic, with the exception of one or two points. It can easily be seen, that upon the denial of Purgatory, other assertions had to follow logically and immediately, especially those on the value of intercession for the dead, on mass and on the adoration of saints. It can not be doubted, that, as we have already stated, the idea of a universal priesthood, which was moreover strengthened by the assertion of



the moral worth of the one officiating, was necessarily followed by a certain independence in the observances of ecclesiastical ceremonies. Their literally evangelical system of ethics, like the dogma, is tainted with the characteristic heresies of the Cathari; their writings, of which we shall soon treat, contain no less traces of such an influence. If the Waldensians rejected mendicancy, the oath, the recognition of the "jus gladii," etc., they have undoubtedly been led by Catharistic influences; but they have still less departed from the Sermon on the Mount, which they would only apply according to its letter. As far as concerns certain forms, the influence of the Cathari plainly appears, although there can be no question of similarity. So, *e. g.* from the very start, the Waldensians extended the universal priesthood to the female sex, also the right of free preaching of the Word, which the Cathari did not do. Nor did they have a common rite, inasmuch as the Cathari did not even observe the sacrament of Baptism, nor of the Altar. They approach each other in discipline and Church government. It must emphatically be accepted, that the Waldensians had a triple division of offices: deacons, presbyters and bishops, except in the valleys of Piedmont where we also find a Barbe majoralis assisted by a coadjutor or two. It is true that everything here depends upon the definition which we give to these titles. They were no bishops in the modern sense of the word. Not even does the "Stefen" (Etienne), of whom the Moravians received the valid ordination, seem to have been an exception. He reminds me of a saying I heard in Herrenhut: "The bishop is a man who can ordain." In short, the difference between "episcopi" and "presbyteri" seems then to have been no larger than in the early days of which Jerome speaks. The Waldensians at times probably also received the distinction between "perfecti" and "credentes." I will not go into further details, for the Waldensian doctrine has been sufficiently treated of by Herzog, Cunitz and Keller, so that this may be refrained from. I will only remark that for the understanding of the form of their doctrine, which dates from the final condemnation of the Waldensians, it is important to take into account the sequence of the chronicles which give information concerning them, also the places where Waldensians

are found. Moreover, the more we test the old assertions, those of an Alanus, Rainerio Sacconi, David of Augsburg, Moneta and other Dominicans, a testimony to which we must, before all, add that of Limborch, the more we must be convinced of their inner worth. They are testimonies in the literal sense of the word; they confirm the chief points, and this confirmation coincides with what may be found in the Waldensian writings of the first period as Herzog has proved in his two treatises : "*De origine et pristino statu Waldens. sect. antiq., eorum scripta cum libris Catholicorum ejusdem aevi collata*" and "*die romanischen Waldenser.*" What more do we need, to conclude with him, that the biblical opposition of the original Waldensians did not disjoin itself from Catholic dogmatics, which it otherwise much neglected. It is spirited opposition but does not aim at a real schism; its polemics turn against the management, against the system prevalent in the Church, and against the secularization which had taken hold of it; but not against the Roman Catholic Church as a whole. It is not until the Reformation that the Gordian knot of the schism is cut through.

## II. THE PERIOD OF SCHISM.

In this period we distinguish three phases: that of the regeneration of the Waldensians through the Reformation; that of the heroic struggle for existence; that of the decadence, which came immediately before the present period of our liberty.

In the beginning it will be necessary to depict the religious, moral and ecclesiastical condition of the Waldensians when the Reformation dawned. They themselves have furnished us with all the information that could possibly be wished for on the subject. Indeed they seriously endeavored to come to meet the movement of reform, to consult with several of the best known and nearer leaders of the movement to reveal to them, with touching modesty, the decadence of their fellowship as Herzog relates in detail in his "*Romansche Waldenser.*" Waldensian manuscripts having a bearing on the subject, were published by him, and in such a manner, that light has now been shed on this subject and we know what to think of the time of the compilation of the catechism, which Perrin and Leger date



back to the beginning of the twelfth century. The Reformers gave the directions, la nobla Leiczon of the Reformation. (The documents hereto appertaining have become known through the exertions of Herzog). To the Waldensians nothing remained but to come to a decision concerning them. Accordingly, a synod was agreed upon, which, in September, 1532, met in the village of Chanforans in the valley of Angrogne. Farel and Saunier here determined the issue. The resolutions of this synod, alluded to superficially by Perrin, more reliably by Gilles, have been brought to light by Herzog from the Waldensian manuscripts at Dublin and published by him (Roman. Waldenser), and corrected by Dr. Benrat (*Rivista Cristiana* 1876). They were adopted unanimously. The doctrine of predestination was the one which especially confused some. Two pastors, Waldensians from France, left their homes and went to Bohemia to apply for the assistance of their brethren. But here their conduct was such that they disturbed the Church of the Valleys as much as the Bohemian Brotherhood. At the synod which met in the valley St. Martin, 1533, they definitely acceded to the doctrine of the Reformation. It is not meant, that they determined to separate from the Catholic Church; but that was a natural consequence, neither the Catholics nor the Reformed having a doubt of it. The persecutions, which however were foreseen, prove this conclusively, also their open protection by Protestant nations.

Now it became necessary to carry out the intended reformation. One of the principal means towards the accomplishment of this object, was the translation of the Bible. This, which gives us light on the early history of the Waldensian Church, will also give us an explanation of the Waldensian regeneration through the Reformation. It is known that the work of translation was entrusted to Robert Olivetan, a relative of Calvin, and known in the Waldensian valleys, where his office and his knowledge of Holy Scripture were highly respected. The value of Olivetan's translation, especially that of the Old Testament, was restored to acknowledgment by Reuss. It is also known that the Waldensian population subjected itself to a heavy tax in order to defray the expenses of the translation. They

began, through the agency of their ministers, to get acquainted with Reformed (Calv.) doctrines. The books of the Reformers now and then were carried among them by colporteurs. The Reformation was soon carried out in the valleys of France in the Provence, where the number of schismatic Waldensians soon increased to several thousand. In the year 1535, they presented a confession of faith to their king, Francis I. Ten years later, the persecutions pounced upon the revived congregations like a lamb's-vulture of the Alps upon light prey; more than twenty villages were burned down, and the inhabitants slain by thousands. The survivors, about 4000, sought refuge in the higher Alps. The persecutions were renewed in the year 1560, but did not last long. The valleys lying towards Italy, and which after the treaty of Crespy stood under the sovereignty of France, saw the Reformation enter more slowly. Public preaching of the Gospel did not begin until 1555, the year of the foundation of our first churches (temples). In the same year, the French colporteur Barthélemy Hector was burnt to death at Turin; in 1557 the Barbe Goffredo Varugalia, a born Catholic and before, when a monk, efficient in the conversion of heretics, suffered punishment by death. During the reign of Emmanuel Philibert, the valleys of Italy were restored to the rule of the house of Savoy, in accordance with the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis. As early as the year 1560, the demand was put to the Waldensians, to accept Catholic priests. After they had presented a petition in which they prayed to be allowed to remain in the faith of their fathers, the attempt was made to convert them by force, and blood flowed in streams! Thereupon the Waldensians tried to make an armed resistance; but in vain. In 1561, in compliance with the treaty of Cavour, they were granted some toleration, but under grave conditions. Still, even this toleration was a deceit, as it did not hinder new oppressions from threatening the Waldensians; wherefore they entered into an alliance called "L'union des Vallées" (the union of the Valleys) and which had for its object to preserve faithfully the creed of the Reformation. A confession of faith was framed after the "Confessio Gallicana" in 1559 and published by Antoine Leger at Geneva. In 1662 it was followed by one in Italian.



The colony of Calabrians who had also joined the Reformation, applied for ministers. Etienne Negrin and Louis Pascal were sent to them. Now followed the persecutions which led to their utter extermination and which Crespin relates in detail in his "Histoire des Martyrs." The tragic fate of the colony has even in our days found an echo in the writings of an ex-priest, a member of the Italian chamber of deputies, Filippo de Boni, by name, (*L'Inquisizione ed i Calabro Valdesi*), who drew from the archives an interesting history of the martyrs; and of Alexandre Lombard of Geneva, a descendant of Italians who emigrated in those days. A Waldensian evangelist, two years ago visited the places once inhabited by the colony and ascertained that the memory of the fathers has not been altogether extinguished; a sympathy for the "brethren from Piemont" could be remarked from certain indications, among others, from this that they still understood the dialect of the valley of Angrogne, in which the evangelist conversed with them; and from the hearty welcome which was given him; but we must guard against seeing in this an indication of their approaching return to the evangelic faith.

We see from these facts, that it cost the Waldensians some effort to follow the Reformation and break with the Church of Rome. But this was only a prelude to the more and more atrocious persecutions which were to follow and which mark the "heroic age." Yet we can not here pretend to relate them all. Besides, this part is the best known of Waldensian history and has been told in prose and verse in all languages. With Herzog we will only confine ourselves to the following remarks: "The plague of the year 1630 had swept off almost one half of the population and almost all of the pastors, (there being but two left in the valleys of Italy); the consequence was, that strangers had to be called and the Italian language suspended from public worship, and that of the new pastors, namely the French, was adopted. From this period dates the alteration of the forms of worship to the manner of the Swiss Reformed. The "Barbe" became a "Monsieur" (Sir; Herr); discipline grew lax, and was made light for the sake of the strangers; by means of special treasuries, it was made possible for young men, especially fitted for and inclined to the work, to enter the ministry. Mention of

these facts can be found in the archives of the Universities of Geneva and Basel. As we have already stated, the period of the great persecutions is also that of heroic defence. It was not only heroic in this, that the original patience of the ancient Waldensians again appeared; but deserves the designation as heroic from another point of view; their reserved manner of defending themselves, had, under the influence of the Reformation, made way for another principle and the Waldensian Church visibly became a church militant. The "struggle for existence" shaped characters, and a few of them are worthy of being named among the greatest the world admires. Among them we find a Janavel, an Arnaud. The most atrocious and most ill-famed persecution was the one of the year 1655. The alarm given by Prefect Leger roused an echo in all of Europe, and the solidarity of our brethren of the faith found expression in the threats of Cromwell, who spoke of attacking the Duchy of Savoy with his fleet, as well as in the aid rendered us by his government and that of other countries. But the time of the severest crisis for the Waldensians certainly is the time of their forced "Exodus" in the year 1686-87. Who has not read of it? And who has not read the narrative of the "glorious return" (*la glorieuse rentrée*) in the year 1689, the plan of which was the work of old Janavel and the execution of it, the deed of old Arnaud? This return somewhat resembles the Anabasis of the 10,000, except in this, that it is no retreat but a victory, and besides, one of such high order that Napoleon spoke of it with admiration. Preparations are being made in the Waldensian valleys to celebrate, with justifiable pride, the two-hundredth anniversary of this great event by which our fatherland was restored to us. The citizenship was then bought with the blood of the best of us and we shall firmly hold it. One of the most noted writers of the Italian press, has pronounced, in the following words, the unanimous sentiments of all in Italy who confess to a patriotic liberalism: "Thanks should be given you publicly by all Italy, oh Waldensians, as you have never wished to hate and scorn your ancient mother, until the glorious day when your constancy has been crowned by God, and a mutual pact of liberty reconciles you with the emended persecution." (Ter.



Mamiani.) But let us not anticipate the order of things. We are still far distant from the feasts of liberty to which these noble words allude ; we are still filled with the terrors of the persecution. Not all of the exiled Waldensians returned, and some of those who had returned, among them their leader Arnaud, nine years later were again compelled to take the exile's staff; and the parishes of Schönberg, Gross-Villars, Pinach, New-Hengsted, &c., in the kingdom of Würtemberg, where our dialect is still spoken, testify in some degree, to the vitality of our Waldensian traditions. Pastor Arnaud ended his days at Schönberg in 1721. Other exiles settled in Kur-Brandenburg.

But let us return to the Waldensians in the valley of the Alps. Toward the end of the 18th century, their condition was still quite miserable, as may be seen from an address by Pastor Appia to the Austrian general Neipperg, in 1799. In the mean time the chant of liberty was heard at Paris, during the days of the Revolution. Napoleon took an interest in their fate, restored their synods and granted salaries to their pastors. At his fall, the hopes which had been roused also disappeared and the wind blew, if not towards persecution, yet towards oppression during the reign of Victor Emmanuel I., Charles Felix and even of Charles Albert.

The church system of the Waldensians is that of the Reformed churches, namely the presbyterial system. Only the colloquies (local consistories) have ceased, first in Switzerland, and and finally also in France. The administration is vested in a so called Table (*la table*) corresponding to the Board of the English, and which consists of five members. The president is called *Moderateur*. When the Synod meets his office ceases, and the Synod elects its own president.

### III. THE PERIOD OF FREEDOM.

This period does not yet number forty years, but freedom gives it a value that cannot be underrated. Here we need not try to discriminate between distinct, consecutive phases, but we will try to preserve a certain order which will allow us to divide this period into sections. King Charles Albert, in the begin-

ning of his reign gave no reason to anticipate the liberty which marks the end of the reign. Surrounded by Jesuits, he seemed to be their tool. But the current of public opinion fostered the freedom of Italy. The liberal party was founded in Piedmont by such men as Balbi, Gioberti, Cavour, the brothers de'Azeglio, Broffiero, etc. It was spread over all of Italy by Mazzini, his "Giovine Italia," Guerazzi, Montanelli. The liberal movement was victorious in 1848; four free constitutions were framed, namely at Rome, Naples, Florence and Turin. That of Piedmont alone remained; religious tolerance, which by it had been upheld, here found its direct and practical application. The Waldensians undertook to give it a meaning, and Cavour, who from the beginning had been the leader of the liberal tendency, foresaw that the exercise of religious liberty would also be a good foundation for general liberty. But the Waldensians do not forget, that Roberto d'Azeglio made the religious and civic emancipation of the Waldensians a matter of his private concern, which is but confirmed by the recent publication of his correspondence. The Edict of Emancipation signed by Charles Albert has the date of Feb. 17, 1848. I refrain from describing the feasts given in honor of it; the most enthusiastic welcome was given to the Waldensians at Turin, when they appeared to thank their Prince. As to the rest, the edict did not speak of freedom in the proper sense of the word, but of "tolerance which is in accordance with the laws," adding: "No innovation has been made so far as concerns the exercise of their worship." That was a restriction, "an unfortunate restriction," as our *Moderateur* said at the time. Woe to the Waldensians if they had not put to use the auspicious moment! woe to them, if they had misused it! They were to contribute to the fulfillment of the vocation which Piedmont had, that Piedmont of which G. Massari wrote: "The fate of Italy depends on Piedmont; on this point agree the hopes and desires of all Italian, for power is there." But God who had previously prepared the day of our liberty put it into the hearts of several persons also to prepare his little people for it. The torch of faith, which had almost been extinguished through indifference, again blazed out, after the visit of Felix Neff and the faithful, almost puritan testi-



mony of Antoine Blanco and other Waldensian pastors, such as Joshua Meiller. Antoino Blanco for several years kept up in the midst of the Waldensian Church a kind of separate union similar to that of the first Waldensians in their relation to the Catholic Church, or that of Spener in the Lutheran Church. This union afterwards widened and from it many good examples took their initiative, such as ardor for the missionary work and other reforms. But it must also be remarked, that for the same reason a sectarian spirit grew up; the missionaries of Darbism and other *isms* are ready to awaken it and to profit by it. Among these humble benefactors we must reckon Filly, Beckwith and Stewart, who have brought the help of the word, faith, and Christian benevolence. Through their labors we have come into possession of the schools which are necessary for the generation that to-day bears the responsibility for the missionary work of the church. After the schools came the churches of the Waldensians at Turin and from Turin down to Sicily.

Protestantism was already represented by several confessions when the Waldensian mission began. The Prussian ambassador, Baron Walburg-Truchsess, upon the authorization of Frederick William III, had founded a chapel for Protestant worship at Turin. His ministers were successively, J. P. Bonjour, Amédée Bert, (Waldensianer). To the same monarch we are indebted among other deeds of benevolence for the founding of a scholarship at Berlin, for Waldensian students. When Baron Truchsess was at Toskana, he had a chapel opened there in 1826. A chapel was likewise erected at Rome in 1819, thanks to the ambassador, the historian, Niebuhr. The German congregation at Venice had an early origin, but did not obtain its present chapel until 1813. The congregation at Livorno, German and Dutch at the same time, exists since 1807; the one at Bergamo, composed of the most different elements, since the same year; those at Naples, both the German and the French, since 1825; the one at Genoa since 1826. In several cities there are also churches of the Anglican confession; but this church, according to its old custom takes a separatistic stand; it has a diocese of the Mediterranean with the episcopal seat at Gibraltar and keeps up a little missionary station at Malta and publishes a little periodical in the

Italian language, called "l'Indicatore." Dr. Stewart in 1844 founded at Livorno the first station of the Scotch Liberal Church which now has a Colloque or Presbytery in Italy and chapels at Rome, Naples, Florence, Genoa and Malta. As a rule, these congregations are not interested in the Waldensian missionary work; their pastors are less indifferent; with a very slight exception they all favor it.

Let us return to the Church of the Valleys, to view its missions. We ask, "Was this work legitimate, desirable?"

The question seems difficult, but is not so. The facts reply to our questions in the affirmative, for a reformation of the Catholic Church is not to be expected. The experience of Savonarola, that a reformation is impossible, unless independent of the Papacy, still holds good in our day. The political weather-cock Pius IX., now leaning towards liberalism, now a slave of the Jesuitical reaction, the self-deceptions of Abbate Gisberti, Abbate Lambruschini, and of all others, reveal what folly it would be to depend on such a change, and this is exactly the experience the High-Church Anglicans had in the Old-Catholic movement. That which serves to justify the evangelic mission is, that *it alone is possible*. Moreover, if the Waldensian Church has a vocation, tried by the constancy of centuries, and possesses a recognition derived from the mercy of God, has it a right to desist from the work, when liberty herself calls her to it? Beckwith justly wrote to the *Moderateur* of the Waldensian Church: "Either you will be missionaries or you will be nothing." Consequently the Waldensians went to work, and as we shall see, not in vain. The Waldensian Synod, which met from the 1st to the 4th of August, 1848, resolved to celebrate annually the day of liberation, Feb. 17th, and gave orders to the Board (*la Table*) to favor the use of the Italian language in public instruction and the sermon, in all communities where such measures could be carried out. It was added, "Italians by birth and character, destined to exert our activity in the midst of a population which speaks only this language, we were obliged to adopt another language under the oppression whose victims we were for centuries. Now, that this oppression has ceased, now that our country concedes the same rights to us as to all her



children, and demands that we should devote our talents and powers to her service, we are bound, if we do not wish to give up our task, to return to our origin and to accept again our own language."

"Quite probably," says the first Waldensian evangelist (Bart. Malan), "the edict for the liberation of the Waldensians, placed this Church into a new position; but at the same time, new duties were imposed upon it."

Before the new road was regularly set out upon, the "Table" sent several younger ministers to Florence to gain a practical knowledge of and exercise in the Italian language. A few years before this, a lady of Geneva was already very active at Pisa in improving primary instruction and education generally, by means of so-called Asylums. Associated with her, Charles Eynard, also from Geneva, the friend of Ricasoli, exerted a decisive influence. They entered into intercourse with Montanelli, Guicciardini and even with Lambruschini. From this time dates the activity of Tito Chiese. They attempted to work positively, but not polemically. They had no success. Lambruschini was called, in derision and without reason, "Il Luterino" (the little Luther). After Italy had been called upon to reconcile all things—the Bible, the Council of Trent, Pius IX. and liberty—the rest was left to time, the improvement of education and the silk-worms. The first private evangelical meetings were held at Florence in 1844 and at Pisa in 1846. The first public assemblies in the Swiss and German Protestant chapel in 1849 were presided over by the Waldensian pastor Barthél. Malan. But the police interfered and forbade them. Several Protestants were afterwards arrested, among them Count Guicciardini;—they were exiled. In the meantime the movement continued at Florence and spread into the province. Francesco Madiati and his wife were cast into prison. Their trial excited notice and the Evangelical Alliance was interested in the case, but without being able to obtain a promise of tolerance of evangelical worship. The coals glowed under the ashes until the year 1860, which became the year of liberty for Florence. It must be acknowledged that this was partly due to a committee from Geneva, partly to the persistent effort of Dr. Stewart, of Livorno,

who outlived this committee, which unfortunately was sectarian, and became the chief pillar of the Waldensian mission at Toscana and other places.

In the meantime Louis de Sanctis was converted at Rome through the Bible, renounced a position coveted by his colleagues, and went to Malta, where he began to evangelize Italy by means of his pen, by editing the periodical "*Il Catholico Cristiano*." On this island he entered into relation with other so-called evangelical priests who stood far beneath him in every respect. He afterwards came to Geneva and there requested the ordination of the Waldensian Church.

The first real evangelist of the Waldensian Church was J. P. Meille. His first definite location was at Turin, where in 1854 a beautiful house of worship was erected, as it were, under the eyes of Gen. Beckwith. His second charge was at Genoa assisted by the evangelist, P. Geymonat. Each of these evangelists for a time had an ardent preacher as co-laborer, the former having De Sanctis, the latter Mazzarella. Success was retarded by a discussion among the Waldensians concerning the church "*della gran Madre di Dio*" at Genoa. This church had been bought by the Waldensians, but the archbishop of this city, misusing his influence on the young king Victor Emmanuel, whose tutor he had been, induced the latter to refuse the permission of sale. The king commissioned Cavour to persuade the Waldensians to relinquish their claims. They did so for prudential reasons. It was a period in which it was not safe to irritate a government liberal already, as this, in order to check the Waldensian missions; it only needed to apply the statutes literally. But Mazzarella and his friends did not think so. They proclaimed the affair as a scandal, accused the Waldensians of having mingled with idolators, and why? Because, by returning the church, Catholic worship was again restored in it! We can respect the voice of conscience in this matter, but how can we understand, that, but a few years later, Mazzarella, who always has been a minister of the Gospel, took part in the subscription for the erection of a monument to Voltaire, at Paris?

The separation took place at Turin and Genoa at the same time and soon found adherents in the Committee at Geneva and



the door was now open to Plymouthism and other isms, so much so, that De Sanctis, who possessed strength of character and a clear mind and also thought much of order, returned weary and exhausted to the Waldensians who received him as professor in the Seminary. Count Guicciardini, who at that time had with Chiesi signed his name to a proclamation to the Waldensian Church, to obtain from them an evangelist for Toscana, took part with the separatists and became their *Leader* and benefactor, as he supported them with money from abroad. This man, but for his eccentricity, might have become the Zinzendorf of Italy, had he wished it; now, himself near death, he witnesses the death of his own party. While Plymouthism devastated the field of mission, discord raged in its midst. Several congregations separated from others and called upon the Scotch pastor MacDougall, who dwelt in Florence, to render them aid. That was rendered, and, what was more, in such a manner that beside the "Chiese Cristiana Libera de' Fratelli" arose the "Unione della Chiese Libera." That is the "Unione" which to-day approaches the Waldensians and intends to unite with them. Other new denominations settled in Italy: the Wesleyans, the Baptists (open and close communion), the Methodist Episcopal, &c. This one day induced our king to exclaim "Quante tinte!" (How many shades!) which a Scotchman, who knew more of German than of Italian, translated in the "Family Treasury: "What a quantity of ink!"

Let us return to the Waldensians. I will say a few words on their missions as it is impossible to report on these in detail. In this work we may distinguish three successive periods:

I. From 1848 to 1860. During this time the missions were superintended by the "Table" which had its seat in the valleys. Their evangelists, ever since the founding of the theological school at Torre-Pellice (1854) were sent out from there.

II. From 1860 to 1872. The theological school was removed to Florence, to the Palace Salviati and the direction of the missions was entrusted to a commission consisting of five members and which was distinct from the "Table" but subordinate to the Synod.

III. From 1872 to 1885. Upon invitation of the commission

the new congregations sent their delegates to Florence where the first general Missionary Convention was held in 1872. Other conventions followed at Florence, Genoa, Turin and Milan. The Conference is not a full synod, (the Synod proper convenes every year in the month of September at Torre-Pellice) but will soon become one, if it does not wish to merge with the Synod into one legislative assembly. Between the General Conference and the church offices are the District Conferences, which correspond to the former Colloquies. These District Conferences are five in number and extend over all Italy from Susa to Catania.

The following are a few statistics from which the progress of the church can, in a measure be estimated.

In the year 1848 the Waldensian Church had 18 ministers, 15 congregations, several elementary schools, and the gymnasium and boarding school at Torre-Pellice (the former for young men, the latter for girls) and two hospitals, but nothing outside of the valleys. In the year 1885, we find in the Valleys 24 ministers; at Florence there is a theological seminary from which about 100 ministers have been sent out, some of whom have charges in the valleys, others are evangelists in the missionary work, or pastors in the Canton Grisons or in the Waldensian colony in South America. The number of new congregations is 43; the number of communicants about 4,000; the number of occasional hearers amounts to 30,000 or 40,000 a year. The Sunday-schools are attended by 2180 children, the sum total of the voluntary contributions for the missions amounts to 57000 francs.

The contributions may be regarded as an excellent sign. I remark here that we do not deal with the congregations in the Waldensian valleys, but with the new missions scattered through all districts and in which the rich are as few as in the Valleys. From the following may be seen the increase in contributions: In 1870, 9504.17 francs; in 1874, 23839.25 francs; in 1880, 49469.76 francs; in 1884, 57128.57 francs; *i. e.* there are on the average 15.19 francs for each communicant.

These sums certainly do not suffice, but they guarantee what we wish to carry out, the “*far da sé*” (Doing of one’s self, *i. e.* with own means.) Some congregations are already in good or-



der, as far as this is concerned, namely those of Turin, Nizza ; others are on the point of attaining it, as those of Milan and Genoa. I might mention also, that the little congregation which assembles at Florence in the house of the theological school, requires no money for support. But, as has been said, our means are not sufficient for the maintenance of the missions, much less so, when the latter progress. We stand in need of the voluntary contributions which come from Great Britain, Holland, the United States and Germany. The Gustav Adolph Verein especially has a claim to our gratitude for the yearly contributions which it sends, for the support of our Seminary. The Committee at Stuttgart and other lesser aids, directly help in the work of evangelization.

The Waldensian mission has so to speak been crowned at Rome, where its church was opened Nov. 25th, 1883. The building in the purest Romance style is said to add to the beauty of the city which is otherwise so rich in works of art of every description. I refrain from giving account of the work of col-porteuring, asylums, and other works of benevolence. I will only refer to the library called Guicciardini, a collection of books which Count Guicciardini has presented to his native city and which contains several thousand writings relative to the Reformation of the 16th century and the religious condition of the present age.

After all, this is still in its nascent state, or rather, in its state of regeneration in this period of liberty which has not yet lasted half a century. And the literature makes no exception.

Let us begin with the periodical press. This has gone through some experience. Twenty-four evangelical Italian papers have already ceased publication, among them six Waldensian. To-day fourteen journals appear. This excessive number is due to the number of sects of which there are seven. Let us hope they will not pass beyond this number. With a little more practical consideration, the number of periodicals might be restricted to three ; namely a paper for children, a weekly paper for general news and information, and a monthly review. "L'Amico de'Fanciulli" answers the first purpose ; twelve illustrated mag-

azines rival to fulfill the second; "*L'Italia Evangelica*" alone is generally read, and principally for this reason that it is not sectarian; and finally, the "*Rivista Cristiana*" for almost thirteen years tries to answer the third purpose. I remark here, that the "*Rivista Cristiana*" offers foreign readers the advantage of helping to awaken the study of the Italian Reformation of the 16th century, as it publishes documents of our archives, and, moreover, it does not fail to report on the condition of religious affairs in Italy.

Let us pass over to the books. They are almost all printed in the "*Tipographia Claudiana*" which was opened at Turin at the beginning of the missions and was so named in memory of Bishop Claudius. It was removed to Florence in 1861 and is now connected with the firm Salviati. It is controlled by a committee of the English tendency, but not in English spirit. According to their account of the year 1884, they had in twelve months printed 137,955 copies of books and tracts; 28,700 copies of the almanac, "*L'Amico di Casa*," 72,800 copies of the weekly "*l'Italia Evangelica*," 60,000 copies of the "*Amico dé Fanciulli*"; 11,700 copies of the "*Rivista Cristiana*" and had an income of 30,753 francs.

Among the books printed here, we find different editions of the Bible, works on biblical philology, archæology, introductions to the Holy Scriptures, works on hermeneutics, commentaries, histories of the Waldensian Church, dogmatics, ethics, apologetics, polemics and practical theology. Among these, quite a number are translations.



## ARTICLE VI.

## OBSTACLES TO LUTHERAN UNION.

By REV. G. H. GERBERDING, A. M., Fargo, Dak.

The subject of an organic union of the sadly separated and sometimes hostile factions of the Lutheran Church in the United States has of late been the subject of no little anxious thought and earnest prayer. Many, who bear the Lutheran name, have been looking forward hopefully to the coming together of our unhappily torn and severed household. And if all the varied nationalities and types of foreign Lutheranism cannot come together at present, then it is hoped that the American Lutheran Church, *i. e.* that part of it which uses the English language in her public service may become one.

That such a union is desirable, needs no argument. It would certainly minister to the satisfaction, peace and comfort of us all. It would certainly give us a standing and prestige in the sight of others, such as we never enjoyed. It would give us an influence and a power that would make themselves felt in every community where there is an English Lutheran church. But, better than all that, what a husbanding would it not be to our resources. What an increase in our working force. What abilities to spread out and enter the open doors that everywhere invite us. We need not stop to recount the advantages that would accrue to our Home and Foreign Mission work. Every thoughtful person who is at all conversant with the humiliating facts of our present rivalry and crippled work can see at a glance, that, could our whole English Lutheran Church work hand in hand and heart with heart, it would be as life from the dead.

And what a mission has not God given to the Mother Church of the Reformation in this new world! We firmly believe that God has laid on no other Church a work like that which he has laid on our hands. We believe that the mission which the Great Head of the Church has for the Mother of Protestants in this land is second only to the mission she had for Germany in

the 16th century. The whole land is open to us. In New England, the home of the Pilgrim Fathers, a bald and legalistic Puritanism has shown itself unable to hold its own children. Unbelief and misbelief of every kind have largely supplanted it. Hundreds of former "meeting houses" stand vacant, or are used for the dissemination of the vagaries of schismatics. And this whole region is lately filling up rapidly with the sturdy Scandinavians. They come with their *Norske* and *Swenska* Bibles, with Luther's Catechism and sermons. They are bringing in the ever fresh and new life of the old Gospel, as brought out by the great Reformation. We believe that if the Lutheran Church does her duty she will yet redeem New England, and infuse the new life of the pure old faith into its dreary intellectual wastes.

In the Middle and older Western states, the old synods are suddenly finding themselves confronted with an immense mission work at home. On every hand towns and cities are springing up, almost like in the west; and wherever a canvass is made, material found for Lutheran churches. And what shall we say of this mighty West! Of a domain that would make a score of empires! Of its individual states and territories that could hold and maintain the strongest nations of Europe on their soil! What shall we say of the unnumbered cities that are springing up as if by magic! Of its many great centres of population, doubling their inhabitants every three or five years! And nearly every school-district, village and city teeming with Lutherans! Many of them still speak and prefer their mother tongue. But in this enterprising, progressive and stimulating west they Americanize rapidly. The public school system, even in most of the territories, is in advance of the east. The children of foreign Lutherans attend these excellent schools. When through with them they almost unanimously prefer the English language. If they cannot find it in a Lutheran church, they find it elsewhere. Others are ready to offer, with a bribe thrown in, what we are too slow to give. But, enough. The heart of a lover of our Lutheran Zion grows faint and sick, when it contemplates what might be done and what should be done, and what is not done.

And is this a time for us to fritter away our strength, our means, and our time in unholy rivalries and sinful strife?



But, ardently as we desire, and fervently as we would pray for a union of our poor distracted Church, we would still deprecate an unrighteous and baseless alliance. *How can two walk together except they be agreed?* We would have the one *faith* and *baptism* as well as the one Lord. We would *contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints*. We believe there can be no permanent or profitable union unless it grow out of a unity of faith. Would such a union be possible? Why not? What should hinder it? We believe the following are some of the most serious

#### OBSTACLES TO A LUTHERAN UNION.

I. There are those who ask too much. They are *hyper-orthodox*. They out-Luther Luther. They are given to hair-splitting distinctions and unreasonable exactions. They belong to that school of heresy-hunters who discovered several hundred dangerous errors in Arndt's True Christianity, and who condemned Spener, Francke, and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Their Lutheranism consists largely in *deductions* from the confessions, and deductions from these deductions. They often judge a man's Lutheranism by the cut of the coat he preaches in, by the shape of the bread he administers or receives the communion in, by the motion of his hands in pronouncing the benediction, or by the architectural arrangement of the church he preaches in! And if forsooth one should carry the Lutheran doctrine into an un-Lutheran church, and preach it to a non-Lutheran congregation, they are ready to hold up their hands in holy horror! The part of the Augsburg Confession in which such Lutherans find most pleasure is in the *damnants*.

We simply ask, in passing, is this the type of Lutheranism that God, in His Providence, first planted in this land? Was this the Lutheranism of Muhlenberg and the Fathers?

Even if it were desirable to form a union on the basis of these extremists, it would be folly to ever expect the whole Church to be educated up to them. But they are an obstacle.

II. On the other hand we find a grievous obstacle in persons who call themselves Lutheran, but who have nothing Lutheran about them but the name. They openly and often bitterly re-

pudiate the distinguishing doctrines of the Church whose name they bear. Calling themselves by Luther's name they disseminate and defend the views of Zwingli and Karlstadt. Members of the Lutheran Church, they carry on their Church work after the pattern of Methodists and others. Shall we have a union on *their* basis? Is that the Lutheranism which God planted on our shores, by the Halle Fathers? Were they ashamed of the distinctive doctrines of their Church? Did they ever give them away? Are these distinctive doctrines unscriptural? Is there nothing about them worth contending for? Is the Lutheran system inferior to others? Has it nothing to glory in, over against other systems? Must we ever apologize for it and try to explain it away? If so the sooner we disband the better. Then it is a crying sin for us to keep up our separate and expensive organizations. To form a Lutheran union on the basis of such liberalists would certainly be suicidal. To contend for such a union is a serious obstacle to a true union.

III. Another very formidable obstacle to an understanding and a union we believe to be the personal grudges and animosities of leading men. During the heated discussions that culminated at and followed Fort Wayne many things were said that hurt keenly. There were personal encounters, charges, denials and counter charges, criminations and recriminations, victories and victims. As usual, the carnal weapons were often more apparent than the spiritual. Positions were taken, and there was often more concern for holding a position taken than for vindicating God's truth or furthering his cause. Wounded pride, heart-burnings, personal grievances and grudges were the inevitable result. The scars of those old wounds are not yet all healed. They still smart whenever they are touched. The *rabies theologorum* has left its bitterness behind. The memory of personal combat, and perhaps defeat, still lingers. Mention union to such battle-scarred warriors, and they quickly retort: "Union with whom? Do you think I could work in harness with Dr. So and So? No I cannot coöperate with such men. I do not wish to have anything to do with them." And so the poor Church must bleed and suffer and remain rent asunder to gratify the personal grudges and vanities of a few leaders! We verily



believe that if a general Diet could be held of *young* men, who have not been in the ministry longer than twelve or fifteen years, who have no personal wrongs to redress, no piques to avenge, or wounded pride to demand satisfaction, an organic union could speedily be arranged; and that too on a sound Lutheran basis. Why not have such a Diet called?

IV. Another serious obstacle to a union, we believe, exists in the lifeless formalism of many who claim to be very rigid Lutherans. They are exceedingly zealous for their extra-confessional points of doctrine. They are uncompromising sticklers for forms and ceremonies. They insist on a scrupulous observance of the external acts and duties of religion. But they are sadly negligent of the heart and life. Not that we would say one word against a diligent and scrupulous use of Church ordinances and sacraments. We believe that these are divinely ordained helps and means of grace. But there is such a thing as trusting in the outward act, regardless of the condition of heart. And it is a humiliating fact that in many of our churches the stress is laid on the externals, to the sad and perilous neglect of the internal. Repentance, conversion and holiness of heart and life are little insisted on. Profanity, drunkenness, saloon-keeping and other great and shameful sins may prevail. If only the *reine Lehre* is professed, the sacraments observed and the sects condemned! We believe that such pastors and churches are a fruitful source of loss to our Church, a disgrace to our name and a dangerous obstacle to peace and union.

V. Again. We find in certain quarters a false pride in consistency, an aversion to admitting a change of conviction. Conscientiousness, according to some, consists in never receding from a position once taken, and in never being convinced of being wrong. Such persons seem to think that a confession of having once been wrong, and of having learned better is humiliating and unmanly. Some of these persons drank in the rationalistic and unlutheran spirit that prevailed so generally a score or more of years ago. They do not seem to know that there has been a revival of the old faith, a coming back to the pure truth of the divine Word. They are terribly afraid of acknowledging that they and their teachers and colleagues have

entertained wrong views, and that some one else is more loyal to *all* that Christ has commanded. They deprecate all Diets or doctrinal discussions, lest it should be even intimated that their adherence to the confession is not correct. This false pride, in a stagnant consistency, this unwillingness to examine, to be convinced and to confess when convinced, is not the least drawback to an understanding and a union.

VI. Another hindrance is found in the great desire of many to stand well with the influential and popular churches around them. They are wonderfully afraid of being peculiar, they would not dare to differ from their respected neighbors. If the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church are repugnant to the churches around them, they keep them in the back-ground, if they do not openly repudiate them. These timeservers, more afraid of giving offence to the polite popular ear than of being disloyal to what God has revealed, more anxious to please man than to be true to the truth, either having no convictions of their own, or not having the courage of their convictions, are a stumbling block in the way of a sound Lutheran union. They would be more at home in one of those churches, in which every man can believe as he pleases, and where the ministers standard seems to be, not what do my people *need*, but what would they *like*.

VII. And still another drawback doubtless exists in the sectionalism of part of our church. There are some who seem to glory in, labor for and defend their own particular synod or organization far more than the Lutheran faith. If all could or would embrace and ever speak out the sentiments of Dr. Jacobs at the banquet of the Martin Luther Society in New York several months ago, what a different spirit would come over our Zion! Dr. Jacobs said: "What is the chief and in fact the only glory of our beloved Lutheran Church but the pure Gospel of the grace of God? What is it but that simple faith of the Gospel, set forth so clearly in our confessions, which when explained against misunderstandings, and defended against misrepresentations that have accumulated for centuries, satisfies so fully the longings of the human heart for peace with God, imparts, as nowhere else, the assurance of personal salvation through Christ's



merits ; and commends itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Every distinctive doctrine of her faith upon which the Lutheran Church insists, she prizes only because it belongs to that truth, through which alone the believer's daily communion with his Saviour is maintained.

Perish every institution of man's devising, call it 'General Council' 'General Synod' or what you please—however great the blessings which it has imparted in the past—provided the one faith of the Lutheran Church continue to be transmitted from generation to generation, until that glad day when faith shall yield to the blessed sight of that Lord in whose unseen communion we now walk and love made perfect shall kindle every eye and inspire every thought and word."

Let such devotion to the faith take the place of the prevalent sectionalism and an understanding will speedily come.

VIII. In conclusion we briefly mention one more obstacle to a speedy union. We find it in part of our Lutheran press. Is it not true that we have Lutheran church papers that often give unstinted praise to other churches, their institutions, spirit and men, and yet have little to say in defense of the faith and institutions of their own church? How rare it is to find an article in their columns setting forth and defending the distinctive doctrines of our church! The constant effort seems to be far more to please the other prominent churches, than to establish and build up our own. They have much to say in favor of a union of all denominations but scarcely a word in favor of a union of Lutherans. They seem to aim at killing all efforts in that direction by an ominous silence. Our church is suffering, in some parts, from an inefficient, disloyal and sectional press.

We close with the words of Dr. Wolf, in his address on Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg:

"Muhlenberg was an instrument of divine Providence as unmistakably as was Martin Luther. All part and divisions of the Lutheran Church in this country gratefully acknowledge this and rejoice over it. And there can be little doubt that by all accepting his teachings, adopting his measures, and cherishing his

spirit, we might not only come again under one banner but follow Christ in one mighty body. For this let all be praying. Amen."

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## ARTICLE VII.

### LUTHER'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

By REV. J. C. F. RUPP, A. M., Zelienople, Pa.

If it is true, as Carlyle says, that the condition of the world is the practical realization and embodiment of the thought that dwells in its great men, and that the soul of history is the history of these; then, surely, the Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century is the soul of modern history. For, henceforth, the genius of history is imbued with Luther's spirit and personifies his thought. The French historian, M. Guizot, compendiously calls the Reformation the trunk from which branches out all subsequent history. That, in brief, expresses Luther's relation to the individual elements of modern civilization: not so much the development of new principles as the statement of old truths in new relations. His place in history is rather the measure of his potent influence in the religious and civil world, than a definite circumscribed spot on a historical background whose limits, are being constantly narrowed by the lengthening perspective of receding ages. It is rather the widening influence of the oasis whose exuberant fertility and richness is gradually encroaching upon and reclaiming the surrounding desert. History is the record of the religious and intellectual struggles and triumphs of humanity. Such was the sphere of Luther's influence, not temporary but permanent, not a fixed locality but a growing power.

Circumstances had much to do in determining Luther's place in history. For all the ages contribute their part to the final perfection of the Church's life, but then had arisen a crisis in her history similar to the crises produced by the influence of the early heathen and the mediæval skeptical philosophy. This decisive hour was occasioned by the downfall of Constantinople which caused in the consequent revival of learning the first



blush of the new intellectual morning. It was an event which apparently threatened the existence of the oldest, the Greek, type of Christianity, but was in reality the seeding whose harvest will be a new ingathering. It was only one of the direct causes of a general awakening, only one of many providential movements in human life and progress that mark the beginnings of Luther's work. There were other elements in the divine alembic, all of which in the fulness of time were fused into one mass. He was the alchemist or means, perhaps, at the risk of mixing figures, I may venture to call him the prism or burning-glass by which the searching and intense light and heat of God's word were concentrated upon the ingredients of the human solution. This grand climacteric was preceded by the slow accumulation and development of ages. But there are disturbing influences that foretell every catastrophe in the natural world, although the fatal consequences, in the crises, may be as unexpected as the Charleston and Rivera earthquakes. In the same way, like secondary causes, but falling far short of their complete consummation, different pre-reformatory movements which were necessary to its successful issue, ushered in the Reformation era. These were the flashes indicative of the gathering storm. They were evidences of a power which, when it is intelligently used, is irresistible. They were the necessary beacons blazing up to arouse the yet unappreciative masses of humanity, and to forewarn and prepare the divinely commissioned movers of the still latent energy. The genius of life became keenly responsive to its new instincts. When aroused from its deathlike stupor it found active employment, on one hand, in extended commerce and discovery, while, on the other, it was broadened in culture by the renewal of learning. In this sense Luther became the creature of circumstances, like Aeneas, the *quorum pars magna*. He was thus given deeper consciousness, warmer sympathies, keener insight, and larger outlook,—an unquestionably divine commission for the most decisive work in the Church's history.

In the second place, we must not overlook the character of the Church itself,—which was so important a factor—in determining Luther's place. There were in it many elements hostile

to the principles of Christianity, nevertheless it was a natural sequence of preëxisting conditions. Its Latin character was engrafted upon the forms of Germanic life and thought. This was in itself an incongruity and no indifferent element in determining the final result of Luther's work. Latin Christianity grew out of the ruins of an ancient civilization whose leading characteristics it assimilated. In Italy and Spain, and measurably so in France, the Gothic and Frankish and other invaders adopted the forms of civilization already existing in their several provinces, and became also Latin Christians. In Germany, however, so far as the national idea obtained, the Latin type of Christianity was grafted upon a civilization more or less native, and Germanic in its spirit. In all the Romance countries the invading barbarians adopted also the Latin tongue, whilst in Germany the people retained in its purity their native language. But Latin Christianity everywhere carries with it the leading characteristics of its adopted civilization and customs. By external richness and pomp it seeks to win the affection and loyalty of the people, and in its characteristic Roman imperialism it demands absolute submission to its authority. Such were the characteristics of the mediæval Church as described in *The Marble Prophecy*:

“The godlike liberty wherewith the Christ  
Had made His people free she stole from them,  
And made them slaves to new observances.  
She sucked the juice  
Of all prosperities within her realms  
Until her gaudy temples blazed with gold  
And from a thousand altars flashed the fire  
Of precious gems. To win her countless wealth  
She sold as merchandise the gift of God.”

Thus we see a foreign growth and development fixed upon German life, for even the secular authority seemed to be enlisted in the Church's service. But whilst there was full harmony in all external requirements, there were also buried deep in Christian life and consciousness hidden forces which were destined to rend the Church asunder.

In determining Luther's place in history there is another element of importance equal to the character of the Church and to



the stupendous events of the preceding epoch. It is his personality as seen in his character and in his qualifications. Luther was a self-conscious agent in directing the forces in this providential work. It was a revival in religious life akin to the renaissance in learning and every human industry. The moral courage which enabled him to make a good confession of faith by publicly defending his convictions is the germ whose growth and development have produced the very best facts in the structure of modern civilization. Whilst, on one hand, we must carefully guard against the exclusion of all human agency in this divine work, we must as carefully avoid the opposite extreme. We may no more regard this revival of religious life as exclusively Luther's work than we can regard successful evangelistic work in our large cities the exclusive work of D. L. Moody or Dr. Pentecost. God does use human instrumentality and human means. In many respects Luther was such an evangelist to the Church. His personal qualifications were a necessary requisite and of almost paramount importance, but they were only the means of transmitting God's word, which is the only efficient moving principle in all evangelistic work. This we teach who regard Luther as the agent under God to remove the veil from the brightness of Christianity, to vindicate free thought and liberty of conscience, and to re-establish the supreme authority of the divine word.

Luther was an architect. His design was drawn in the spirit of God's word from the models of great masters and it combined in perfect symmetry the cardinal ideas of their majestic cathedrals built of living stones into a beautiful temple to the Most High. The same duality obtains here to which everything in Christian life and doctrine conforms. The Divine Founder of the Church is of two-fold nature, God and man; the Church itself and the Word on which it is built are both divine and human. Christian life is the effect of divine grace communicated thereby through human personality, and the Reformation which has been called a full-page illustration of Christian life and experience was brought about by God's word through Luther's work. For it was the animating principle and the prime motor of his work. He wove into the fabric of Christian life and ex-

perience no new threads, but simply restored its primary colors and original designs. He directed the eyes of the world to the Life which is the Light of the world, and after the fashion of this Life and in the glory of this Light, which shines through the midnight of the dark ages, was reared a new building of Christian and Church life and activity, and Bible doctrine, on the old foundation of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

Luther's place in history is best measured by his influence in "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father." There lingered in the heart of true religion an earnest longing for the pure word of life, and the consequent and no less accurate recognition of abuses. Thus again the word was the vital power of the Reformation. Whilst it was apparently latent, as in a mass of fuel, it was speedily kindled when induced by the divine power in Luther's work. Its influence on Luther's life is well known. In the words of a distinguished divine: "that Book was to him the thing of beauty of his life, the joy of his soul forever." It was incorporated into his being and it pictured in his experience the whole period of the Reformation. It made him first a Christian, then a Reformer.

So it was the Spirit of Christ through his word, not Luther, nor the age, that was the efficient vitalizing cause of the Reformation. He found in the word of life, righteousness by faith alone and thereby he anchored his soul to Christ, the rock of his salvation. The word became first the substance and reality of his faith, then his rule of authority. But there was no revolution in his mind, only a reformation, a work progressive but gradual. He appealed from the Pope to a council and finally at Worms rested his faith only on the everlasting word.

These are some of the boundary lines of Luther's place in history. They are sufficient to give him a local habitation and a name in the great commonwealth of human destiny. What are some of the permanent results of his work included within these limits of "the land o' the leal?"

One grand result was the gaining for religion an acknowledgment of its true relation to the state. Mark the treaty of Passau which, as stipulated in the peace of Augsburg, secured for Lutheranism amnesty, equal rights and universal peace. The



next advance included all Protestants in the enjoyment of these privileges, when, after the thirty years' war had desolated all Europe, almost on the centenary of the Augsburg Confession, differences in religion ceased to be justifiable causes of war, and liberty of conscience and freedom of judgment were adjudged worthy of place in public morals and political ethics.

But Luther's place is less political than social. He made religion more than a spectacle, or a series of splendid ceremonies. It is now the spring of life and is carried over into every phase of intellectual activity. Christianity, Ruskin beautifully says, is the heart of all that is best and truest and most nobly human and most spiritual in modern art. This is eminently true not only of art, but rather of every form and variety of art. Where have the liberal arts attained a more perfect development than when fostered by the kindly principles of the Reformation? It has transformed the spirit of literature, has cultivated the beauty and grace of sacred song, and perfected the most thorough systems of Christian education. The Germanic characteristic of personal liberty and individualism has, in large measure, penetrated wherever the Reformation has been felt; as it was an impulse to further the Reformation, so it has been a powerful incentive to make religion a personal, material interest with all classes. It grounded religious knowledge upon the only source and one rule of faith, it has revived religion and made it real over against storms of skepticism, and has aroused the Church to a deeper and active consciousness of self and duty.

In short, we see in Luther's place and work his own life and unswerving loyalty to God and principle. Perhaps the fittest description of Luther's *place* is found in these words of Carlyle: "In all epochs of the world's history, we find the great man to have been the savior of his epoch: the spiritual lightning without which the fuel never would have burned. The history of the world, I said already, was the biography of great men." The power of this *place* and *work* is thus described by Dr. Krauth: "Four potentates ruled the mind of Europe in the Reformation, the Emperor, Erasmus, the Pope, and Luther. The Pope wanes, Erasmus is little, the Emperor is nothing, but Luther abides as a power for all time. His image casts itself

upon the current of ages, as the mountain mirrors itself in the river that winds at its foot—the mighty fixing itself immutably upon the changing.”

## GERMAN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THEOLOGICAL.—*Religion nach dem Neuen Testament* mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss des Sittlichen und Religiösen und auf das Mystische in der Religion. Jul. Köstlin. pp. 102. Gotha. An able contribution to the Ritschl Controversy. Third edition of Thomasius' great work: *Christi Person und Werk*. Darstellung der evangelisch luther. Dogmatik vom Mittelpunkte der Christologie aus. Edited by F. J. Winter. II. (closing) Vol. pp. 622. Erlangen. *Grundriss der Symbolik* für Vorlesungen. Dr. G. Plitt. 2d Edition. pp. 184. Erlangen. *Grundriss der Protestantischen Religionslehre*. Dr. Paul Melhorn. 2. Revised Edition. pp. 55. Leipsic. *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit. Lic. W. Baldensperger. pp. 193. Strassburg. *Zum Entscheidungskampf um den Christlichen Glauben* in der Gegenwart. Ein Wort an die Suchenden unter Deutschland's Gebildeten. Karl. Wilh. Ziegler. pp. 252. Tübingen.

BIBLICAL.—Cremer's *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch* der neutestamentlichen Gräcität. 5th Edition. pp. 922. Gotha. A standard Lexicon, invaluable to biblical students. *Der Prophet Jesaia erläutert*. Prof. Dr. C. J. Bredenkamp. 2. u. 3. Lfg. pp. 85–387. Erlangen. *Wissenschaftlicher und practischer Commentar über den 1. Petrusbrief*. Part. II. Pfr. J. M. Usteri. pp. 349. Zürich. Excellent. *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemiah und Ester*. Prof. E. Bertheau. 2d edition edited by Prof. Vict. Ryssel. pp. 446. Leipsic. Reuss' *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments* has appeared in the 6th enlarged and improved edition. pp. 686. Braunschweig. *Das Hohelied* in seiner Einheit und dramatischen Gliederung mit Uebersetzung und Beigaben. Dr. Joh. Gust. Stickel. pp. 187. Berlin. *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*. Eine historische Untersuchung für die Gebildeten. E. G. Steude. pp. 132. Leipzig. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ausgelegt. Dr. Gust. Fred. Wahle. pp. 714. Gotha.

HISTORICAL.—*Das Urchristenthum*, seine Schriften und Lehren, in geschichtl. Zusammenhang beschrieben. O. Pfeiderer. pp. 891. Berlin. *Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*. Dr. W. Gass. Vol. II. 2 parts, pp. 372, 368. Berlin. *Die lutherische Kanzel*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Religion, Politik u. Cultur im 17 Jahrh. J. Diefenbach. pp. 208. Mayence. Second edition of Thomasius' unsurpassed work on *Die christliche Dogmengeschichte* edited by Profs. Bonwetsch and



Seeberg of Dorpat. Vol. I. Die Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche. Periode der Patristik. pp. 620. Erlangen. *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland* von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des 14. Jahrhunderts. Dr. Anton Linsenmayer. pp. 490. Munich. Kurtz's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende* has appeared in the 10th edition. Four parts in three Vols. pp. 363, 348, 353, 351. Leipsic. *Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus im 15. Jahrhundert*. C. A. Wilkens. pp. 259. Gütersloh. *Das Symbol des Fisches* und die Fischendenkmäler der römischen Katakomben. H. Achelis. pp. 111. Marburg. *Abriss einer Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche* auf dem europäischen Festlande im 19 Jahr. 2 wesentlich verb. Aufl. A. Zahn. pp. 254. Stuttgart. *Urkundenfunde zur Geschichte des christlichen Alterthums*. Dr. G. V. Lechler. pp. 80. Leipsic. *Das Leben Jesu*. In two volumes. 3d ed. Vol. I. B. Weiss. pp. 539. Berlin.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Luther's Anschauungen vom christlichen Gottesdienst und seine thatsächliche Reform desselben*. Prof. Dr. John Gottschick. pp. 81. Freiburg i. Br. *Ueber Moralpredigten*, ihre Berechtigung, Zweckmässigkeit, und rechte Beschaffenheit. Homiletische Studien und Erwägungen, den Mitarbeitern im Predigamt vorgelegt. Past. Dr. Gust. Schulze. pp. 108. Leipsic. Abounding in wholesome counsels and suggestions. *Das Leben der Christen ein Gottesdienst*. Essay, zu Nutz and Frommen der christlichen Gesellschaft verfasst. Past. Wilh. Tiling. pp. 170. Riga. *Predigtentwürfe* Schleiermacher's, aus dem Jahr 1800. Edited by Past. Dr. Friedr. Zimmer. 51 selections. pp. 75. Gotha. Palmer's *Evangelische Homiletik*. 6th ed. revised by Lic. O. Kirn. pp. 569. Stuttgart. *Die Antike Ethik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, als Einleitung in die Geschichte der christlichen Moral dargestellt. Dr. Chr. Ernst Luthardt. pp. 187. Leipsic.

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## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

### I.—BIBLICAL.

*The Book of Job*, (According to the Version of 1885.) With an Expository and Practical Commentary, Enriched with illustrations from some of the most Eminent Modern Expositors, and a Critical Introduction. By Daniel Curry, D. D., LL. D. pp. 302. \$2.00. New York: Phillips and Hunt.

Of making many Commentaries there is no end, but as long as a mind like Dr. Curry's pursues the method followed in this work, that of combining and adapting to the needs of intelligent readers who are not specialists, the best results of modern criticism and exegesis, there

is no danger of having too many. There is no striving here after originality, no parade of the author's learning, no bewildering exhibit of diverse and conflicting interpretations, no labored effort to add to the sum of learned exposition, but there is manifest a supreme aim to furnish an expository key to this book of Holy Writ, which more than any other portion of Scripture has suffered from mistranslation and faulty and false exegesis, and to enable biblical students who are dependent on their vernacular English, to interpret correctly the teachings of this profound Hebrew poem.

The scholars most deferred to by the author are Delitzsch and Davidson. Their theory of the unhistorical, didactic and dramatic character of the book is substantially accepted, and its expositions as to its details and as a whole have been made under the influence of such ideas, although the practical results are but little affected by the question respecting the historical, legendary or simply fictitious nature of the narrative portions. "Upon a slight and scanty framework of narrated incidents are here suspended some of the most profound truths respecting God's justice and mercy." "As an abundantly authenticated portion of the sacred volume, the Book of Job must be accepted and treated as a revelation from heaven, teaching lessons that transcend the limits of reason, and showing the way by which men may please God and secure his blessings." Its right interpretation is made to rest upon "its vital relations to the great system of divine revelation and to Christ himself, the central figure of that system." Its unmistakable Christological character is accordingly recognized, without assuming "such definite references to the accidents as distinguished from the essentials of Christ's kingdom as we may look for and find in the specifically prophetic Scriptures." "Its typology is not very closely related to either the historical facts or the instituted ordinances of the Church, in either its Levitical or Christian development, and its Christology is of the spirit and not of the letter." "Even the great truths of mediation, and of redemption by price, and of the future life, though not wholly absent, are here presented only dimly, and without either explicit declarations or definite outlines." Neither the visions of Isaiah nor the clear sunlight of the gospels should "be foisted" into the faithful interpretation of the Book of Job.

A clear illustration of these considerations is afforded in the exposition of the familiar and greatly misunderstood passage, chap. 19: 25-27, "I know that my redeemer liveth, &c.," an exposition which also exemplifies the masterful exegetical tact, clear insight and sound, conservative judgment of Dr. Curry. The authorized version here confessedly reads into the sacred text a sentiment which the original entirely fails to sustain. The translation of the revisers is accepted as coming "as near to being entirely satisfactory as the case will admit of," and the



modification of the American Committee is regarded as "not contradictory to that in the text, but as giving its more precise meaning."

"There is perhaps some element of truth in the traditional interpretation of this passage, notwithstanding the violence that it does to the text. The whole book is, like all other parts of the Old Testament, full of the Christian element, but its Christology is indirect and in some sense occult. Some of its passages may even seem to be unconscious prophecies of the future Redeemer—the GOEL of the whole race of mankind. God here appears in his twofold character and relations, the Vindicator of his own law and the Redeemer of his people—and Job's appeal is from the former to the latter. And when he thought that his death was inevitable he still believed that, after his body should be destroyed, God would yet appear to vindicate him."

This Commentary will undoubtedly be recognized as a real contribution to biblical science and scholars have great reason to regret that they cannot expect other volumes to issue from the same source. To the great loss of the Church here Dr. Curry has been called to the Church above.

*Das Alte Testament bei Johannes.* Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung und Beurtheilung der johanneischen Schriften Von Lic. A. H. Franke. Privat-docent in Halle. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht's Verlag. 1885.

This volume treats critically and thoroughly the central issue of the Johannine question, namely, the authenticity of the fourth gospel. The attacks made on this gospel within the last decade, under the leadership of the Tübingen school of Baur, proceed from the premises that more or less this gospel is anti-Judaistic and antagonizes the Old Testament as a divine revelation. This problem it is which Franke investigates, with the conclusion, that a fair examination of the contents of this gospel does not admit of this judgment, and that accordingly there is no need of placing its date at the close of the second Christian century, when really such an anti-Judaistic tendency prevailed in some sections of the Church.

In the method and manner in which this intricate and important critical problem is elucidated, Franke evinces the spirit of typical German specialism. His materials have been carefully collected, carefully sifted and utilized. Even if the reader cannot in every case accept the conclusions offered, yet he cannot but be grateful for the wealth of materials for further study and research which this volume gives him. It is one of those useful manuals which enables the student to form an independent judgment in regard to the problems under discussion.

*The Psalms in English Verse.* By Abraham Coles, M. D., LL. D. pp. 296 with 68 pp. of Notes, Critical, Historical and Biographical, in-

cluding an Historical sketch of the French, English and Scotch metrical Versions. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

Dr. Coles is already favorably known by his "Dies Irae," *In Thirteen Original Versions*, and by his translations of famous Latin Hymns under the title "Old Gems in New Settings."

The introduction to this present work is well-written and is crowded with historical data. The book is well worth having for this rich collection of notes.

When we come to the metrical portion, we cannot speak so confidently. There is versatility of talent, easy and flowing rhythm, but failure to reproduce the strength and beauty of the Hebrew. Over and over again accuracy is surrendered to the exactions of rhythm. It is probable that it may be necessary, but it is not satisfactory. A confused difficulty has always been conceded in the translation of poems from one language to another. Even Longfellow often fails to worthily reproduce in English the Italian of Dante. The Hebrew offers greater difficulty and in these metrical translations its rugged strength and axiomatic brevity are sacrificed for melodious smoothness and "linked sweetness long drawn out." To those who desire the Psalms in English verse there is offered no better version than that which is here presented. The author, under the limitations above, has placed the lovers of the Psalms in this form under a debt of gratitude.

*The Book of Genesis.* By Marcus Dods, D. D., Author of "Israel's Iron Age," "The Parables of our Lord," etc. 8vo. pp. 445.

*The First Book of Samuel.* By the Rev. Professor W. G. Blaikie, D. D., LL. D. 8vo. pp. 440.

*The Gospel according to St. Mark.* By the Very Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D. D., Dean of Armagh, Author of "Christ Bearing Witness to Himself," etc. 8vo. pp. 446.

The April issue of the QUARTERLY contained a notice of the "Expositor's Bible," edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, reprinted by A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York, and on sale by the J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. Three more volumes of the series are now before us, illustrating not only the promptness of the publishers but the meritorious character of this contribution to our expository literature. Notwithstanding our high estimate of the standard critical commentaries, it is really refreshing to exchange them sometimes for a work like this, which with great force gives the marrow of the sacred oracles, instead of the minute and dreary disquisitions of grammar, philology, textual criticism and allied subjects. These very often do not minister to edification any more than the study of mathematics or of Sanscrit, while the series of Expository Lectures now appearing aims at employing the Scriptures for the practical ends of life and salvation. It is



not behind modern scholarship, but it is essentially popular in style and adapted to the home library of the general reader as well as to the bookshelves of the clergy.

In the Book of Genesis Dr. Dods expatiates on the salient themes of Creation, The Fall, Cain and Abel, The Flood, and so on to the Blessing of the Tribes in the closing chapter, and disposes of the difficulties that have arisen in connection with the interpretation of those earliest records in a way that fastens their spiritual truths in the mind while the reader forgets the technical questions that have been raised. This is a master stroke of biblical exposition. The Bible is something more than a museum of antiquities. It is still to supply light and life to the world.

Prof. Blaikie is always fresh and strong. His volume on I. Samuel in this series (another on II. Samuel will follow shortly) will rank as one of the best products of his prolific pen. Combining a thorough mastery of the historical contents of Samuel with orthodox views and an evangelical spirit, he keeps his eye on the every-day aspects of life and makes a cogent application of the sacred narrative to our present wants and duties. The preacher rather than the commentator appears to be speaking, or better it is the voice of the preacher expounding Scripture, and this volume like the others of the series is really a succession of expository discourses, rich in thought, clothed in a delightful style and marked by direct and pungent address. It would be hard to find a better model of expository preaching, and that is the kind of preaching most needed in the present period.

All this is true likewise of Dean Chadwick's Lectures on Mark, where our admiration is divided between the author's clear insight into the truth and the brilliant eloquence with which he enforces it upon his readers. We can wish for nothing more than that the volumes yet to appear will come up to the high mark which has been set by the four volumes already issued. We see room for just such a work and the different authors to whom the volumes have been respectively assigned show thus far an instructive appreciation of those features which will make the publication a success. And the publishers are not to be outdone by the authors. The heavy white paper, clear and full-faced type and handsome binding add no little to the attractiveness and value of the series which we predict will have a wide-spread demand alike from laity and clergy.

*What is the Bible?* An Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Testaments in the light of Modern Biblical Study. By George T. Ladd, D. D. Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. pp. 497. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Over and over again, as the author truly says, has it been falsely and foolishly declared that faith would totter and fall if certain scientific and critical conclusions, imagined to be antagonistic to the Bible, should

be established. But the right distinction between the truth of the Bible and the truth of certain theories about the Bible will, in all such cases, finally establish itself. Indeed, no other proof of the inspiration of Holy Scripture is on the whole more impressive than just this wonderful power of adapting its important claims to all the developments of human knowledge. And the Church owes a large debt of gratitude to scholars like Dr. Ladd, who combine with advanced learning the independence and courage to maintain that the assured results of modern biblical science are not incompatible with faith in the Bible as the only authentic and sufficient source of saving truth.

The author's elaborate and exhaustive work on "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture" is not unknown to our readers. That is a work for specialists. The volume before us now presents the conclusions of that treatise in a form better adapted to the wants of the multitude of readers of the English Bible. It is a popular answer to the inquiries which have occupied the scholarship of the age concerning the origin and nature of the Bible.

The purpose of this book is professedly apologetic. We have no doubt that it is written in the interest of the faith, and that to many it will prove a tonic. Yet others again, drinking in unwisely or immaturely some of its teachings, will doubtless grow weaker under it. This is perhaps inevitable. These subjects have to be met, the perversion of certain theories must be forestalled, the reconciliation of new truths with old ones must be effected, and though a reverent and conservative writer like Dr. Ladd is all the time guarding his readers against wrong inferences, teaching them carefully to discriminate, and pointing out avenues of escape from confessed difficulties, yet the not infrequent readiness to yield to doubt where religious difficulties arise can hardly be provided against by the most judicious discussion.

The spirit and trend of this work, which maintains substantially the conclusions of the larger work published five years ago, are fully brought out in the chapter on Miracles.

A miracle is a species of the supernatural; it is a particular mode of the manifestation of Himself, which God makes in external nature to the mind of man. Such revelation implies that something takes place by the act of God, outside of the human mind, which is designed and adapted to make the divine nature and work known to man. But it also implies that a spiritual process of apprehending the meaning of what thus takes place externally, goes on in the mind itself. Revelation cannot be a mechanical process; it cannot be a kind of carrying over ready-made the truths of one mind to the mind of another.

The Bible never represents its miraculous occurrences as though they came about in an absolutely supernatural or wholly arbitrary way. Even miracles are always limited by conditions derived from nature. The conception of the miracle which seems to be required by the teaching



of both the Old and New Testaments includes three elements: 1. A miracle is *not* an event of ordinary experience. 2. It *is* the product of God's immediate presence and activity. 3. It is a *sign*, proof or reminder to men which has a moral and religious significance. Biblical miracles are factors in that system of divine self-revelation, which it is the chief function of the Bible to record, perpetuate, explain and apply. They are organically connected with the process of divine revelation. They have a moral significance and sustain relations of the greatest interest and value to the development of the kingdom of God.

There can be no doubt, says the author, that Jesus claimed to work miracles. And this to him as to all Christian believers is final. Nor can a truly *miraculous* character be denied to those cures of the sick which he performed almost daily. The miraculous element is inseparable from the gospel. The supernatural personality of Christ is itself the most stupendous central miracle of the New Testament revelation. This indestructible centre forms accordingly the starting point for examining the evidence for the other biblical miracles. They are to be regarded in the light of the relation they sustain to the entire self-revelation of God as the Redeemer of man, and it is claimed that whatever may be the fate of such Old-Testament narratives, the firm centre of truth about the person and work of Jesus is not in the least disturbed.

This may be so, but the author does not demonstrate it. If that ax did not swim, if Samson did not possess miraculous strength, if Jonah is a myth, it may easily be said "these questions do not *essentially* concern our faith in Christ," but if this be so, an author of Dr. Ladd's ability ought to be able to make it perfectly clear to his readers.

If the authors of the Old Testament books put on record a series of fabulous stories, what becomes of their inspiration. And if inspiration is not infallibility and does not claim to guarantee "infallibility of any kind," what is the value of it? If "*specifically* considered, it is the same illumining, quickening, elevating and purifying work which goes on in the entire community of believing souls," if "every Christian is inspired," why should we put implicit faith in the writings of the prophets or the apostles any more than in the clever productions of Dr. Ladd?

It occurs to us that our author in common with many others fails to make proper distinctions when he speaks of Luther's position on the infallibility of the Scriptures. That Luther doubted the canonicity of certain books is known to every student of history, but that he ever in the least degree impugned the trustworthiness of any portion of Scripture which he believed to be the product of inspiration, we have never discovered anywhere. A question of Canon ought not to be confounded with one of Inspiration.

We feel constrained also to question the statement, p. 412, that "just so far as the writers of the history appreciate the meaning of what they record, their record becomes something more than a mere record of the

history of revelation ; it becomes itself a revelation." That the organs of revelation comprehended at the time the significance of what they were writing, is a statement not only in direct conflict with 1 Pet. 1 : 10-12, but wholly incompatible with the principle of a progressive development in revelation. The testimony of the prophets far transcended their individual consciousness. They builded better than they knew.

We have found this volume one of absorbing interest, but we are confident and glad that it is not the final work to be spoken on its momentous theme.

*The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration* Explained and Vindicated. By Basil Manly, D. D., LL. D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. With complete Indexes. pp. 266. 12mo. Cloth, \$1.25. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

To pass from Dr. Ladd's work noticed above to the volume in hand is like a sudden change of climate to a traveler. The atmosphere is charged with quite different elements. Dr. Miley is a staunch representative of the old view, which Dr. Ladd's learned volumes are intended to overthrow. His position is that the Bible is truly the word of God, having both infallible truth and divine authority in all that it affirms or enjoins. He presents clearly and fairly the various counter views of the more lax or liberal schools of thought, but his own thinking has evidently not in the least been affected by them.

The work is characterized by simplicity of analysis and careful distinctions and will be welcomed as a brief and lucid, if not exhaustive summary of the views on Inspiration held by the most representative of American and European schools. The author's view is given more fully in the form of negative statements of the doctrine, and he in fact declines to offer any theory of Inspiration. "The question is one of fact, not of theory. The Scriptures omit to give any theory, any account of the mode of inspiration, any explanation of the phenomenon. They assert it as a fact; they do not tell how it was accomplished. Upon the supposition that it is supernatural, it is impossible that there should be any legitimate or adequate theory of it devised by human intellect." Every supernatural phenomenon is above explanation, and both revelation and inspiration are such, just as really as the multiplication of the five loaves, or the turning of the water into wine.

The Proofs of Inspiration and the Objections to it form the burden of the volume, and they are handled with learning, skill and force.

The printer's part in this book is exceptionally good. In fact the publications of the Armstrongs generally excel in this feature.

*The Law and Limitation of Our Lord's Miracles.* A Semi-Centennial Discourse delivered before the Central New York Conference of the



M. E. Church, Oct. 11, 1887. By Daniel Dana Buck, D. D. pp. 76. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Rarely has so much truth been compressed into so small a compass as in this discourse, the basis for which is Mark 6 : 5, "And he could there do no mighty work," &c.

At Nazareth the energies of the infinite seemed to be fettered. Something in the finite successfully withstood the infinite. The less overcame the greater. What means the "could not" that successfully hindered the outgoings of divine mercy? Does it still exist anywhere? Is unbelief in these days as effectually fatal as it was in those days? This finite hindrance must be moral in its development. It does not change the disposition of divinity, nor does it overpower almightiness. It must be a moral impediment originating with men and fatally affecting relative conditions. The "could not" is that of unsuitableness; the impossibility of impropriety.

The impediment is of such a nature, and the conditions affected by it of such a kind, that to interfere by a forceful removal of the impediment, or an irresistible alteration of relative conditions, would involve still greater impropriety, and in its ultimate effects would be less beneficial to mankind than to let things remain as they are.

Solid and suggestive material like this characterizes the sermon throughout.

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## II. THEOLOGICAL.

*The System of Theology* contained in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Opened and Explained. Part I. Belief Concerning God. By Rev. A. A. Hodge, D. D. Part II., Duty Required of Man. By J. Aspinwall Hodge, D. D. pp. 190 New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Theology is not yet obsolete. And the Catechism where for a time it seemed to be discarded is again claiming its place as a powerful agency for Christian instruction. There is, indeed, an increasing desire to know what are the doctrines of Christianity as revealed in the word of God. Laymen, as well as ministers, are recognizing the necessity of having clear views of God's plan of salvation, and of being able to impart them to others. It was to quicken and satisfy this demand, to popularize theology, that this volume was prepared. And no one more suitable for such task could have been found in our country than the lamented Dr. A. A. Hodge, who combined a thorough mastery of the doctrines of salvation with an uncommon talent for setting them forth in a popular and attractive form.

His sudden death left the work incomplete and Part I. alone is from his pen. His cousin has carried his plan in Part II., and so far as we

have examined it he falls but little below his distinguished kinsman in clear analysis and lucid statement.

The appearance of this work is most timely. A dearth of this kind of literature has been followed naturally by theological leanness and it is time that we once more have some solid food and that in a digestible form.

There is no occasion for shunning this volume on the ground of denominationalism. It is worthy of a cordial reception by all denominations—for, of course, no book is published whose teachings are in every point expected to be universally acceptable. Our readers, we are confident, will find this exposition of a historic catechism exceptionally helpful, and they will be surprised to see how closely a large proportion of its teachings corresponds with and confirms their own views. A sounder, fuller, clearer exhibition of the doctrine of justification they would look for vainly in the copious literature of Lutheran Dogmatics.

A Calvinistic author who takes pains to-day to remind his readers that the word "exhibit" used in connection with the doctrine of the Sacraments in the Confession of Faith and in the Larger Catechism is from the Latin *exhibere* meaning "to administer, confer, or apply," who defines the efficacy of the sacraments as "their ability to communicate to us Christ and the benefits of redemption," and who specifies regeneration and sanctification as the benefits of baptism, is not likely to prove on many points an unsafe teacher to those of the Lutheran household of faith. The discussion of the Lord's Supper is of course far from satisfactory—it takes Zwinglian ground rather than Calvinistic. The wine used in the Passover and at the institution of the Supper it is claimed was the fermented juice of the grape and "we are not at liberty to substitute any other liquid for wine in this ordinance."

*The Religious Aspect of Evolution.* The Bedell Lectures, 1887. By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D. President of Princeton College. 4to. pp. 109. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Dr. McCosh possesses the reverence and faith of a theologian along with the freedom and progressiveness of a scientist, and one cannot read this little volume without getting a good deal both of science and of theology. What is especially commendable is that the two provinces are clearly distinguished, and the author with a master's devotion to both is careful to show what questions are reserved for science to settle and what are the proper problems for theology.

Dr. McCosh, it is well known, accepts the general theory of evolution. He has no objection to "the primordial kinship of all organisms." The appearance of man is not altogether an anomaly, an exception to universal evolution, albeit "a creation of something new." "It is one of a series the highest of the series." To the question whether man's body has come from a brute, this eminent and honest thinker modestly an-



swers "I know not. I believe in revelation, I believe in science, but neither has revealed this to me; and I restrain the weak curiosity which would tempt me to inquire into what cannot be known. Meanwhile I am sure, and I assert, that man's soul is of a higher origin and of a nobler type."

No one laying any claims in our day to intelligence can content himself with total ignorance on the great question of evolution and we know of no work that can more safely be commended to general readers than this reverent, lucid, conservative, and very entertaining discussion.

*The Unity of the Truth in Christianity and Evolution.* By J. Max Hark, D. D. pp. 290. New York: J. B. Alden.

It will be observed at once by the title that this volume is kin to the one from Dr. McCosh just noticed. Not only the subject but the positions are to some extent identical. The author does not enjoy the fame of the great ex-President of Princeton, and he does not speak with the authority which goes with the work of a writer whose ability and learning are universally recognized. But he has written a very readable book and one that gives evidence of sufficient acquaintance with specialists to point out both their undoubted results and their notable inconsistencies. As a specimen of the latter it is quite interesting to see him show up Huxley, Tyndal and Darwin maintaining on the one hand that "nothing farther can be known of the Ultimate Reality than that it exists," and on the other hand ascribing various attributes to the Unknown. The Great Unknown is after all "known as a cause." It is defined as "in every sense perfect, complete, total," almighty—"including within itself all power," eternal and omnipresent—"we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this power."

Dr. Hark holds that atheism and materialism are forever rendered impossible by Evolution, that Evolution is inconsistent with agnosticism and that the Evolutionist and the Christian can alike believe. That the tenets of Evolution and the doctrines of Scripture can be made to harmonize in great part, is not to be doubted but it does not follow, we think, that the one as a system of thought is entirely compatible with the other system of thought—any more than Heathen religions may be said to coincide with Christianity because they have much in common with it. Here will be found, no doubt, the error of Christian Evolutionists. When they shall have shown the "Unity of the Truth in Evolution and Christianity" on such general topics as God, Providence, Man, Sin and Salvation, there still remain a number of vital doctrines which no one has been bold enough to maintain as consonant with the claims of Evolution.

And the argument for Unity breaks down in the very subjects to which it is most confidently applied. Our author would have his reader think that the scriptural account of the origin of Sin can be harmonized

with the hypothesis of the evolution of man. But what sort of harmony is this? In the one case man disobeyed God's clearly understood commandment and by this became morally guilty and sinful. In the other case, "in that grand progress which is bearing humanity onward to a higher intelligence and nobler character, he became conscious of right and wrong, and of the obligation to do the one and avoid the other." The one case involves moral deterioration, the other is a moral advance, and we have the idea so often expressed by Mr. Beecher that every "fall has been a fall upward."

We cannot agree with our genial author in all the concessions he makes to Evolution nor in his estimate of the service which this hypothesis renders to theology. We cannot accept it as another revelation, superior to the old one so far at least that it becomes the interpreter of those inspired oracles which have so long either puzzled or misled the human mind. While admitting that some theological beliefs have retreated before the advance of scientific research, the exploded theories of science would fill vast libraries. History does not warrant us in accepting Evolution as the final science. In the meanwhile, we hold it to be very unwise to antagonize the old theology in general as if it were the embodiment of error, superstition and tyranny. The God of the old theology, with moral attributes and a Father's heart, the God possessing "intelligence and will, feelings, purposes, thoughts, and motives" such as we must conceive of through the dim outlines expressed in human personality, commands our adoration and faith incomparably more than the God of the Evolutionist, whom we know only "as one being, and as absolutely free and self-determining spirit." Dr. Hark differs herein from the writer, and whilst he unquestionably knows a good deal of Evolution, and has written concerning it in elegant rhetoric and at times in outbursts of genuine eloquence, we regret to find in his book, as in so many others, a virtual casting aside of the Bible under the delusion that a certain bold hypothesis leads to a fuller, clearer view of the divine truth.

*Von den Letzten Dingen.* Von Gerhard Uhlhorn, Bodo Sievers und Rudolf Steinmetz. pp. 78, 8vo. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag.

This pamphlet contains four lectures on eschatology, a subject of special interest just at present. Two of them, the first, on The History and Importance of the Doctrine; and the third, on Purgatory, are by the wellknown Abt of Loccum, one of the most scholarly Lutheran theologians in Germany. The second, on Death in the Light of the Divine Word, is by Superiutendent Sievers in Gross Berkel, and the last, on Life in the Future World, by Dr. Steinmetz, of Göttingen. The style of treatment is popular, as the lectures were prepared for audiences of thoughtful hearers in the city of Hanover. They are accordingly not



exegetical but didactic, and, with the exception of the third, only to a limited extent polemical,. The spirit and teachings are in accord with the Lutheran confessions. Uhlhorn's are especially good, being characterized by the singular suggestive nature of all his writings. While the lectures do not contain anything that is new, they present the subject from new sides and thus aid in fully understanding the difficult subject under discussion. They contain good material that the preacher could use.

*Current Discussions in Theology.* By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. V. pp. 404. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society.

There ought to be amongst us a large demand for a work of this character--the only one of its kind, so far as we know, in the English language. It is indeed, intended mainly for scholars, but are not scholars rapidly multiplying in this country? Their use of this Annual will in fact serve as a good test of men's scholarship. It takes them to the summit of Theological Science and gives them some idea of the vastness of the horizon that bounds this realm of thought. Many we surmise will be appalled as they discover the extent of what is done in the different fields of sacred learning within a twelve-month. The literary year under review in this volume extends about from June to June, and the investigations accordingly terminate with midsummer 1887.

The faculty of the Chicago Seminary have made a division of their labors in these discussions corresponding to their respective chairs. The Present State of Old Testament Studies is reviewed by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, who has in this field probably no peer in this country. New Testament Studies is by Prof. G. H. Gilbert. The Most Recent Studies in Church History With Some of the Most Important Results, by Rev. Hugh M. Scott. Systematic Theology, Theism, Apologetics and Ethics by Prof. George N. Boardman. Pastoral Theology by Rev. G. B. Wilcox, and Homiletics by Rev. F. W. Fisk.

The disproportion between German and Anglo-Saxon literature in this domain will be a surprise to those who have not been aware to what degree both English and American theologians draw their material from the great German masters. If undue prominence is given to recent German works, and especially to radical teachings and criticisms from that quarter, it is because they are in a much larger measure productive in this province than recognized teachers in this country and in England. The authors candidly disclaim sympathy with theological novelties but they do not propose to themselves the task of defending or refuting any particular school, but rather to report to their readers the lines along which the most active investigations have been recently conducted and to note principally the deviations from the beaten path that have been made, the new tendencies that have developed and the latest results claimed.

Along with eminent learning the authors are to be commended for the spirit of fairness and candor that permeates their work, a feature which we the more readily commend in the recollection of some strictures on this point we felt constrained to utter in the notice of a former volume. We sincerely hope that these "Current Discussions" will be continued and we assure our readers that no one who desires to keep abreast of the times can afford to do without the work.

*Philosophy and Religion.* A series of Addresses, Essays and Sermons designed to set forth Great Truths in Popular Form. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Large octavo. pp. 632. \$3.50. Uniform with the author's "Systematic Theology." New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

Dr. Strong is a thinker of marked independence and power, not affected by the fashionable trend of the times and quite capable of holding his own on the lines of conservatism and orthodoxy. In regard to Evolution, for instance, while it is a fascinating system, he maintains with a logic which is not easily confuted, that it is destructive of morality, that it cannot give a satisfactory explanation of life, and that it fails to account for mind, for soul, for Christ, as it fails also to account for *a priori* knowledge.

The solid octavo before us is a collection of essays and discussions on the great philosophical, theological, educational and literary questions of the day, such as "Science and Religion," "Materialistic Skepticism," "Philosophy and Evolution," "Modern Idealism," "Scientific Theism," "The Will in Theology," "Modified Calvinism," "Miracles," "The New Theology," "Inspiration," "Supply of the Ministry," "Education for the Ministry," "The Economics of Missions," "Re-Marriage after Divorce," "The Crusades." It touches thus almost every burning issue and treats them with masterful force and in an attractive popular form, so that men of general culture as well as students and specialists will appreciate these discussions, which certainly merit the widest circulation. No one accustomed to thought and inquiry on these vital topics can follow the author's treatment of them without being greatly aided in grappling them and in apprehending and holding the truth. A full index gives to this large volume almost the character of a library on modern thought.

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### III. HISTORICAL.

*Christianity in the United States*, from the First Settlement down to the Present Time. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D. pp. 795. 8vo. Price \$4.50. New York: Philips & Hunt.

Here is a book which ought to be in the hands of every intelligent



American. To the educated Christian ministry it will be found invaluable if not indispensable. It is an orderly array of facts which have been of momentous import in the discovery, settlement and development of our country, and the interests alike of patriotism and of religion invest its pages with uncommon fascination. The author's reputation for thoroughness and fairness was established by previous contributions to our religious history. The reader, therefore, who is not specially familiar with this province need not be constantly interrupted with attempts to verify any statements that may startle him as he passes from page to page. Besides, there are ample footnotes giving authorities and satisfactory explanations of points in controversy.

The work is divided into: I. The Colonial Era; II. The National Era. Under the latter it gives Period I. From 1776 to 1800. Period II. From 1800 to 1850. Period III. From 1850 to 1887. It is not an attempt to write the history of the various religious denominations, but rather a bird's-eye view of the field on which are marshalled the three great competing forces in the religious life of the nation, Protestantism, Romanism, and a variety of divergent elements.

Even minds that are not specially occupied with religious ideas can not fail to be struck with the paramount position which Christianity asserted in the earliest period of our history, and the primary and powerful inspiration it gave both to the original discovery and to the colonial settlement. It was under "the solemn benediction of the Church" that Columbus conceived and achieved his great purpose. With his fellow adventurers he set sail from Palos immediately after a deeply impressive service of the Holy Communion, and the first sight of the new world was greeted with a *Gloria in Excelsis*, while the first landing witnessed Columbus on his knees, with tears of joy giving thanks to God. On his second voyage he was accompanied by a band of missionaries. Others soon followed in the same holy cause, and in a brief period these servants of the cross had extended their labors among the Indians from the coast of Florida to the slopes of the Pacific. The ascendancy of the religious principle in the Protestant colonies, founded about a century later, was so strong that the governments established by them were virtual theocracies, a fact which is not disproved by restricting the term to its literal meaning or by denying a direct revelation to the first New Englanders.

On the subject of intolerance honors are evenly divided between Roman Catholics and Protestants, between the Episcopalians of Virginia and the Congregationalists of Massachusetts and, we may add, the Reformed of New York. All were ready to hang Quakers, to burn witches, to fine and imprison dissenters, and as rule to exclude papists. Maryland alone was an exception, having "adopted a strong statutory declaration in favor of religious liberty." Here "Roman Catholics and Protestants alike found protection and security, and lived in harmony."

But as this forms such a contrast not only to the course of the other colonies, but to the spirit of the age, which knew nothing of religious equality before the law, the author is at pains to show that this remarkable Roman Catholic liberality in Maryland could not have been "a purely voluntary thing." "The Blue Laws of Connecticut" he pronounces "legendary," having "never existed except in the imagination of their originator," and in this he voices doubtless the verdict of history.

The author's position that the failure to acknowledge God in the National Constitution was due to "the subtle poison of French philosophy, vitiating the perception of its framers," is unhistoric, and is, besides, an unjust personal imputation. Many of the most earnest Christians of that day as well as this, believed that it was best alike for the Church and the State that their provinces should be kept entirely separate. The Massachusetts Convention which adopted the Constitution was made up largely of clergymen, and a religious amendment was offered, which it was expected these would unanimously support, but they voted against it almost to a man. They had had a century and a half of "theocratic" rule and found it not well adapted to a free, popular government. As the author well states, and this is better than formal acknowledgment: "The national heart has been wiser, deeper, and nearer to God than the letter of the Constitution."

Maps, charts, diagrams and statistical tables add much to the completeness of the volume, which closes with a cheering chapter reviewing the pending problems which confront our religious and national situation, and representing the outlook as full of encouragement. "This nation is the happy heir of modern history. The current of our national life broadens, deepens, and speeds on with increasing swiftness. Check it we would not, master it we cannot, but guide it we may. And who will think it less noble because it has some sediment at the bottom, or bears some wrecks on its surface, or leaves some ruins on its shores?"

*Studies on the Religious Problem of our Country.* A Review of the Growth of the Church of Christ in Numbers, Wealth and Good Works, Contrasted with the Growth of our Country in Population, Wealth and Vice. By Rev. Milton H. Stine, A. M. pp. 170. York, Pa.: Lutheran Printing House.

This is a maiden effort and as such is not without merit. The young author has faithfully applied his own gifts and has made diligent use of materials furnished by others in the same field. He treats successively: The Condition of our Country's Development Before and at the Beginning of the Present Century; Our Growth in Territory—Our Development of Natural Resources—Our Manufactories and Growth in Wealth; The Rapid Growth of the Church in the United States in Comparison with the Growth of Population; Amount of Money Expended in Church



Erection in Different Periods; The Work of the Church of to-day of our Country contrasted with her Work in Early Years; Development of the Church (continued); The Sunday School, Y. M. C. A., &c.; Intemperance; Sabbath Desecration; Romanism, &c.

This indicates the general drift of the work. Its spirit is earnest, patriotic and full of Christian hope. We trust it may find a large circle of readers.

*History of Prussia under Frederick the Great.* 2 Vols. 1740-1745, 1745-1756. By Herbert Tuttle, Professor in Cornell University. pp. 308, 334. \$4.50. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Co.

We have here another confirmation of the truth, which is gaining recognition abroad as well as among our own scholars, that European History is to be written by American authors. To the famous contributions in this sphere, of Prescott, Motley, and Baird, Tuttle's History of Prussia makes a very worthy addition.

The first volume of this series, "History of Prussia to the accession of Fredrick the Great," which gives the antecedents of the great king and the inherited forces and problems of his reign, was noticed in the QUARTERLY of April 1884. The two volumes before us closing with the outbreak of the "Seven Years' War," form "the first half of what it is hoped will be a complete account, descriptive and historical, of the reign of the third King of Prussia." The fourth volume, to be issued in the near future, will cover the period of the Seven Years' War, and the fifth will bring the story down to the death of Frederick.

The work when completed will accordingly cover the ground of Carlyle's great history, but the two works are similar only in this one respect, that they have the same subject. And even here they differ. For while the noisy hero-worshiper keeps the reader's mind fixed upon his idol Frederick, the sober American writer, with the instincts of the American mind, depicts the life of Prussia as a state, the development of her polity and the growth of her institutions. Carlyle's romantic and bombastic volumes have at all events been seriously discredited of late, so that whilst the reader may miss those fascinating personal details, which make Frederick's history singularly picturesque, he will have much greater confidence in the truthfulness of the narrative, and also greater interest in it as a serious student of the development of a great kingdom.

Professor Tuttle has evidently expended labor and pains on the preparation of this work. He was for a long time resident in Berlin and applied himself to the mastery of a vast, confused and conflicting literature bearing on his subject. To the extreme difficulty of such a task he brought thorough scholarship, critical judgment and masterly skill,

and the result is a clear and comprehensive delineation of the Prussian State during the reign of the greatest predecessor of Kaiser Wilhelm. The style is luminous, direct and vigorous, perhaps not sufficiently rhetorical to be popular, but sure to be appreciated by those whose main concern is to gain historical knowledge of that country which to-day holds the German Empire under the sceptre of its illustrious dynasty, and under the guidance of its statesmen controls the destinies of Europe. No library is complete without these volumes, whose mechanical execution, by the way, is of the highest order.

*The Aryan Race: Its Origin and its Achievements.* By Charles Morris, author of "A Manual of Classical Literature," pp. 347. \$1.50. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Under the successive titles of *The Home of the Aryans*, *The Aryan Outflow*, *The Household and the Village*, *The Double System of Aryan Worship*, *The Course of Political Development*, *The Aryan Literature*, etc., this monograph discusses in an interesting form the peculiarities of that race which has filled so large a space in the history of human progress. One is indeed somewhat vexed by the constant recurrence of such phrases as "perhaps," "doubtful," "possible," "probable," "apparently," "seems to," "obscure traces" and the like, indicating the amount of conjecture and speculation which attaches to the pre-historic phases of these subjects. But then how much more satisfactory, after all, is the modest and candid tone of such a writer than the wild assumptions of those who are so cock-sure of everything. We have experienced peculiar interest in the account of the two distinct systems of the Aryan worship, the worship of ancestors and the deific mythology, the home worship and that of the elements or gods, the rites conducted by the house-priest and those imposed by the priestly order, the one tending to democracy the other to aristocracy, the one absorbed in man the other in the gods. The absence of a priesthood to contend for the ancient religion is assigned as the reason that Christianity made such rapid progress with the Teutonic tribes. "There was no one with a strong interest in preserving the mythologic faith, no one to control the tribes in matters of belief, no earnest clings to the deities of mythology." The main worship was paid to the deities of the household on whom alone the affections were centred. The slight hold of a mythologic faith upon the western Aryans, and the lack of an organized and influential priesthood to develop the public worship and to create a strong sentiment in its favor, are held to account for the easy inflow of a foreign system of belief throughout the west, and for the rapid progress of Christianity "with scarcely a word of protest or opposition until the political danger from Christianity roused the dread of the emperors."



*A Short History of the English People.* By John Richard Green. With Maps and Tables. New Edition, Thoroughly Revised. pp. 872. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

One of the most charming books in the English language is Green's *Short History of the English People*. Instead of seizing the conspicuous subjects which historians usually employ as the essential features of their works, to wit, kings and heroes, battles and conquests, Mr. Green dwells more particularly on the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself. War, he holds, plays a small part in the real story of European nations, and in that of England its part is smaller than that of any. With such an idea of history Mr. Green combined great earnestness of purpose, a firm grasp of his subject, tireless industry and a dignity, beauty and vivacity of style that holds the reader as with a spell. No wonder that the work soon after its first issue, attained uncommon popularity. It is certainly the most readable and the most instructive history of the English people that has yet been written.

Mrs. Green having been the literary help-meet of her husband in the composition of the original edition and having received his dying charge for a revision, the present volume is the result. She has made no changes with the plan or structure of the book and has altered its order but little. A few corrections were found necessary and she has been mainly guided throughout by the work of revision done by Mr. Green himself on his larger *History*.

*Palestine in the Time of Christ.* By Edmund Stapfer, D. D. Third Edition with Maps and Plans. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The translation of this important work is very well done so far as easy and translucent English is concerned. Its accuracy we are not able to vouch for as the original is not before us. The volume itself is charmingly and strongly written. It is a mine of information concerning Palestine in the time of Christ. It treats in the first book of the Social Life and in the second, of the Religious Life of His Day. Under the first, the Geography, the Rulers, the Sanhedrim, Administration of Justice, Population, Home Life, Dwellings, Clothing, Public Life, Literature the Arts, and Science are discussed. Under the second, Pharisees and Sadducees, Hillel and Shammaï, Doctors of the Law, Philosophy, Preaching, the Synagogue, the Sabbath, the Bible, Religious Observances, the Temple, the Feasts, the Essenes, Jesus and the Preaching of the Gospel are discussed.

All of these are handled in the light of the most recent discoveries and criticisms. The author, with French vivacity, is always clear and, whilst well-informed and working in the cold, clear light of intellect, oftentimes settles disputed points with an easy assurance which the facts

do not warrant. Thus his statements concerning the ready cure of leprosy, the manner of demon-possession are clear but not conclusive.

Many of his observations are exceedingly acute and suggestive, as for example the fine criticism concerning the Jewish mind and taste in fine arts and literature. We quote one sentence, "The Jews, as a rule, are indifferent to beauty of detail. That which is refined, delicate, pretty, escapes them; they are only impressed by that which is on a vast and overpowering scale."

He is inclined to concede too much, we think, at times to the advanced criticism of the day, though his conclusions are entirely against this school. His remarks concerning Hillel, page 290, are worthy of consideration, the more so as earlier he believed that Hillel was the master of Jesus, a conclusion which his profounder study entirely rejects. The last chapter has occasioned much adverse criticism among the rationalistic school, for in this, the author clearly sets forth that Jesus, however the human nature was assimilated to the divine, was the Son of God.

The book is admirable in conception, in faithfulness and in minute and extensive scholarship. We may add that the work of the printer and the binder is tastefully performed.

C. S. A.

*A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* By Henry Charles Lea, author of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Studies in Church History," etc. In three volumes. Vols. II. and III. 8vo. pp. 587, 736. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These two volumes of Mr. Lea's grand work on the Inquisition, have promptly followed volume I. which was noticed in these pages in the January issue, and like that they are monuments of the amazing industry and historical erudition of the author, of his judicial fairness and calm, impartial discrimination. The second volume relates the conduct of the Inquisition in the several lands of Christendom, Languedoc, France, the Spanish Peninsula, Italy, Germany, Bohemia and among the Slavic Cathari, with a full chapter of the persecution and crusades against the Hussites.

Volume III. surveys special fields of Inquisitorial activity, including chapters on political heresy utilized by the Church and by the State, on sorcery and occult arts, and on witchcraft.

These tragic subjects, involving as they do tales of superhuman cruelty, are handled with dispassionate coolness, with no fondness for dilating on the horrible, and with but little effort at moralizing or philosophizing. It was evidently the author's supreme purpose to get at the facts in the case, to state them with fair-minded, straight-forward faithfulness and to let the remorseless recital stand as the colorless, terrible truth of history. The case of Huss, for example, the most conspicuous instance of an inquisitorial process on record, the author maintains does



not especially exhibit a wilful perversity and pitiless denial of justice on the part of the Council, but rather it enables us to obtain a measure of the infamy of the system and to form an estimate, in some degree, of the innumerable wrongs inflicted on countless thousands of obscure and forgotten victims.

That such a work should be accurate in every historical statement or inference would be to attach to it the quality of inspiration. It is, however, mainly in such references as lie outside of its proper horizon that we think we find slight deviations from the truth of history. More light is wanted than we now have, for instance, to prove that the Moravians who settled in Pennsylvania have any essential connection with the Hussites. Again, while Mr. Lea clearly sees that in the Reformation "the hour, the place and the man had met by a happy concurrence," we believe that he has no warrant for saying "that the reformers were as rigid as the orthodox in setting bounds to dogmatic independence." His impartiality must have forsaken him when he went beyond the province of his work. Such defects are however rare, and we feel that the most unstinted praise of these volumes is not extravagant. They constitute undoubtedly the most able, the most comprehensive and most satisfactory work yet written on the Inquisition and form one of the most important contributions of the age to historical literature. It curdles one's blood to read some of its pages, and its revelations may be found horrible rather than fascinating, but the reader will also be thrilled to see from what frightful institutions society was delivered by the Reformation, and what influences helped to hasten that crisis and to render it inevitable.

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#### IV. PRACTICAL.

*Current Religious Perils.* With Preludes and other Addresses on Leading Reforms and a Symposium on Vital and Progressive Orthodoxy. By Joseph Cook. 8vo. pp. 435. \$2.00. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Who Mr. Cook is, what he has to say and how he is wont to say it, is pretty generally known to our readers. He holds to the old order, and that with a measure of intensity and positiveness that is sure to produce conviction in his audience. He is a speaker who not only agrees with himself, but who wields that power which makes his hearers agree with him. That Boston still gives him crowded houses at midday throughout the week is testimony that neither the speaker nor orthodoxy has lost interest with the public and is in fact one of the most grateful signs of the times. And a careful study of this volume, which is considerably beyond the size of its ten predecessors, shows that in freshness,

timeliness and vigor Mr. Cook's standard is fully maintained, while the importance of the subjects discussed yields nothing to the earlier lectures which gave to him his world-wide fame.

Waste of Opportunity, the Chief Peril of the Church, is the subject of the first lecture. Others are Modern Novel Opportunity in Philosophy, in Theology, in Ethical Science, in the Spiritual Life, in Comparative Religion, in New Political Outgrowths of Christianity.

The preludes grapple the principal issues of Current Reform Movements, such as Lord's Day Lawlessness, The Indian, Illiteracy, Mormons, &c. One is devoted to Henry Ward Beecher as Preacher and Reformer.

A series of addresses is added on such questions as Scriptural and Speculative Standards of Orthodoxy, Arbitration as a Remedy for War, The Future of Cities and of the Liquor Traffic, Promises and Perils of the Temperance Reform. Also a Symposium on Current Religious Perils, in which a number of the foremost thinkers in the country participate.

The most phenomenal features of Mr. Cook are the extraordinary range of his intellect and the extent of his reading, reaching from the most abstract and abstruse questions in philosophy to the common every day topics of practical morals or political reform. He is a potent factor in almost every province of the evolution of modern thought, but he goes far wrong sometimes, as in the case of the government taxing whiskey, which he holds makes it a partaker in the crimes of the traffic.

*Die Evangelien des Kirchenjahres* erklärt durch Beispielen aus der Heiligen Schrift, Sinnsprüche, Kurze Erzählungen aus dem Leben, &c. Von L. Krummel, Lic. Theol. Pfarrer in Sandhausen bei Heidelberg. Philadelphia: Schaeffer & Koradi.

This is an ingenious and attractive compilation of valuable material illustrative of the gospel pericopes, intended for the use of clergymen, Sunday-school teachers and the heads of families.

The gospel selection is given in full, illustrated by other passages, parallel and explanatory. Then follow admirably chosen quotations from the writings of Luther, Herberger, Arndt, Scriver, Rieger, Löhe, Ahlfeld, Lange and others, with special reference to the historical, exegetical, geographical or archæological features of the text. Then the author gives an original or selected statement of the substance of the pericope. And this is followed by an entertaining and instructive collection of fragmentary illustrations, consisting of stanzas of poetry, prayers, aphorism, anecdotes, &c.

The work is being published in 8 parts, each 64 pp., at 20 cents each.

*Neue Folge der Sammlung von Beispielen über biblische Hauptbegriffe* &c., in alphabetischer Reienfolge. Ein Handbuch für Geistliche, Lehrer, Soutagsschullehrer und die Familie. Von A. Rodemyer.



8vo. pp. 812, Basel: Ferd Riehlm; Philadelphia: Schaeffer & Koradi.

Reference to this notable collection of illustrations has been made several times in these pages, and now we hail with much satisfaction the appearance of a new issue, the first one of 2500 copies having been exhausted in less than a year.

The plan followed in this work commends itself to all teachers and public speakers. The subjects illustrated are given in alphabetical order and under each one separately we have 1. texts of Scripture which bear upon it, 2. scriptural examples and similes, 3. other similitudes, 4. proverbs and striking observations, 5. aphorisms, 6. anecdotes from life. A complete outline of a topic is thus furnished at sight, and in these busy times with the hurried preparations that are often required such material made ready-to-hand is of incalculable service. What is needed is that the selections in such a compilation should be made with intelligence, care and good taste, and the presence of these qualities is very clearly attested page by page.

We know of no work in the English tongue that is so well adapted to the purpose of such a manual. And that it is of German origin and issued only in that language makes it peculiarly desirable to all who have any knowledge of that tongue. Choice and forcible illustrations and striking anecdotes furnished in English collections are familiar to men who employ such aids, and they are also becoming so familiar to their auditors and readers that it is hardly safe to use them anywhere. Here we have hundreds of good things which are yet buried out of sight for those who see only with English glasses, and besides the light they throw on given subjects, they have the merit of freshness, although these omnivorous Germans get hold also of some good American and English "chestnuts." All who have the opportunity and responsibility of teaching whether in the Church, or school or home will find themselves greatly enriched by the possession of this volume. It is beautifully printed.

*Textgemässe Predigt-Entwürfe.* Von J. Heinrich Schultze, Dritte Auflage. pp. 140. 8vo. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht's Verlag.

This is the first of three larger pamphlets containing skeletons on the gospels and epistles of the church-year and on two series of 'free texts. The present pamphlet treats of the gospels only. As this is already the third edition, it is evident that these sermon outlines have been received with favor in Germany. This they merit. Exegetically and homiletically they are excellent, although in some cases not after the manner of preaching in favor in America.

*Some Aspects of the Blessed Life.* By Mark Guy Pearse. pp. 222. 1887. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stone.

Many words of high praise may be given to these twelve expositions of scripture, all of which touch more or less on different phases of the blessed life of the true child of God. The book is suggestive, rich in imagery. The author's spirit is devout. He has rare insight into the higher truths of the hidden life with God in Christ. There is nervous strength in many of his sentences. As an expositor he is felicitous. One is apt to return to his inspiring thought and read again and again the stirring words. It is a good book to put into the hands of the Christian.

C. S. A.

*Five-Minute Sermons to Children.* By Rev. William Armstrong, of the Genesee Conference. pp. 203. 80cts. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

It is a cheering sign of the times to see this species of literature multiplying. To depend on the instruction of the Sunday-school for the spiritual training of the young is found illusory, and conscientious ministers are getting their eyes opened to the literal significance to them of the great charge: "Feed my lambs." Many of them feel doubtless as did the author of these 100 five-minute talks, that it is impossible for them to preach to children, but if they were willing to give the subject the attention which it demands, if, like our author, they would study the children at their homes and in the streets, at schools and picnics, in their troubles and their joys, they would also doubtless have to confess that the material of thought and incident had grown to dimensions sufficient for a large volume.

Sympathy with children, a careful observation of their characteristics, and an enlightened faith in their religious capacities, are of course prerequisite to the adaptation of the gospel to their minds, and no models furnished by other men can be a substitute for these. But the substance and the language of Mr. Armstrong's bright, short, crisp, pointed sermons, offer a very fair sample of effective preaching to children. They hold a commendable mean between childish silliness and rhetorical fustian. They are well aimed for direct impressions upon youthful minds, but they often find mark in hearts much older and harder. We should like to hear such sermons in every sanctuary every Lord's day, and we should expect incalculable blessings to flow from them.

*The Risen Christ, the King of Men.* By James Baldwin Brown, B. A., Author of "The Divine Life in Man," "First Principles of Ecclesiastical Truth," "The Christian Policy of Life," "The Divine Mysteries," "The Higher Life," etc. pp. 368. Price \$2.00. New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House.

This subject is treated in a series of discourses—sixteen in all—which



make a valuable work in the line of Christian Evidences. The "Resurrection of Christ" is the central theme and its treatment here is quite exhaustive. The first half were intended by the author as part of a book he was preparing in 1879, but broken health and death intervening he did not finish it. Some time since his wife made a collection of sermons from his manuscripts, showing the influence of the Resurrection in the development of humanity. This collection constitutes the latter half of the work and fits well with what preceded. The discourses come from a vigorous, well informed and logical mind, and make an excellent companion volume to a more compact discussion of the Resurrection usually found in works on the "Evidences of Christianity."

*Christianity in the Daily Conduct of Life.* Studies of Texts Relating to Principles of the Christian Character. pp. 338. Price \$1.50. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House.

A variety of subjects here but well unified in the title of the book. Some of them are, Christian humility, Christian forgiveness, Christian anger, Christian profession and use of wealth, Christian giving, the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, Christ's followers in society, the Christian sense of heavenly citizenship. The different chapters are sermons, which, while they show the art of the homiletician, are without the ordinary stiffness of the average sermon, and as free as a discussion of each subject without the hampering influence of a text. The views presented are discriminating in their treatment and safe in their practical application. Rhetorically they are severely plain, lacking in illustrations and striking figures, but rather interesting for all this. We commend them for their healthful teaching.

*Sermons.* By H. P. Liddon, D. D., D. C. L., Canon of St. Paul's pp. 192. Price \$1.00. New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House.

Canon Liddon's name gives assurance that these sermons are of no ordinary grade. The reader will not have them long in hand before receiving a confirmation of this. The "practical" is here in such sermons as "The Premature Judgments of Man" and "Stewardship;" fidelity to church work in such as that on "Foreign Missions;" and the doctrinal in "The Incarnation." The time and place when each one was preached are given. All, so far as we have noticed, were delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Those on "The Pharisee and the Publican" and "The Incarnation" strike us as having special excellence, although all are good.

*New Science of Elocution.* The Elements and Principles of Vocal Expression in Lessons, with Exercises and Selections systematically

arranged for acquiring the Art of Reading and Speaking. By S. S. Hamill, A. M. pp. 382. Cloth \$1.00. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott. Co.

He is a bold man who to-day offers to the public a new book on Elocution; not so much on account of the multitude of such works already in the market as on account of the ill-repute in which elocution has come to be held by the many who have a hatred of the artificial. The ostentatious parade of gesture, inflections and "voice work" which is usually presented as the fruit of the study of elocution, and the pride of schools of oratory are as far from true "vocal expression" as cheap stained glass is from French plate, obscuring rather than revealing thought by drawing attention to itself. If that be elocution the less of it the better.

But we are disposed to blame the student and the teacher, not the study, for this prejudice. Although Delsarte's declaration that "Manner, as much as matter, constitutes eloquence" is obviously the biased opinion of a specialist in "manner," yet there is indisputably truth in in what he says. And that "manner"—voice, gesture, etc.—can be cultivated and improved by practice, not theory, has again and again been proved. The reason the study of elocution so commonly leads to artificiality is either because it is made a showy end in itself, not the ever subordinate instrument of a high purpose, and consequently is mechanical and unnatural, or else because the practice and study of the art stops too soon. Here as nowhere else real art is to conceal art; and not for one moment, in ideal expression, must our attention be drawn to the way the spell is being woven around us by any awkwardness or hesitation or, above all, obtrusiveness in the orator's action. This is possible only when "manner" has become second nature through long practice. In order not to have his audience think of his voice and body, the orator must not think of them. When he has studied elocution until he practices it unconsciously, then the elocutionist, with a thought behind him, rises into the orator; the stained glass becomes plate glass, and the fiery purpose or thought pours down its warming rays unobstructed. Then we see the force of Burleigh's definition: "Eloquence is vehement simplicity."

The book before us is specially adapted for work in schools, being divided into lessons, each of which contains, besides the theoretical principles, carefully selected exercises upon them. The exercises are of high literary quality, and the hints concerning their rendition judicious and not over mechanical. For the average teacher's work in the class room this is one of the most promising books we have seen.



## V. GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Witness to Christ.* A Contribution to Christian Apologetics. By William Clark, M. A., Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto. pp. 300. 1888. Price \$1.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

This book presents the "Baldwin Lectures" for 1887, on the Foundation recently established at the University of Michigan, the first series of which were given by Bishop A. Cleveland Coxe and published a year ago as "Institutes of Christian History." Their object has been to deal with the questions which contemporaneous thought has raised in relation to the divine authority of Christianity and its leading truths. The range of topics discussed cover the chief points made prominent by recent skeptical criticism.

The first lecture reviews the Phases and Failures of Unbelief, tracing them in the three forms in which they have been presenting themselves, *Rationalism*, *Mythicisim* and *Materialism*, and exhibiting the present tendencies and indications. The result of these unceasing, shifting attacks on Christian truth, and of their constant failures, is viewed as continually giving this truth a clearer and more unquestionable victory, as the resources of skepticism are being exhausted in vain. The second lecture treats of Civilization and Christianity, and, over against infidel complaints, traces, in rapid but impressive outline, what the Gospel has done for mankind. The Power of Christianity for Personal Culture, examined in the third lecture, exhibits its incomparable superiority to all other forces, and its necessity for the realization of true manhood. These lectures are followed by others on The Unity of Christian Doctrine, The Insufficiency of Materialism, The Pessimism of the Age, and two on The Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The first of these two presents the evidences for the resurrection, and the second examines the theories invented to set aside this evidence.

The whole discussion is marked by scholarly ability and familiar acquaintance with the course of modern conflict over the various questions, and with the literature of the subject, especially in its philosophical aspects. Though not the production of a specialist, it gathers and presents to the reader a fair exhibit of the results of special scholarship on the great theme. Its temper is calm and candid, erring if at all in this particular, by an excessive readiness to make concession to the force of opposite views, but assuring thereby the stronger confidence of the reader in the positive conclusions reached in the examination. M. V.

*Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.* By J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D. pp. 422. 12mo. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. For sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Phila.

Dr. Stuckenberg's scholarly ability, and enthusiastic self-devotion, for years, to the problems and history of philosophy, awaken expectations

of more than ordinary merit in a work from his pen on this subject. An examination of the work fully sustains this just expectation. The task which he here set for himself was one of great difficulty. An immense field had to be surveyed, and out of the confusion of thought and method in the realm of philosophy, its true sphere and just principles had to be sought and settled. The volume throughout shows the breadth and thoroughness of his acquaintance with philosophy, the force and subtlety of his analysis and discriminations, and the prevailing justness of his judgment.

As indicated by the title, the purpose of the work is not to present a philosophic system, but to help students who are beginning the study of philosophy to a correct conception of its sphere and function and settlement of the principles which must guide and regulate inquiry and conclusions. It is meant to guard the student against the numerous mistakes to which he is liable, arising not only from the inherent difficulties of the study, but from the numerous conflicting notions respecting its true nature and right methods.

The introductory statements vindicate the need and demand for philosophy and set forth the importance of its office or service in the interest of truth and life. The first chapter seeks a definition of philosophy, tracing the use of the word in the past, and reaching a definition which the aggregate history of it shows to be a just statement of its aim and function. This definition sums it up as "the rational system of fundamental principles." The second chapter, on the relation of philosophy to religion, is rich in important and judicious discriminations. The third, inquiring into the relations between philosophy and natural science, shows the need of this discipline and its results to complete the investigation of the realities which science examines. Its connection with empirical psychology is considered in the fourth chapter. With a definition thus established and these relations indicated, Dr. Stuckenberg proceeds to indicate the special lines of inquiry along which the problems of philosophy are to be found, and presents a division of its whole subject matter. He makes this division into, 1. Metaphysics; 2. The Theory of Knowledge; 3. Aesthetics; 4. Ethics. The problems for investigation in these branches are traced, with helpful suggestions as to the principles for their solution. The work concludes with a discussion of the spirit and method of the entire study.

We are, of course, not expected to agree with every view presented in a work of this kind, traversing the wide expanse of philosophical thought. But the prevailing justness of discrimination throughout this work, the depth of its philosophical spirit, and its clear exhibition of the leading essential principles of the study to which it offers itself as an introduction, make it a volume of high value and worthy of the wide and growing reputation of the author.

M. V.



*Women and Men.* By Thomas Wentworth Higginson, author of "A Larger History of the United States," &c. pp. 326. 16mo. Cloth. \$1.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square.

Graceful language, charming wit, cheerful philosophy and wholesome moral and social lessons mark all the productions of Mr. Higginson's ready and busy pen. We have few writers who have greater popularity among our cultured reading classes.

The present volume consists of a number of brief essays on social topics, which will be found not only quite enjoyable both to women and men—especially to women,—but sufficiently practical and pointed to be profitable for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, justice, taste and good manners. It is fortunate for society that it has such teachers and that their teaching comes in so attractive a garb as to be almost irresistible.

*Woman, First and Last, and What She Has Done.* By Mrs. E. J. Richmond, author of "The Jeweled Serpent," "Zoa Rodman," "Drifting and Anchored," "Alice Grant," etc., etc. 2 Vols. pp. 271, 300. \$1.00 per vol. New York: Phillips & Hunt. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

These two volumes are made up of sixty-five hasty, lively sketches of famous women, beginning with Eve, the Wives of the Patriarchs, Miriam, Deborah, &c., and closing with Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, Charlotte Brontë, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Harriet Hosmer.

The author's purpose in sending forth this work is, in her own words, to prove from these accumulated testimonies the power of woman for good or evil. "The stern logic of facts" has convinced her that intellect has no sex; "that he who attempts to define 'woman's sphere' is closely allied to the fabled giant with his iron bedstead."

What pains have been taken to gather and to marshal the "facts," we have not read far enough to form a final judgment, but when in the sketch of the shameless Catharine of Russia we found mention made of "her excellent character" our reading came to a sudden halt. Many readers will enjoy the entertainment offered by such a work and it will contribute much to their store of information, but nothing detracts so much from the merit of authorship as the want of accuracy and discrimination.

*Parliamentary Practice.* By T. B. Neely, D. D. Tenth Thousand. Revised Edition. pp. 82. Cloth, 25 cts. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The critic is not a parliamentarian but from the strong endorsement this manual has commanded from eminent parliamentarians it may be regarded as a standard. It is a condensation of a number of works which have long been recognized as authorities and is so convenient in form that it can be carried in one's vest pocket ready for instant use.

*Lost on an Island.* By Mrs. Virginia C. Phoebus. 1887. pp. 216.  
New York : Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati : Cranston & Stowe.

Mrs. Phoebus has written several shorter sketches dealing with natural science. In this volume, she has given a great number of scientific observations woven around the adventures of a father and daughter cast ashore on an atoll of the Pacific Ocean. The book is written in an agreeable and attractive style for young readers, conveying to them, in our modern method, much information in a bright, sketchy way. It will benefit those who will not study the severer scientific works and may incite younger minds to a more thorough examination of the subjects touched upon. It is a most desirable book of its kind for Sunday-school libraries.

*Young Folks' Nature Studies.* By Virginia C. Phoebus. pp. 258.  
\$1.00. New York : Phillips & Hunt.

The first part of these "studies" pertains to the ants, the second to coal formations and the third to fossils. The discussion is carried on in the form of a dialogue, a pair of twin sisters aged fifteen years taking a lively interest in the conversation, propounding staggering inquiries and making sapient reflections. The author shows her mastery of thought and language in producing a book which is not only adapted to juveniles at fifteen, but which is quite intelligible to younger minds and which will fascinate readers of maturer intellect. The stories about the ants sound like fairy-tales, but when authorities like Dr. McCook and Sir John Lubbock vouch for their truth, we must accept them as sober but marvelous facts, remembering the adage that truth is stranger than fiction.

Books like this ought to go wherever there are children. They will prove an agreeable and healthful substitute for the attractive literary trash which is so abundant. They are sure to promote alike mental and moral improvement along with wholesome diversion.

*Synodal-Handbuch der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten.* Auf Beschluss der Synode zusammengestellt. Gal. 5 : 1 ; 1 Cor. 14 : 40. Dritte, auf Beschluss der Synode revidirte Auflage. 12mo. pp. 134. St. Louis, Mo. : Concordia Publishing House, M. C. Barthel, Supt.

This little volume is a revelation. We stand amazed at the rapid growth and wonderful vigor of the synodical organizations it describes and of the literary and theological and eleemosynary institutions whose statutes and modes of operation it sets forth. One cannot read these constitutions and charters, these rules and regulations, these disciplinary statutes and ordinances, without a feeling of exultation that the Lutheran Church has so admirable an opportunity on the soil of free America to develop and practically exercise her truly liberal principles,



unhindered by the arm of civil authority. We rejoice to see that under the restraint of a truly devout and sound conservatism these Missourians did not rush to a lawless extreme, but quietly and judiciously organized a system of ecclesiastical government almost the exact counterpart of that so successfully developed in the General Synod.

The volume opens with the "Constitution of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States;" naming the conditions under which connection with it can be entered upon and maintained; claiming to decide all questions of doctrine and of conscience by the word of God and all others by a vote of the majority; declaring the synod to be merely an advisory body, as regards the self-government of the individual congregations.

The district synods, of which there are already *twelve*, are among other things obligated to make inquiry in their respective congregations in regard to the reading of the Bible, the practice of family worship, of domestic discipline, attendance at preparatory service, at public worship and at the Lord's Supper, the selection and use of religious literature, the prevalence of separatistic tendencies among their people, the holding of private conventicles, attendance upon the lodges of secret societies, and, in general, in regard to the state of religion among their people.

It is made the duty of the presidents of the district synods, in connection with at least one neighboring minister, to ordain and install newly elected pastors. "The so-called license" being deemed "contrary to scripture and all ecclesiastical custom [in our Church]."

The examination of applicants for ordination is rigid and thorough. Those who have enjoyed a full literary and theological training are examined, as a rule, in the Latin language. Those who have had only a practical training for the sacred office are examined in German.

A chronicler is appointed by the Synod whose duty it is "to record chronologically and truthfully, with the sanction of the Synod, the most remarkable events and movements within the American Lutheran Church of the present, her struggles, and the effect wrought upon her by influences from without, and thus to furnish continuous contributions for a chronicle of the American Lutheran Church."

The President of each District Synod is required to visit each charge within his supervision at least once during his term of office [three years] and report concerning it to his Synod. He must also attend all the Conference meetings, and send a quarterly report of his official acts to the General President.

This General President "exercises a supervision over all the other officers, viz., the President of the District Synods, all the appointees of the General Synod, *e. g.* the teachers in the Seminaries and Gymnasiums, the general agents, the superintending Boards, and the District

Synods as such." He is, as a rule, to visit annually all the literary institutions of the Synod.

We have noticed so many features of the constitution of the Synod, that we have left no room for comment upon the charters of the various literary, theological and charitable institutions under its control. These, along with its vast Publication House in St. Louis, are attracting the admiration of the general public, that looks with amazement at the growth of these various establishments, all the fruit of the pious zeal and self-sacrifice of these humble foreigners whose leaders fled hither from persecution.

C. A. H.

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☞ The following valuable books have been received and reviews of them may be expected in our next issue:

*The Ancient World and Christianity.* By E. D. Pressensé, D. D., Author of "The Early Years of Christianity," etc. pp. 479. Price \$1.75. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

*Sacred History from the Creation to the Giving of the Law.* By Edward P. Humphrey, D. D., LL. D., Sometime Professor in the Danville Theological Seminary. pp. 550. Price \$3.50. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

*An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology.* Based on Luthardt. By Reverend Franklin Weidner, S. T. D., Professor of Theology in Augustana Theological Seminary, etc., etc. pp. 260. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern. On sale by Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia.

#### PAMPHLETS.

*Shall We Have a Bishop? or the Episcopate* for the Lutheran Church in America. By Rev. J. Kohler, Pastor of Zion's Lutheran Church, Leacock, Penna.

*Christian Unity.* By the same.

*Born of Water and the Spirit.* An Exegesis of Jno. 3 : 5, by Rev. J. H. Hughes, Franklin Park, Mass.

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In the notice of the excellent *Bird's-Eye View of Gettysburg* published by Fowler & Downs (see April No., p. 290), it should have been stated that orders are to be addressed to T. M. Fowler, Morrisville, Pa.



THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW  
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ARTICLE I.

THE MATERIALISTIC HERESY.

By REV. W. E. PARSON, A. M., Washington, D. C.

Materialism in plain English is the teaching that matter is everything. The importance of the subject can be best estimated if we allow ourselves to think what this teaching involves. If Materialism is true matter only is eternal; God is a dream of men, who are but shadows chasing shadows. All teachings as to mind, soul, spirit, God, a future life, are the merest speculation; all the hopes with which the race of mankind has been for ages looking into the future are as empty as a child's bawble; and the truly happy are they who never think on past or future; who in a practical materialism utterly ignore all spiritual questions.

Undoubtedly we live in a materialistic age. Several influences conspire to make our time, more than usually, a time when men cast off faith in God. Both the discoveries and the inventions of this century have contributed a share towards this material tendency.

Men have been brought near to Nature, and as they have discovered her secrets they have become irreverent. Familiarity has bred contempt. There is presented the curious paradox, that the more men have learned of this great scheme we call

Nature, the more they have seemed disposed to think and speak as if there were no Will, no Creator, in or behind Nature. So, to many minds the universe has grown mechanical just in proportion as they have been able to penetrate its secrets. Hence, most of our scientific men are skeptical, where they do not openly reject all belief in anything they cannot demonstrate by a scientific method. It is the price they pay for knowing Nature more intimately. They know less of God, and can with difficulty believe in him. Job tells us that we cannot "by searching find Him out;" and experience seems to indicate that many by searching lose sight of Him altogether. This is the Materialism of the scientific man, which is somewhat the fashion just now.

But discoveries have led to inventions. The application of the discovery to common life becomes the invention. Our civilization is, in that sense, a very material civilization. Men are so busy in using the forces that have been found that they have neither time nor inclination for faith. Hence we have about us a generation of practical Materialists.

In regard to Materialism we find this peculiarity, that it is not often clearly defined by any friend who defends it. It is not an organized ism, seeking to propagate itself, as is the case with most other heresies. It is rather an inference; a negative rejection of spiritual truths; it is in the air rather than in the books; it is the *Zeit-geist*, which when it does become affirmative declares that Matter is the be-all and the end-all; and that an account of Matter in all its properties and phases must include an account of all the things that can be known or comprehended by man.

In bringing ourselves some reasons for our faith in the higher and nobler qualities which we call spiritual, we may go back to this oldest book of Scripture for our first proof—"In the beginning God created." The three chief truths set forth in this opening sentence of the Bible are the three chief points in dispute between Materialism and Christianity. Christianity affirms a beginning. Materialism knows no beginning. Christianity affirms a creation. Materialism knows no creation. Christianity affirms a God, the Creator, who was before the beginning, is



now, and ever shall be. Materialism knows no God, but begs only to be granted a beginning, though it be infinitely remote, and a germ, though it be infinitely minute, and then, with time, development and law, she will show how all the marvels of the universe have been wrought out apart from God. The fallacy of this materialistic notion of creation has been charmingly satirized by James Martineau, as follows :

“In not a few of the progressionists (*i. e.* the atheistic evolutionists) the weak illusion is unmistakable, that, with time enough, you may get every thing out of next to nothing. Grant us, they seem to say, any tiniest granule of power, so close upon zero that it is not worth begrudging ; allow it some trifling tendency to infinitesimal increment, and we will show you how this little stock became the Kosmos, without ever taking a step worth thinking of, much less constituting a case for design. The argument is a mere appeal to an incompetency in the human imagination, in virtue of which, magnitudes evading conception are treated as out of existence ; and an aggregate of inappreciable increments is simultaneously equated, in its cause to nothing, in its effect to the whole of things. You manifestly want the same causality, whether concentrated on a moment or distributed through incalculable ages ; only, in drawing upon it, a logical theft is more easily committed piecemeal than wholesale. Surely it is a mean device for a philosopher thus to crib causation by hair's-breadths, to put it out at compound interest through all time, and then disown the debt.” (Martineau, *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, pp. 141, 142).

In making our study together it may help us to consider here that what Materialism asks is a greater draft upon our credulity than anything religion has ever required us to believe. If there were no beginning, as Materialism affirms, then there must have been an infinite series of changes ; but an infinite series of changes is more unthinkable than a beginning, with creation. For look how easy it is when once we have the thought of God, the Creator ! All else follows, simply, naturally. When Büchner says that “The search of the philosophers after a first cause is like ascending an endless ladder,” we might answer that to deny a first cause is not only to build an endless ladder but is

to set men to climbing it endlessly. Something, in any case, must be assumed eternal. In this the theist agrees with atheist and pantheist. That something more than empty space is eternal both materialist and spiritualist must confess. It is no more difficult to think that mind is eternal than to think matter eternal. If matter is eternal we must think mind came from it. If mind is eternal we must think matter created by it; unless we have some reason to think both matter and mind eternal. But all the reasons we can gather out of the universe itself argue against the eternity of matter. We are very certain, for instance, that the solar system is not eternal. Its forces are running down. Its sun is cooling. Its moons are some of them cold already, as our own. Its motions are diminishing, its phases changing, its energy dissipating, its mountains wearing away, its valleys filling. The truth taught us by Sir Wm. Thompson's law of the dissipation of energy is that there was an initial state of the universe, previous to which we can not think of the present state of things as existing. Although we may push back that epoch very far, (Sir Wm. Thompson himself making it four hundred million years), we can not make it entirely vanish in the dim past of infinite time; otherwise the ultimate state to which we are slowly approaching by this demonstrated dissipation of energy would have already existed. All scientific men, all materialists, and now all reasonable theologians, are agreed on this point: within some finite period past our universe began, and within some definite period whose limit has been set by both scientists and theologians, it will disappear. And this means one of two things. Either this ebb and flow of creation, this cooling down and rekindling of suns and systems, has been going on forever; or, it began in some remote but definite period of time which might be calculated.

But either one of these horns of the dilemma must lead us to a difficulty as great as meets us in the thought of a Creator. If we take the one supposition that this ebb and flow of matter is eternal, then we simply have an eternal material substance, which is without beginning of days or end of years; *i. e.* we have the same thought as we must entertain when we speak of an eternal spirit, of God as everlasting. In neither case is any



beginning suggested, nor any explanation offered as to the philosophy of the eternal, whether it be matter or spirit. It is a bare assumption in both cases.

But taking the other horn of the dilemma, and saying that this ebb and flow is not eternal, we are driven to ask how it could begin without a Creator. By this way of thinking we come to the conclusion that the Scripture statement is the reasonable statement. Nature is an effect whose cause is not in itself—a result whose antecedent impulse is not material. Nature is not eternal, and the necessity for a beginning is made more imperative the more we think on the finite universe. The modern theory of Evolution, which has so much truth in it, though it has made many of its believers materialists, furnishes us the best argument against Materialism. For Evolution has as its first principle that there was a beginning. All that the Development theory has attempted to explain is the manner in which law has wrought in the universe since the beginning.

And in our argument for the spiritual interpretation of the universe we simply say that it does not seem possible that all this wealth of preparation should go for nothing. Usually we see preparation ending in something, something valuable; something which explains the preparation. As Emerson has it, "We must infer our destiny from the preparation." But if we should question the future existence and further progress of man, we should be reduced to this—we should have the most elaborate preparation ever made for anything ending in nothing. We should have to look on Nature, always "so careful of the type," and say we could not understand her methods. Emerson's description of the materialist's universe would be exact—"A nest of boxes with nothing in the last box."

From the first motions of dawning life in the lowest forms of organism on up step by step we trace a development, each stage a preparation for the next one; always a preparation for something that is higher, better, fuller, more widely related, more nicely adjusted; always a progress, from molluscan form to articulate; from mammal to man; from man in savagery to man in barbarism; from man in barbarism to man in lower stages of civilization, and so on from lower to higher, until in these last

days we fall upon the highest Christian ideal of life, duty, and eternal existence. Shall we see the principle fail us just when it would become most valuable? Shall it hold for the mollusc and be false for man? Shall he be compelled to see all other spheres of nature interpreted in his own life, and his own life an unexplainable enigma? All this for man, and man for nothing? Like those half-worn paths we sometimes come upon in the woods, and following them we find that they are lost in the deeper recesses of the forest, leading us nowhere; so must men say of existence, and of nature, if the materialistic ideas are to prevail, and we are to be shut off from reading the fuller life into this life which is now. The poet voices our cry when he says:

“Thou wilt not leave us in the dust,  
Thou madest man, he knows not why;  
He thinks he was not made to die;  
And Thou hast made him—Thou art just.”

—*Tennyson's In Mem.*

The history of matter itself, therefore, ought to convince us that no theory of the universe could be complete which did not go outside of matter, and back of its beginning. This is true of the mere dead stuff of which the physical framework of the universe is built. But when we come to consider the introduction of life into the universe, the orderly arrangement of the universe, the development of the highest from the lowest, we are impelled to think the poorest of all reasons that could be given for that order and development would be the one which would undertake to say that there was no outside and higher power. That would be equivalent to teaching the self-creation, and the self-development of life. We should be compelled to think, not only that the universe had a beginning without a Creator, but that life originated in this universe without any sufficient cause. Do we hazard anything in saying that such a supposition is vastly more unthinkable than the eternal self-existence of God?

To think that all the machinery of this wide universe has evolved itself from some former condition, which might be described as a mighty maze and all without a plan or Planner; to



think that matter, instead of being passive under intelligent direction, is guiding itself, is organizing itself, is evolving itself from lower forms to higher, through all the ramifications of genera, species, and variety, with a blind unconsciousness, is to think the unthinkable. Theology has no assumption so absurd and illogical as that. One could as well believe that a ship furnished with every nicest contrivance, and most delicate machinery, with steam and rudder and compass and sails, if set adrift, with no living soul on board, no intelligent will to control, direct and use what had been provided, would find its way duly and safely into some distant harbor. Nay, fully to represent the absurdity of the materialist's thought, we should need to picture the finished ship as having slowly grown up out of the wide waste of waters with no visible cause; as furnishing itself, according to some law that went blindly groping after it knew not what; as sailing away of its own motion to some definite but unknown port, and as gaining it.

The philosopher Leibnitz has in his studies what he called a law of sufficient reason—which, simple as it may sound at first, has in it a world of good sense and philosophy. His law is: "Nothing happens without a reason why it should be so rather than otherwise." We should not hesitate to apply that law to every small event of every-day life. We should apply it to the course of history, to the storms of the seasons, to the character of mental qualities, and to the longer arc through which one life or one century might sweep. To every result a cause ample and necessary. But the same law applied to all life, (which is but a more complex event within finite time limits), compels us to admit a cause which was before life, before matter, and superior to it. Even John Stuart Mill, whose bias from earliest childhood was against religion, was compelled to admit that all the evidence we can get "points to the creation, not indeed of the universe, but of the present order of it, by an Intelligent Mind." (Mill's Three Essays, p. 243).

How do I know that my fellowman is possessed of intelligence or mind? By such evidence as I gather from his work. It has a meaning and an order and a coherence which bespeak thought, and the argument from the universe back to mind which ar-

ranges, designs, or fore-determines it as it is, is a most convincing argument, lifting us always out of any material philosophy as to the universe. Flint in his "Theism" puts the case fairly thus: "We are greatly mistaken if we suppose that we have an immediate knowledge of the intelligence of the beings who make watches, houses and ships; we only know that the beings who make these things are intelligent because such things could not be made without intelligence: In a word, we only know our fellow-creatures to be intelligent beings because they utter and arrange sounds so as to convey a meaning, execute movements which tend to an end, and construct machines. We have no more a direct perception or a personal experience of the intelligence of our fellow-men than we have of the intelligence of God." (Flint's Theism, p. 157).

What we have contended for is the simple hypothesis of an eternal mind, self-existing and uncreated, in order to account for the coherence and adaptation discovered in the universe by the minds which we know to exist. And at the least, we contend further, this is more thinkable, and vastly more reasonable, than the hypothesis of the eternity of matter in order to account for the material world as it now exists.

In going on to give ourselves further reasons for the conviction that Materialism, or the doctrine that nothing is but matter, is a most pestilential heresy, let us consider this thought: (And should we not stop a moment to say that thought itself is but a material thing, if matter is all; that all thinking is to be set forth in purely physical equivalents; which is absurd. Men will never believe that! Quantitatively, *i. e.* physically, the molecular changes in the brain of an ox, in any given time, may exactly equal the molecular changes in the brain of a genius. But what of the outcome in the two cases? In quality we cannot compare them. In the one case we have as a result the magnificent creation, it may be, of Hamlet; and in the other case there results not more than the stamping of the foot to disturb a gadfly. In the one case the result is purely physical, and commensurable with the cause; while, in the other case, result and cause are wholly incommensurable, unless we are prepared to believe that thought is nothing more than a mode



of motion, a secretion of the brain as bile is of the liver, a mere glimmer of phosphorus.

We must note the fact that somehow we instinctively feel that beyond our last analysis of matter there is something we have not caught. I do not mean now in the way that the chemist indicates traces of salts—(the faint residuum when the chief constituents have been accounted for)—I mean rather the something which begets that glow of exaltation with which we contemplate the master-work of some artist. No analysis of separate colors; no definition by parts, or groups; no complete statement of the scene represented; much less any mere vulgar recital of the component parts of the pigment that covers the foreground; no weighing and measurement of canvas can help us or hinder us in these moments. There is a force, a quality, a something that is not material, that cannot be accounted for or described fully by any material terms or figures).

But, this is the thought which was in my mind when diverted by the fact that thought itself would become the most inexplicable of all mysteries under the teachings of Materialism. There has been such an orderly and regular progression in nature from the beginning upward, that reason compels us to believe we have not reached the limit of it in the material.

Look at this on two lines: First, the tendency to the higher in all natural development. We pass from dead matter to the organic, to vegetable life. From the vegetable itself to the flower, from the flower to the fragrance which is given off, with a delicate hint of the ethereal. In the animal kingdom the lower is first; sensibilities do not exist in the mollusc; through long gradation, up from lowest forms, we come at last to some rudimentary suggestion of the emotions in animals—which emotions reach the limit of known development in man. Is this meaningless? This is the very order indicated by Scripture when Paul says: "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual."

It would seem that a right interpretation of nature, on a line with this upward course she has always followed, would compel us to think that at the summit must stand some great and awful

fact; some deep secret, which becomes plain only in the light of all that has gone before. We have no alternative between thinking that, and thinking the whole question of existence a most miserable cheat and mockery. It is only a more refined misery that we have been prepared for, if we are only material, and the subtle essence we have called the soul has no more existence apart from the body than the flame after the candle is blown out, or the fragrance after the flower is dust. It is not without significance, in this connection, that Materialism is without exception hopeless. Its philosophy is always pessimistic. Christianity, which affirms a God, and a beginning, has a positive word also as to the future. It is always hopeful, inspiring. The Bible begins with the creation in Genesis, and ends with the vision of the life that is to be in Revelation.

The other fact which we must interpret as corroborating this view of nature's progression up to a sublimation of nature ending in the quality we call spirit, or soul, is the undoubted fact that physically such an upward progression is true. Man is the sum and crown of creation. By the principles of science itself it can be demonstrated that there will never be on earth a higher being than man. There are no other planets to roll off; no more satellites possible. The earth will circle on in her orbit with one moon till the end comes. Man and his welfare, comfort, education and perfection, seem to be the ultimate things. In this fact, (and a fact it is), we ought to be able to find some suggestive lesson, whose light we can throw backward upon all that has been. Emerson, in his *Essay on Immortality*, expresses it exactly: "Everything is prospective, and man is to live hereafter. That the world is for his education is the only sane solution of the enigma. And I think that the naturalist works not for himself, but for the believing mind, which turns his discoveries to Revelations, receives them as private tokens of the grand good-will of the Creator."\*

We have the same testimony from one of the ablest living disciples of Mr. Darwin, who says: "The creation and the perfecting of Man is the goal toward which nature's work has all

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\*Emerson's *Letters and Social Aims*, p. 299.



the while been tending. It enlarges ten-fold the significance of human life, places it upon even a loftier eminence than poets or prophets have imagined, and makes it seem more than ever the chief object of that creative activity which is manifested in the physical universe."\*

Here the argument for design may be content to rest itself, not fixing upon any of the minutiae; not saying that 'the beautiful hinge of a bivalve shell must have been made by an intelligent being, like the hinge of a door by man;' but passing from the details to the whole wide scheme, and the one grand end to which it has led up, in the incoming of a creature able to think upon and interpret nature. So Huxley must have meant when he declared: "There is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of evolution."†

In so far the Psalm of David and the science of Darwin agree exactly. The psalmist says: "Thou hast put all things under his feet." Science says: On earth there shall never be a creature higher than man. In the language of the teacher whom we have just quoted: "In the deadly struggle for existence which has raged throughout countless aeons of time, the whole creation has been groaning and travailing together in order to bring forth that last consummate specimen of God's handiwork, the Human Soul." In other words, the culmination of creation is spiritual: the only satisfactory explanation of man is found to be spiritual. To make him part of physical nature only is to put us to "permanent intellectual confusion." In the one instance we have a riddle whose solution is difficult, we grant; but, in the other instance, we have a riddle whose solution is impossible. Science says there is an increasing order running through the ages. Faith says, "Thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs." In declaring that all evidence points to the fact that man is the chief object of the creative energy and care, we are simply expressing our faith that there is a soul in man, and that this earth does not mark the limit of the soul's career. The

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\*John Fiske's *Destiny of Man*, p. 25.

†Huxley, "*Critiques and Addresses*," p. 305.

denial of Materialism is the affirmation of that more glorious hope which Christ brought in with his gospel. Materialism proceeds from a false notion as to matter, furnishing a poor philosophy, and a worse religion. It is what Carlyle, in his Scotch plainness, calls a very "Gospel of dirt."

The common argument with Materialism rests itself upon the difficulty of conceiving any such thing as creation, spirit, a beginning and such like. But so far as the difficulty of belief is concerned Materialism does as much to create skepticism as the Creeds of the Church. The appeal to the mental difficulty may be met by counter-appeal. We must be allowed to assume something. The whole history of science has proceeded from certain bold assumptions, which, being granted, have led on to the discovery of law. What could be bolder, for example, than the theory of an inter-stellar ether,—a substance dispersed everywhere, through which the planets pass, not as a ship passes through the water by parting the fluid, but without displacement of the fluid, the solid planets inter-penetrated by it, "as the water of the sea passes through the meshes of a net when it is towed along by a boat." Here on the face of it is an almost unbelievable proposition, which lies at the base of all our present teachings as to the material universe. Light and heat from the sun are able to reach the earth because between the sun and earth is a material substance so attenuated that a thousand million cubic miles of it would weigh only a pound.

Sir William Thompson has demonstrated that the inferior limit of the destiny of a cubic mile of ether is the one thousand millionth part of a pound.

There is not anything in the whole range of theological speculation which equals this most wonderful scientific theory in its boldness. It almost destroys for us the distinction between substance and spirit; and yet it is the first assumption of the most brilliant speculators of the present day. Now, it ought not to be so difficult to pass to the doctrine of the Scriptures, and the Creeds, concerning an invisible God, who fills immensity with his presence, who is pure spirit, without bodily parts or passions. A great living scoffer has said that that expression "without bodily parts or passions" is but the definition of a vacuum. But



his wit might have been directed against these scientific men who have filled the universe with a something which is next to nothing. Putting it on the lowest ground on which we can state it, our doctrine as to God, the Creator and Upholder of all things, is but another of those sublime assumptions by which the mind of man is able to come to some kind of peace in accounting for the visible universe, and the soul of man which perceives it. The last man of all to stumble at the mystery of any Scripture teachings is the man who knows the most of the mysteries of this visible universe.

I cannot pass entirely from the consideration of this part of my subject without noting how the newest theories touch on the oldest, in the ever-changing cycles of thought.

One physicist, Sir William Thompson, points out that there is a tendency towards a conversion of all energy into heat-energy, and its equal diffusion by radiation throughout space. Another puts forth, thereupon, a most remarkable and not impossible speculation. He suggests that the ethereal medium, the medium in which all the stars exist, and in which all radiation takes place, may have bounds, beyond which only empty space may exist. "All heat undulations reaching this boundary will be totally reflected, according to the theory of undulations, and will in all probability be reconcentrated into foci situated in many parts of the medium. Whenever a cold and extinct star happens to pass through one of these foci, it will be instantly ignited and resolved by intense heat into its constituent elements. A discontinuity will occur in the history of that portion of matter, and the star will begin its history afresh, with a renewed store of energy."\*

Let me put beside this speculation, for such it must ever remain, the old Buddhistic idea that is typified in the unfolding lotus. According to Buddhist teaching each universe comes into existence after a manner symbolized by the unfolding of the lotus-flower, which rises out of the chaos of waters; the hidden thought being, that as from the concealed germ beneath

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\*Prof. Rankine, as quoted by Stanley Jevons, *Principles of Science*, Vol. 2, p. 447.

the water there rises slowly and unfolds gracefully a flower, which only manifests itself upon the surface, so in the formation of worlds there is a germ somewhere; out of this germ the universe rises as from chaos, unfolding itself slowly, forming one compact whole. We might fancy in contemplating this teaching that we were reading a chapter of Herbert Spencer on "The law of the continuous redistribution of matter and motion."

Ancient Buddhism and modern Materialism agree thus in saying, not that our world or any single universe is eternal, but that the universe of which we know ourselves to be a part is only one of the countless lotus-flowers that are ever opening, in an unending succession of world systems. Each world, each universe has a beginning and reaches an end only to be reconstructed again, in order to be destroyed again in endless succession. No individual world, no system of worlds, no universe, can be eternal. The only absolutely endless thing is that law of unfolding. The lotus, therefore, whether it be in the evolution of the ancients or the moderns, is the flower which symbolizes well their method of thought.

What a relief to turn the mind from such a round of wearisome speculation to the thought that there is an eternal Will, to which matter owes its existence—an Inscrutable Reason that was in the beginning, and shall be, world without end; that knew the end from the beginning, and saw that this yet unbegotten chaos was to result in the cosmos. Yea more! Since he is the author of all that is, he is the author of the chaos and the cosmos. If the one, in the long unfolding ages of eternity, shall result from the other, it is because he wills that so it shall be. And looking at it with the same confession of our ignorance and his wisdom that we must make, when we look at the shorter but not less mysterious process of life now unfolding from a single germ in the case of every corn of wheat dropped into the ground, in the case of every child born into the earth, we shall be prepared to admit that it is neither unreasonable, nor impious, nor atheistic, nor even unchristian to think that God had a thought of man ten thousand years ago, as we reckon.

There is yet another fact in human life which would make



Materialism impossible, and that is the undoubted force of the moral argument.

Materialism cannot give a satisfactory account of matter. It is put to confusion in its own realm. It cannot give a satisfactory account of mind, soul, instinct, life, force, energy, call it what we may. Materialism cannot give a satisfactory account of morals. The difference which men always are making, (even when they might wish it otherwise), between right and wrong, is baffling on any material hypothesis. These three, matter, mind, morals, when studied in relation to man and his place in nature, compel the thought that atoms, molecules, gases, laws, and all that we discover in our study of the world, are but the scaffolding of some more noble thought, the physical basis of relations and purposes in both God and man which are infinitely removed from any possible material explanation.

Even Mr. Herbert Spencer, who is looked on as the apostle of modern scientific Materialism, is compelled in honesty to say: "He who contemplates the universe from the scientific point of view, must learn to see that this which we call religion is similarly a constituent of the great whole; and being such, must be treated as a subject of science, with no more prejudice than any other reality."

And Mr. Spencer is trenching very closely upon religious ideas when he writes more recently of "an infinite and eternal energy, from which all things proceed." Paul calls it the "eternal power and Godhead;" but at the bottom the idea is one.

All morality is simply a tendency toward order, or right, in the spiritual world; corresponding to order in the material world. It is a meaningless tendency if there is no spiritual world; if God is not the Creator from the beginning, then righteousness is a dream and virtue only a name.

To pass from morality to religion, (which is but the science and application of morality), is the next natural step. But it is a step which no one can take who tries to explain the earth and man on purely material principles. And what is the religious teaching concerning man—as set forth in purest form in Christianity?

The Scripture doctrine, (which can never be shown to be un-

reasonable), is simply this: That the things seen are temporal; that there are mightier forces which are not seen; that these are eternal; that the invisible things of God are clearly seen through the things that are made, even his eternal power and divinity; that God is a spirit; that man is made in the image of God; that he is appointed to immortality; that the earth is but the theatre for the working out of great spiritual problems, and has its chief meaning in man, made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor; that man and creation together are only intelligible in the light of Christ who interprets the invisible world, declaring life and immortality,—that whatsoever things are true and pure and of good report and just, are the best things, though unseen things, spiritual qualities, dwelling apart from matter, ruling conduct, influencing thought, moulding life, and helping on and up in the history of the development of the race.

And always Christianity is willing to be judged by her doctrines, whether the reasonableness of them is considered, or the fruits of them. Always she is willing, without boasting and without bigotry, to enter upon a comparison of results with any other ism, which undertakes to deny these higher claims, or to work out the problem of human life and destiny on any other, lower, ignoble plane.

Some one may wonder why I have dwelt thus long on the sophistries of a heresy which may never come into our Churches, even out of curiosity. But the naturalist must impale the hideous as well as the beautiful; and, if we are to make a fair estimate of our time, we must set forth the defects and deformities of unbelief as well as the beauty of holiness. We have need to understand the errors of our times, as well as our own faith. There is danger lest, unconsciously, we be caught in the whirl of this popular delusion. It lurks in scientific teaching, when it is shallow. It is openly avowed by some public lecturers, whose chief stock in trade is their ability to turn ridicule upon our faith in God and the future. Besides, there is always with us the danger of a practical materialism, which is content to deal only with the external world; buying, selling, providing, ploughing,



building, it never stops to enter seriously upon the more important questions of the spiritual life.

But especially have I brought this question before us that we might be impressed with the need that lies now upon all the Christian Church for an emphasis of all those spiritual qualities, such as Christianity is set for nourishing and propagating. We are appointed to be leaders in this work. We must keep alive and bring to perfection those nobler and invisible traits which Christ both showed men, and commanded his disciples to strive after:—love, faith, meekness, purity, patience, forgiveness and such like. These, in fulness, will do more than anything else we can say in argument, to mark strongly the difference which we feel must be, and which Scripture says does exist, between the spirit of the beast which goes downward, and the spirit of man which goes upward to God, in whose image it was first created.

Now in conclusion let us recall a few general principles.

No philosophy has yet been framed which does not go back of matter, and speak of some force, some unknowable power, some unseen reality, some infinite and eternal energy.

Huxley puts it very well when he says: "Of all the senseless babble I have every had occasion to read, the demonstrations of these philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if they were not surpassed by the still greater absurdities of the philosophers who try to prove that there is no God." (*Science and Culture*, p. 248).

Even Materialism, in its baldest forms, has done some good, in forcing us to burnish our weapons, in dispelling ghosts and illusions, and compelling a more rational faith in God, the Creator of all, who is in all, and through all, and over all. Materialism has in its favor this, that it is contributing to our store of facts concerning nature—facts which, when properly understood, will help us to stronger reasons for thinking that our spiritual facts are also real. We shall not be put to "permanent intellectual confusion," as the authors of "*The Unseen Universe*" express it. We are kept from underestimating the material.

Materialism also helps us in conceiving of the divine unity. For to Materialism the universe is undoubtedly a physical unit,

and we simply add to that conception the scriptural doctrine as to God the spiritual unit.

Materialism has already done its best and its worst. It has denied God; has affirmed that in matter is the promise and potency of all things. The force of nature can no further go. The pendulum will swing back, and the power of spiritual truths will triumph. All the instincts and inclinations of men, of ignorant and educated alike, are against the materialists' conception of nature. Men will never accept such a doctrine as that matter is all, and death ends all.

Nature has been throwing up the scaffolding and shaping her framework for ages to reach the completion of a marvelous plan. It is unreasonable to think that when the scaffolding is taken down there is nothing more. It would be the first time in all building that we had ever found it so; and would make man the crowning folly of nature.

If it should be objected that the animal world of lower order ought to be embraced in our hope by the line of thought we have followed, we answer, it is not likely, for several reasons. The animal has sensation, but not reflection; association, but not memory; no forward-looking: it is an automaton, and there is nothing to survive. By the very argument we have been considering, the animal world is a part of the scaffolding preparatory for man, pointing to his coming and his perfection.

Man has more that distinguishes him from the animal than he has in common with it. He has consciousness, of which there is no hint in even the highest animal; he has language; he has memory, in full development; hope unlimited, anticipation, desire for immortality, no one of which ever came within the range of any other order of earth-creatures. So, there may come, there ought to come, there must come, to man something akin to the high destiny he promises himself, else is he the most ill-favored of creation.

The universe takes on the color of tragedy if we must say or think that the noblest desire of the highest earth-creature shall fall down out of its coveted place; that nature, so evidently leading up to man as a finality, resulting in the life we now experience, with a yearning which is not found anywhere in nature



save in the soul of man, should give us for our portion nothing of all the brain thought or the eye saw in prophetic vision but an empty brain-cup and a sightless socket. Let him believe it who can!

In all consistency the animal, therefore, cannot look to be a sharer in this hope, which is peculiar to man, as the end of creation. On the stalk are many twigs. One only bears the flower which is elected to the rare honor of being plucked and worn because of its beauty and fragrance. And to man only of all creation, in its almost infinite diversity, has it been granted to be a partaker of the divine nature.

I like to fall upon a sentence like this, from a disciple of Darwin: " \* \* the more thoroughly we comprehend that process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more we are likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning. \* \* \* I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of Humanity this divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms and endure forever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvelous in all its myriad stages. \* \* On such grounds, if on no other, the faith in immortality is likely to be shared by all who look upon the genesis of the highest spiritual qualities in man as the goal of nature's creative work."\*

On the lowest way of stating it, this life is certain. Even granting all that Materialism could claim, this is; we are now; and the things that make this life best must be the best. But we can show that the faith that this is not all, has been the most potent of all influences to produce goodness. So long as the opposite cannot be demonstrated, (and it never can be; for even the most eloquent materialist of our time, when he comes to preach a funeral sermon, must say: "In the night of Death hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing") so long as the opposite cannot be demonstrated, we do wisely in holding to that towards which all our instincts, all our hopes

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\*Jno. Fiske's "Destiny of Man," p. 115, et seq.

directly ; all our fears and all our doubts, even, by indirection, point with longing and expectation.

Christianity has a positive affirmation concerning this life, and undertakes to explain its meaning. It declares a creation, a Creator, a merciful and good God, a Redeemer. It sets men on active lines of useful work. It fills the soul with such impulse as to put to rout the miserable thought about eating and drinking because we die to-morrow—(a mere animal, bestial notion of life ; materialism reduced to practice). It begets high inspiration, lofty endeavor ; makes the soul as real a thing, though spiritual, as the body in which it dwells ; creates a spiritual realm, if none was before, and a spiritual vocabulary ; denying theoretical Materialism, defying practical Materialism ; leading the race on to the future life through spiritual means and processes.

Surely this is the best, this is the divinest part, to choose. And what better thought could be in each mind, as we close our study of this topic, than this :

“I will not be tempted to believe these falsehoods concerning my own best hope ; I will hold fast to faith in myself, in others, in God and eternal life, as the best antidote to Materialism. I will cling to and cherish, as the truest things I know, the sweet hopes which point heavenward ; I will still insist that the spiritual is the more noble, the material the less noble ; and that I shall come into more blessed conditions on dropping away this vestment of our mortal state ; that I shall know, and see, and be with, and live on in the company of, those whom here I knew, and of others whom I longed to know ; that death does not end all ; and that instead of being an eternal sleep, as a material age declared, it is, and will be found to be, the most blessed of all awakenings.”

So declaring, each one for himself, we may go on singing with the psalmist, restless and dissatisfied with all else, “I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness.”

Instead of believing that all life walks with aimless feet to destruction, we make the poet's trust to be ours, that there is

“One God, one Law, one element,  
And one far-off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves.”



## ARTICLE II.

## THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN YORK, PA.\*

By BEALE M. SCHMUCKER, D. D., Pottstown, Pa.

Psalm 90 : 1, "*Lord, Thou has been our Dwelling-place in all generations.*"

We celebrate to-day, with joyful and grateful hearts, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of this congregation. In all the years which have passed, since on the 23d of September, 1733, the ministrations of Rev. John Caspar Stoever in the settlement on the Codorus began, the Lord our God has constantly fulfilled the promise given to his ministry : "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Generation after generation of men has lived and passed away, but in all their generations the Lord has been their dwelling-place. Church buildings have been erected for the uses of the congregation, have gone to decay and been succeeded by others; the congregations assembling have changed as in slow procession they have passed across the stage of life; children received in the covenant of baptism have stood as young men and maidens at the altar making their confession at their confirmation, have wrought as men and women Christ's work in the Church throughout their lives, and at last been attended by its rites to their places in the acre of God; godly men have ministered as pastors, sowing the seed and gathering the harvest of the divine Word, one after another in long array, the memory of whom is blessed; but amid all these changes, the same Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ has been declared from the pulpit, the same sacraments have been ministered at the altar, the same graces of the Spirit have wrought in the lives of believers and brought forth the continual fruits of good works. The Word of the Lord endureth forever.

This church has been for more than a century a mother of

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\*An Historical Discourse delivered September 23d, 1883, at the one hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the establishment of Christ's Church.

churches. Her members and ministry have organized congregations in all the surrounding country which stand as beacon lights illuminating the way to heaven, her daughters are gathered around her in the city on every side, she has given a continuous succession of her young men for the work of the ministry in all the land, and her children going out from her to near and distant places in countless numbers have carried with them her lessons and injunctions and in their new abodes have established or strengthened churches.

Surrounded by crowding memories of the years gone by, sustained by the interest in the past of all the members of her widespread family, we to-day relate the history of the congregation for a century and a half.

#### DATE OF SETTLEMENT.

It may not be possible to determine the exact time of the first settlement of the lands on the Codorus, adjacent to the present location of York, but it is certain that there was no large number of settlers before the Fall of 1731. The first Record of the Lutheran Church on the Codorus, begun in Sept. 1733, contains the names of twenty-four persons, all males, who contributed to the purchase of the record book; of these twenty-four we know the date of arrival in America of at least sixteen, only four of whom arrived at Philadelphia before 1731, six arrived in the Fall of 1731 and six in the Fall of 1732. Of the heads of families whose names are entered in the Baptismal Register before the year 1741, the date of arrival at Philadelphia of forty-nine is known, of whom five came in 1727, two in 1728, one in 1730, eleven in 1731, twenty-two in 1732, six in 1733 and two in 1734. Glossbrenner and Carter's History of York County says that the first authorized settlement was made in 1729, on Kreutz Creek, by John and James Hendricks. One of the same name, Tobias Hendricks, was among the founders of this congregation. The date of their arrival clearly shows that the first members were not in America before the Fall of 1731 and that in the Fall of 1733 they were settled here.

#### FORMATION OF THE CONGREGATION.

In the month of September 1733 the Lutherans in this neigh-



borhood were visited by the Rev. John Caspar Støever and gathered into a Congregation under the name of "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde an der Kathores," "The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation on the Codorus." A Church Record was purchased, on the fly-leaf of which the names of twenty-four persons are entered who contributed to the purchase of the Book. In this Record were begun the entries of the baptisms administered by Pastor Støever, as well as of the marriages celebrated by him. There is no record of burials until in 1748 by Rev. J. H. Schaum, nor is there in this book any record of confirmations or communions.

THE FIRST PASTOR, REV. JOHN CASPAR STOEVER.

It is but fitting that notice should be taken of the founder of the congregation and its pastor during the first ten years of its history. He was born Dec. 21, 1707, in the Upper Province of the Electorate of Hesse, now in the Hessian Province of Prussia, at the city of Franckenberg on the Edder, a branch of the Fulda which empties into the Weser. He was the son of Dietrich Støever, bürger and merchant and Magdalena, daughter of Rev. Andrew Eberwein, pastor at Franckenberg. One of the sponsors at his baptism was Rev. John Christopher Eberwein, Pastor and Preceptor Primarius in the Pædagogium at Giessen, which offices a relative of Mr. Støever, Dr. J. Phil. Fresenius afterwards held, who was so eminent among the early friends of our Church in America. In his youth Støever went to Anweiler on the eastern slope of the Haardt Mountains in the Rhenish Palatinate to teach, taking with him most favorable testimonials as to his honorable birth and excellent character, signed by the elders of the church at Anweiler. Here he taught school and was organist, and probably studied with a view to the ministry. In 1728 he sailed from Rotterdam with 90 Palatines on the ship *James Goodwill*, David Crocket, master, left Deal, England June 15, and landed at Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1728. His name is entered on the ship's register as Johann Caspar Støever S. S. Theol. Stud., Sacro-Sanctæ Theologiæ Studiosus. Another person of the same name, a near relative, came over with him, and is entered on the register as Missionaire, who settled as pastor of the

Lutherans in Spottsylvania, Va., went to Europe to collect moneys for his congregation, spent a winter in theological study with Dr. Fresenius and died at sea on his return. The first pastor of this church spent his first year in this country in the vicinity of the Trappe in Montgomery County, but in May, 1730, he was settled in Lancaster Co. on the upper waters of the Conestoga, near where New Holland now stands. He was not as yet an ordained minister, but I do not know whether there was one of our church in all Penna. except the Swedish pastors. It was twelve years before Muhlenberg came. There was no one here to examine and ordain. The people were without ministration of the sacraments, except as baptism was administered in case of need by a layman. Under these circumstances, at the desire of the people, Mr. Stœver began to serve as pastor to the Lutherans in Lancaster and Berks counties. In Sept., 1732, Rev. John Christian Schultze arrived and became pastor of the three congregations, Philadelphia, Providence and New Hanover, by which Muhlenberg was afterwards called. In December he visited Stœver and in May 1733, when he was sent to England and Germany to secure ministers and money for the relief of the Lutherans in Penna., he urged Mr. Stœver to take charge of his congregations. Mr. Stœver was ordained by Rev. Mr. Schultze at Providence, or the Trappe, in the place of worship of the congregation there, which was a barn fitted up for their use. He continued there until September when he return to Lancaster county and regularly opened church records for the congregations he had organized at Mode Creek, New Holland, Lancaster, and at North Kill and probably Tulpehocken in Berks county. He was now an ordained minister and he duly entered in these books the records of his acts before the time of his ordination. He continued to visit Schultze's congregations from time to time, but he resided near New Holland from that time on for many years, until he moved to the Swatarn in Lebanon county where he lived until his death May 13, 1779, after having organized nearly all the older congregations from New Holland to the North Mountain beyond Lebanon.

In the same month in which he returned to Lancaster county after his ordination, he visited the Lutherans west of the Sus-



quehanna. Several of the first members of this congregation had been passengers on the same ship with him, as Sebastian Eberle and George Schuhmacher, and as the earliest route of the emigrants through Lancaster led them past Stœver's home, it is probable that he met many of them on their way hither. He may even have visited them before, but there are no entries of baptisms of any earlier date. He at once gathered them together and formed a congregation. What the precise form of organization was I cannot positively affirm, but I have no doubt whatever that they were regularly organized in Sept. 1733, by the election of elders and vorsteher. The other congregations he had organized all had them. He calls this an Evangelical Lutheran congregation and the earliest form of organization of the Lutheran congregation in this country was by the election of such officers. It is not probable that there was any building erected as church at the outset. The members were few, widely scattered, and as yet only beginning to get hasty shelter arranged for their families. They probably met in the houses of the members. They were among the first regular settlers in the county. There was no town laid out here; the first survey in preparation for it was made Oct 1741, and there was not at that time one house within the future limits of the borough. From the whole district along the Codorus the members were gathered together to form this first Lutheran church west of the Susquehanna. I will not speak with certainty, but I have formed the impression that at first the Lutherans on Kreutz Creek were connected with this congregation and that the first church in the Kreutz Creek settlement may have been Reformed, or if the first church there was Lutheran, or Union, that it was of later date than this one on the Codorus. Schaum already preached there, but then the population was tenfold greater than in 1733.

For nearly ten years Mr. Stœver continued regularly to visit and minister to this congregation and the entries of his baptisms show him to have had services ordinarily once a month. Until the close of 1742 there is not an entry except in his own hand; during his pastorate he baptized 191 persons and married 34 couples. Mr. Stœver's pastorate ended in April, 1743. In

February, March and April the congregation was visited by another pastor who from his entries I should think was an aged man well trained in record entries. It was not Valentine Kraft as the writing is unlike his in the Providence records.

THE SECOND PASTOR, REV. DAVID CANDLER.

I am persuaded that Mr. Stœver found his field of labor too large to be well cared for, and also that many settlers who had gone beyond York to the Conewago and Monocacy needed to be looked after and organized into congregations, and therefore sought out some one who could be settled beyond the Susquehanna and the one found and put in his place was Candler. The reasons for this conclusion are that Pastor Stœver's pastoral acts continue unbroken until April 28, 1743, on which day he baptizes for the last time and on that same day Pastor Candler's baptisms begin. Whether Mr. Candler was at that time an ordained minister or not is unknown, as no trace has been found of him before that date, except that he was married and had several children, whose names he entered in the church record at Hanover after he had begun it. But if not before ordained, he was without doubt ordained by Stœver, and perhaps April 28, and it is possible that the other pastor who visited about that time united in the ordination. Pastor Candler did not settle at York but on the Conewago about one mile south-west of where Hanover now stands, where in May of the same year he began to gather a congregation and provided a place of worship for them in the house built for him. He also began to minister to the congregation on the Monocacy about ten miles this side of Frederick and he organized that at Frederick, all in 1743. His charge reached from the Susquehanna to the Potomac and he took up his residence in the centre of the field. In this congregation he set himself very diligently at work in hunting up and gathering in the new settlers; in 1743 there were 70 children baptized. All that I have found about him has left a very favorable impression as to his character. His son David, who was born May 6, 1740, and married here in 1760 to Catharine Dinkle, was a prominent and esteemed citizen and member of the church. Unfortunately Pastor Candler's health soon failed,



and after May, 1744, there is no entry made by him. In December, 1744, he died and was buried in the graveyard at his own residence near Hanover, the burial service being conducted by Rev. Lars Nyberg who had just before taken charge of the Lutheran church at Lancaster. In 1744 the first log church was erected on the ground secured by the Lutheran congregation and occupied ever since then. Whether any log church had been erected in Mr. Stœver's time at some point in the country I cannot learn, but think it exceedingly probable, as services had been regularly held once a month for ten years, and a log church in the simple style of the pioneers could easily have been erected by the members at little cost, but it was not located where York now stands; when the town had been laid out and lots began to be taken up, one was secured for the purpose, and on it the first Lutheran church in the limits of the town plot was erected in 1744. The date of its consecration is unknown, but we hope that the declining strength of the pastor lasted long enough to allow him to witness the happy result of his labors and see completed the church in which beside its pastors, Muhlenberg, Brunholtz, Handschuh, Kurtz would preach as visitors.

#### VACANCY AFTER THE DEATH OF CANDLER.

At the burial of Pastor Candler at the Conewago church in December, 1744, many persons were present from all congregations of the charge and having heard Nyberg preach an arrangement was made then, or soon afterward, that he should take temporary charge of them and should secure from Sweden an Evangelical Lutheran minister who would become their pastor. Rev. Lawrence (Lars) Thorstansen Nyberg was a Swede, who after having studied civil engineering made some study of theology. In intercourse with David Gradin he had accepted the Moravian views and desired to become connected with that body. He was engaged as tutor by a Swedish count when he heard that a call from Lancaster for a minister had been sent. He applied with recommendations from the count to be sent out and was ordained and sent as pastor to Lancaster. At London, while on his way, he sought out Spangenberg and the Moravians and was received into connection with them and concerted

his plan of coöperation. Spangenberg was about to sail for America but they agreed to sail on separate vessels so that no connection between them might appear. So they both told Conrad Weiser, as Muhlenberg says, *H. R.*, p. 70. When he arrived in Philadelphia and was asked by Mr. Koch and Muhlenberg he denied all acquaintance with the doctrines or plans of Zinzendorf or any of his people except Gradin. That a man capable of such lying deceit should make trouble was to be expected. He began at once, not only at Lancaster, but at York, Conewago, Monocacy and wherever he labored, to lay his plans to carry the congregations over to the Moravians and near the close of 1745 called a Moravian Conference at Lancaster. So soon as he had thrown off the cloak the congregations rose up in resistance against him. In York the struggle was an especially severe one, as the Reformed Pastor, Jacob Lischy, was of the same mind and in the same concealed relation to the Moravians with him. They worked together with great heartiness and were assisted by brethren from Bethlehem. In and all around York they brought many to take sides with them. In 1746 a Moravian Synod was held at Kreutz Creek. Nyberg brought two Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem and tried to settle one as pastor of the Lutheran church at York and the other at Monocacy. But the eyes of the majority of the members were now fully opened and they locked the doors on him in all the Lutheran churches from York to Frederick. (*Halle Reports*, pp. 69-75, 189, 233-244.) Among the most steadfast opponents of the Moravian efforts was the old schoolmaster of the Lutheran church at York, Bartholomaeus or Barthel Maul. It was agreed that services should be regularly held and he read a sermon for the congregation and carefully instructed the young in the catechism, so that they might be confirmed by some worthy Lutheran pastor.

After the majority of the congregation had come to a final decision against Nyberg, they applied to the United Lutheran Ministers sent out from Halle and asked to be received into connection with them, to be supplied by them with a pastor and to be visited and cared for until they received a pastor. There was as yet no synod, but the congregations supplied from



Halle were united by an agreement which gave consent to accept pastors and general supervision from Drs. Ziegenhagen and Franke and brought them into a close union with each other even before any annual convention was held. In answer to this application Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg visited York in May, 1746, for the first time. (Halle Reports, p. 189). He came from Lancaster where an important step had just been taken. Nyberg had caused the leaders of the Lutherans who locked the church on him to be arrested, and the court had discharged them; they had just taken possession of their church in which Muhlenberg had preached and taken that congregation into connection with the United Ministry and congregations. The account of his visit to York is very brief both in the Halle Reports and in his Diary. He says that the congregation consisted of one hundred and ten families; he baptized a number of children, and confirmed those whom the schoolmaster had instructed. In the February preceding Rev. Mr Naesman, the Swedish pastor at Philadelphia had visited York and baptized several children which baptisms are entered in his handwriting. Unfortunately it was not in the power of the United Ministers to send anyone to take charge at York. There were as yet only two of them, Muhlenberg and Brumholtz, with two catechets, Kurtz and Schaum, and many appeals were made to them for services. So the strife at York went on. The Moravian party was very active and the Lutherans had only schoolmaster Maul to read a sermon for them, but services were held regularly. Nyberg would seem not to have had access to the Church Record. The only entries made by him are on Nov. 11, 1744, before the death of Candler. In 1745 there are only four baptisms entered and in 1746 only twenty, of which four were by Naesman, Feb. 1 and 9, three at the time of Muhlenberg's visit, May 8, though entered by the schoolmaster, and three Oct. 14, when they probably had another visit, but from whom I do not know.

In June, 1747, Muhlenberg again visited York and also went to Conewago, Monocacy and Frederick, and in all these places tried to encourage hope and restore order. Of this visit he has given a full account in his Diary most of which is given in the Halle Reports, pp. 231-245, 69-75. He presents so interesting

and instructive an account of the condition of affairs, and so beautiful an evidence of his own faithfulness and wisdom in dealing with men and with strife that I cannot refrain from quoting from it:

“June 21, 1747. In the afternoon we rode from Lancaster twenty-two miles and in the night reached the newly laid out town called York. Some of the people came together in the middle of the night and rejoiced at my arrival and expected that the Lord’s Supper would be administered to them on the following Sunday, as it had long been promised them. I was now in the district in which the Lutheran congregations had commissioned Mr. Nyberg, when they had still supposed him to be a genuine Lutheran, to secure an orthodox minister for them from Sweden. Mr. Nyberg had promised to get them one who was even better than himself. In the meantime he often visited the congregations as far as into Maryland, and one and another soul was awakened under his lively preaching. When he thought that his party had become strong enough, he tried to introduce two brethren from Bethlehem here and in Maryland. The opposite party however proved unexpectedly too strong, resisted him and said that they had asked for Lutheran ministers from Sweden and not for Moravians from Bethlehem. Thereupon a great division arose. The people who had been awakened by his method clung very closely to him, were ready to live or die with him, and, being so persuaded by him, declared that we were false teachers. The stronger party nevertheless locked the church against him and said that they would connect themselves with our United Congregations. Nyberg’s party were supported and strengthened by the Reformed minister Jacob Lischy and others from Bethlehem. Lischy had for some time labored in the Reformed congregations in this district, but after it became known that he was of Moravian tendencies his congregations also were distracted. Under these circumstances I was in a difficult position. Awakened souls of both parties showed spiritual hunger, were well disposed toward my preaching, except that those of Moravian tendencies were not pleased with the preaching of the law, repentance, prayer and spiritual conflict, although I maintained them clearly enough



with proofs from the Scriptures and our Confessions, and when I was constrained to bear testimony against Nyberg and other Moravians, they considered it as almost the sin against the Holy Ghost. I was glad to find that the Lutherans had been driven to the Bible and the catechism: 'Denn die Anfechtung lehret auf das Wort merken.' Their zeal for orthodoxy also was to be commended if only it was kept in the reasonable bounds of moderation, and pure doctrine was accompanied by a holy life. At the same time I can safely affirm that some of our people in the severest conflicts with the disingenuous Moravians stood so firm and acted with such Christian moderation and wisdom, that it must be ascribed to the especial grace of God which protects the simple-hearted." On his return from Maryland Muhlenberg was to tarry and minister at York, and he thus tells the story: "On Saturday, June 27, at noon, we arrived again at York, where the members of the congregation were assembled to give in their names that they might come to the Lord's Supper. I went into the house of one of the vorsteher, called together those elders and members who had been the most active and earnest in preventing the church and congregation from falling into the hands of the Moravians, and begged them to put away from them all dissension and distraction, to turn heartily to God, to ask of him grace and the forgiveness of sin through Jesus Christ, and to tell me with entire impartiality, conscientiously, according to the best of their knowledge, how each one of those who now applied to be admitted to the Lord's Supper had heretofore conducted himself. Their old schoolmaster, who had thus far diligently instructed the children and on Sundays had read a sermon and thus kept the congregation together, was also present and was questioned with reference to some charges brought against him. On account of his faithfulness and firmness he was a thorn in the flesh of the other party and they accused him of many gross sins and of disgraceful conduct. In the course of the examination it became evident that most of the charges were unsustained and arose out of malice, but he himself confessed that on one or several occasions, at the signing of contracts or obligations he had drunken somewhat too much. He promised to pray God to bestow upon him his Holy Spirit and

the complete renewal of his heart and to walk more circumspectly. One or another of the vorsteher had shown too much heat and been too loud in the strife with the Moravians, for which I reproved them in love and gentleness and bade them search their hearts carefully. When those present had given in their names, one after another, there were found to be three classes of persons. Of some it was said that they had heard the word of God diligently and lead a quiet and peaceable life. Of others it was said that they had lived at strife with their neighbors and had not diligently attended upon the preaching of the Word. Of such it was demanded that they should come with their opponents and be reconciled. Some were reconciled and promised to open their hearts to the Spirit and word of God and no more to resist. The Jusice of the Peace presented himself, but made complaint against a contentious neighbor, who, being examined, conducted himself rudely, refused admonition and was excluded until he amended. The third class were those who had been awakened by the preaching of Nyberg and his co-laborers. The vorsteher complained that these had not usually attended the services of the church when a sermon was read, but had run after Nyberg and others. They answered that such preaching moved their hearts, that by the preaching they were awakened from the sleep of sin, led to confess themselves poor sinners, to desire nothing so much as to be freed from their sins and to obtain grace to lead with earnestness a new life. They also affirmed that they desired to receive the Lord's Supper and that they had not forsaken the evangelical religion, but were more firmly established therein, because now for the first time the word of God and Luther's Catechism had become truly attractive to them. The vorsteher desired that they should promise that in future they would adhere more closely to their church and attend the services, and no longer run after Mr. Nyberg. They answered that they should not be bound so closely and be robbed of their liberty. But this they would promise, that if a worthy pastor of our United Ministry would come hither and preach, it would give them joy to come and hear him and to follow him in so far as he was a follower of Christ. They found no power or edification in the read sermons.



I saw clearly how the matter stood on both sides and desired therefore to speak first with the vorsteher alone and afterward with these people. The vorsteher said that they rejoiced when souls were awakened and brought to better thoughts, but they must be careful, lest on the one hand the congregation be scattered and carried over to the Moravians, or on the other hand be driven off to Valentine Kraft, Carl Rudolph and the like, who were in the neighborhood, and thus the small harvest be destroyed for which they might hope if after a time a pastor of our body could be sent to them. They had no malice toward Nyberg and others, but esteemed their gifts, but inasmuch as they adhered to the Moravian sect, awakened souls did not continue in their first simplicity, but were led astray more and more. To this I gave my approval but said that nevertheless they must deal very prudently and do no injury on any side ; because as a general rule, in the first awakening a tender love toward their teachers showed itself in such hearers, which in their farther growth was gradually purified. Their present disposition and course was good, inasmuch as they acted not from personal malice or enmity, but from an anxiety for the true welfare of their congregation. Afterward I spoke also to the persons mentioned, admonished them to persevere in the good work begun, to prove all things carefully by the word of God and the catechism, and to build their house not on the sand, or on human opinions, but on the true rock, Jesus Christ. Three or four of these persons came to the Lord's Supper while several absented themselves. At three o'clock we went to the church and had a profitable preparation based on Matt. 11 : 8. The people were all very attentive and enhungered and drank in the Word as a dry land does the warm rain. After the Preparatory Service and Confession, I received the group of young people whom the schoolmaster had instructed with creditable industry for their confirmation, examined them in the Order of Salvation and admonished them to true repentance and living faith and the renewal of their baptismal covenant, which was then publicly made. After the service I conversed personally with some individuals who mentioned such things in the address as had spe-

cially moved them and sought instruction concerning such things as they had not understood. In the evening I edified and refreshed myself still further with the elders and vorsteher in the house.

On Sunday, June 28, early, some persons who live far off and could not be present yesterday made application for the Lord's Supper. A few of Mr. Nyberg's adherents also applied, but when they were admonished as the others had been, they proved intractable and stayed away. The church was on this occasion too small and nearly half the audience had to stand outside, for a great congregation had assembled from a distance even of ten to twenty miles. I first held preparatory service and confession with those who had to-day applied, then preached on the gospel of the great supper, (it was the second Sunday after Trinity), after the sermon I baptized a number of children, examined and confirmed fifteen young persons amid plenteous tears, administered the Lord's Supper to two hundred communicants and then closed the public services of the Sunday, the whole congregation on bended knees giving thanks to the Father, in Christ Jesus, for all his unmerited grace. In the evening I was invited as guest by the Justice of the Peace." It is probable that the Justice of the Peace was George Swaabe, or Swope as the Suabians pronounced it and as it is now spelled. At least he was among those first commissioned on the erection of the county in 1749 and had probably served before the county of Lancaster was divided. He was favorably disposed to Nyberg and Muhlenberg gave him and his friends a full history of Nyberg which is recorded in the Halle Reports, pp. 69-75.

I have not found evidence of any visit by Muhlenberg, or Brunholtz, or any known pastor, from this time until May 1748. It is probable that there were no other services than those at which a sermon was read by the schoolmaster Barthel Maul, who was probably the first teacher of the congregational school. He came to this country in 1732 in the same ship with Christian and Conrad Lau and Nicholas Koyer, who were members here at the beginning. He was still living in 1754 and dead before 1759.



## THE THIRD PASTOR, REV. JOHN HELFRICH SCHAUM.

In May, 1748, the United Ministers were for the first time able to make provision for the congregation and to send one of their assistants, John Helfrich Schaum, to labor at York. Before giving an account of his ministry it may be well to notice the character of the conditions upon which congregations were received into connection with the United Ministers and Congregations, by which in August, 1748, the Ministerium of Penna. was organized. These are clearly set forth in the agreement made in August, 1748, when it was proposed to ordain Nicholas Kurtz and send him to Tulpehocken. This agreement was prepared by H. M. Muhlenberg and subscribed by the church councils of Tulpehocken and North Kill. (Halle Reports, new ed., pp. 139-141.

They narrate their application for a pastor, and the reasons which induce them to apply for admission into the union and then assume the following obligation: "We do hereby invite, acknowledge and declare, in the most public and solemn manner, all of the Reverend Pastors of the United Church Congregations in Penna. to be our Pastors and Shepherds. We do furthermore engage to acknowledge the Rev. College of Pastors as a lawful and regular Presbytery and Ministerium and especially as our own Chief-Pastors, having the care of souls over us, to respect and regard them as holding such office, to do, order, decide, or alter nothing in Church-affairs without their previous counsel and consent. Therefore we will not enter into relations with any Pastor, nor, even in coöperation with a Pastor sent us by them, will we undertake any important church-matter without their previous counsel and consent. On the other hand, we will accept, and to the utmost of our ability obey and carry into effect, whatever the entire Rev. College of Pastors shall determine in Church-affairs for our own and the other Congregations. Furthermore, we do engage to acknowledge, to receive, to respect, to honor and to listen to the teacher who shall be sent to us by the Rev. College of Pastors as our rightful and divinely called teacher, so long as the Rev. College of Pastors shall think good to leave him with us, and also not to resist in case they should decide for grave reasons to take

such an one away and to send another in his place, but to receive and treat such successor with the like love and service.

“In addition we give assurance that should misunderstanding or dissension arise, which may God prevent, either between the Congregation or a portion of it and the pastor, or between members of the Congregation, we will report the same at once to the Rev. College of Pastors and await and abide by their decision. Finally we promise to furnish the necessary support to the teacher sent us and to obligate ourselves thereto by a special subscription, and to use our best endeavors to urge the Congregation to pay annually the needed support to our Pastor.” Such were the stringent terms to which assent must be given before any congregation could be received under the care of the United Pastors.

In April, 1748, Rev. Mr. Handschuh arrived and upon careful consultation it was decided by the United Pastors to locate him at Lancaster and to release Mr. Schaum from the care of the school at Philadelphia and send him to York. John Helfrich Schaum is said in Sprague's *Annals* to have been born at Giesen, in Hesse Darmstadt. When he was selected for labor in America, his father, John Phil. H. Schaum, was Preceptor of the school at Münchholzhausen, in the domain of the Count of Solms-Braunfels, not far from Giessen, and was an intimate friend of John George Kurtz, teacher at Lützellinden near by, and father of Nicholas Kurtz who was sent over with Schaum. Schaum was educated in the schools of the Orphan House and at the University at Halle. When he was a student of theology he was selected by Dr. Francke and his associates, licensed as catechet and sent over with authority to teach in the congregational school, to instruct the catechumens and occasionally to preach under the oversight of the United Pastors. (*Halle Reports*, new ed., pp. 88-90). He landed at Philadelphia, Jan. 26, 1745, in company with his comrade N. Kurtz and with Rev. P. Brunholtz. He was stationed at Philadelphia, lived with pastor Brunholtz and taught in the school in the same house. He occasionally preached under the pastor's direction, especially at Germantown. He was sent to Cohenzi, N. J., to preach, and in April, 1747, he was sent for two months to Raritan, in New Jer-



sey, with full and minute instructions, with authority to teach, preach, baptize and marry; he is styled Helffer, and was an unordained vicar or assistant to the pastors. The instructions and a letter to the congregations were preserved by the descendants of Mr. Schaum and have been examined by me. There can hardly be a doubt that the instructions given him when he came to York were substantially the same. He was to occupy the position of Diaconus, to be very prudent and careful in official and private life, to keep an exact and connected diary of each day's events and official acts to be submitted to the ministers and to send occasional reports of affairs, to conduct all services in exact accordance with the prescribed order given him; minute directions as to the length and mode of preaching are given; he has authority to baptize but must use the exact words of the Agenda, to marry those of the congregation after threefold publication of the banns, to instruct carefully the young as the most important matter committed to him, and finally he is minutely charged as to his conduct and conversation. He had no authority to confirm, or to administer the Lord's Supper, as one of the ordained pastors would come from time to time for these purposes.

*The Order of Public Worship* which was revised in that Summer, which he copied from the MS. furnished by pastor Handschuh and to which he was enjoined to conform exactly, was as follows:

1. The *Confession of Sins* with the *Kyrie eleison*.
2. The metrical *Gloria in Excelsis*, "Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehr."
3. The *Salutation*: "The Lord be with you," and the *Response*: "And with thy spirit," followed by the *Collect* for the day, from the Marburg Hymnbook.
4. The *Epistle* for the day.
5. The principal *Hymn*.
6. The *Gospel* for the day.
7. The *Creed*, in metrical form: "Wir glauben all."
8. A *Hymn* of petition for the divine blessing.
9. The *Sermon*, preceded by a short prayer and the Lord's

Prayer, the Gospel being read the second time and the sermon based on it.

10. The *General Church Prayer*, followed by special intercessions for the sick and the *Lord's Prayer*.

11. The *Votum*, The Peace of God, which passeth, &c.

12. A *Hymn*.

13. *Salutation, Response* and closing *Collect*.

14. The *Benediction* and a closing verse.

Such was the Order of Service in this church and in all the churches of the Union. (Halle Reports, new ed., pp. 211-213).

It was on the 17th of May, 1748, that Diaconus John Helfrich Schaum, accompanied by pastor J. F. Handschuh, from Lancaster, and schoolmaster Vigera, from Philadelphia, arrived at York to commence his labors. His diary furnishes a full account of the events of the following days, a copy of which, from the Archives at Halle, is printed in the Appendix to the Halle Reports, new ed., pp. 203, &c. In the afternoon of the 18th the Constitution for Congregations adopted by the United Ministers was presented and put in force, which continued as the order of government until in 1781 a revised Constitution was adopted; at the same time elders and vorsteher were elected. On Ascension Day, May 19, services were held when Mr. Schaum preached, the newly elected elders and vorsteher were installed, and 16 catechumens, instructed by Barthel Maul, were confirmed by Handschuh, after an address by Schaum. In the afternoon application was made for the communion, and on the day following, after preparatory service, the Lord's Supper was administered by pastor Handschuh after a sermon by Diac. Schaum, and seven children were baptized. On Saturday Handschuh and Vigera went to Conewago (Hanover) to arrange for its connection with York, which soon afterward was effected, as was also that of the Lower Bermudian congregation where Schaum preached May 31. Thus the labors of Diaconus Schaum at York were begun.

At the first meeting of the Ministerium of Penna., Aug. 13th, 1748, Diac. Schaum was not present, nor was there any delegate from York, on account of the shortness of the notice, given only Aug. 8, though they had been invited. (Halle Reports, p. 78).



Schaum's fellow catechet Kurtz was ordained as pastor at Tulpehocken, but it had been decided to postpone the ordination of Schaum, in order that the congregation might know him better, and that some difficulties here existing might first be removed. In a letter to Schaum, dated Aug. 22, pastor Handschuh gives an account of the meeting at Philadelphia and says that the Ministerium had addressed a letter to the congregations at York and Conewago with reference to himself, which was to be read in church.

There were many difficulties encountered by Mr. Schaum at the outset. The congregation had been without a settled pastor for nearly five years, ever since the death of pastor Candler. Pastor Nyberg, to whom the oversight had been given, had tried to carry the congregation over to the Moravians, and even when he failed in his effort, he had drawn one member after another away, in which work of distraction he had been aided by the presence and influence of Lischy. In all this time, except for the occasional visit of a pastor, they had no other services in the church than those conducted by the schoolmaster. That much dissension and distraction should have resulted was unavoidable; and so strongly were they manifested, that in Sept., 1748, the United Pastors proposed to remove Mr. Schaum and send him to Raritan, in N. J. (Halle Reports, p. 287). But when the congregation heard of this, they endeavored to settle their difficulties and secure his retention among them. The opponents of Mr. Schaum were of two classes, first the Moravian party, which had been at work for over four years, and secondly, those who were opposed to the strict discipline and the earnest pietism of the Halle pastors. But Mr. Schaum succeeded in winning the confidence of the large body of the congregation and in the Spring of 1749 there was a general desire that he should be ordained as their pastor. (Halle Reports, p. 78). April 14, pastor Handschuh visited York, administered confirmation and the communion, and made arrangements for the ordination of Mr. Schaum. (Halle Reports, p. 400). At the meeting of the Ministerium at Lancaster, Saturday, June 3, Mr. Schaum was examined, after which the elders, vorsteher, and other members of the congregation at York on the Catores

who were present, were called in and conferred with about his call and ordination. His call was made out and subscribed. On Sunday, June 4, the second Sunday after Trinity, in Trinity Church, Lancaster, after a sermon by pastor Muhlenberg, an address by him to the candidate, and a prayer by pastor Brunholtz, Diaconus Schaum was solemnly ordained by the laying on of the hands of the pastors present. During the ordination service all the elders and deacons of the York congregation, and the delegates from the other congregations, stood around the altar as witnesses. (Halle Reports, pp. 78, 329, 386, 405). With such solemn services the first resident pastor of this congregation was set apart for and appointed to his work.

It was probably in view of his new pastoral dignity that Mr. Vigera was to send him a wig from Philadelphia and a large rocking chair; a letter from Vigera also mentions a present of 11  $\frac{1}{4}$  yards linen shirting received for him from that good friend of our pastors, the Gross Vogtin von Münchhausen. (Schaum Correspondence, Vigera's Letters, April 28, Oct. 17, 1749).

On the 19th of August, 1749, the county of York was formed and the influx of Germans became still stronger. At the meeting of Synod, June 17, 1750, at Providence, pastor Schaum and two delegates were present (Halle Reports, pp. 353, 516), and there seems to have been a prosperous condition of affairs here. In Sept. he visited Raritan (p. 520) and again Nov. 23 he started to assist in the consecration of the church there and in the ordination of pastor Weygand. Pastor Handschuh and an elder joined him at Lancaster, and pastors Hartwig and Brunholtz and an organist at Providence. On this journey pastor Schaum met with an accident by which one of his legs was severely injured, so that he had to use crutches at the ordination and the long journey home was made difficult and painful. (Halle Reports, pp. 522-4). From this painful injury he suffered for years and was greatly disabled for the work of his ministry. From Dec., 1750, until April 14, 1751, when Handschuh visited and preached for him, he had not been able to preach, and sermons had been read by schoolmaster Maul. (Halle Reports, p. 532. Schaum Corresp.) Nich. Kurtz preached for him here April 28. How soon afterward he was again able to preach I have not ascer-



tained, but have not found in his correspondence any proofs of the visits of other pastors. The invitation to Synod he could not accept. In 1752 he was present at the meeting at Germantown and was requested occasionally to visit the congregation at Frederick, which was vacant and had frequently sought advice from him. In May, 1752, he was called to bear the double loss of his wife Anna Eva and their young child Anna Gertrude, who were buried together May 11th. He was married a second time, Aug. 7, 1753, to Maria Dorothea Stumpf, of Lancaster. In the Spring of 1753 pastor Schaum was again in such ill health that he was unable to preach, and Nicholas Kurtz preached for him here and at Kreutz Creek, and pastor Hausihl at Frederick also promised to come. There was manifested at this time a growing opposition, which continued to increase until it succeeded at last in driving Mr. Schaum away. It seems to have been at first controlled by those who were opposed to the wholesome discipline and strong government of the United Ministry and Congregations. In Germantown these elements, under the guidance of the disorderly and degraded pastors Andrea and Rapp, had driven out Handschuh and gotten control of the church in March. Their emissaries came to York and fomented the opposition to Schaum and the Synod. Halle Reports, p. 635). Many members grew impatient on account of the pastor's ill health and inability to attend to his duties. So that while the majority of the members held fast to church, pastor, and synod, the opponents were numerous and included most of the wealthier part of the congregation and even some of the elders. (Halle Reports, 635, 646, 656). The opposition learned of the arrival at Baltimore of a candidate of theology and hastened thither to secure him. His name was John Samuel Schwerdfeger, he was about 23 years old, and had been educated as an orphan at Neustadt on the Aisch, in Bavaria. He had left the orphan school against the advice of his superiors and gone to the University of Erlangen where he attended lectures in law and theology. After wandering about for a time he fell into the hands of emigrant agents and was shipped from Holland to Baltimore, where being unable to pay for his pas-

sage his time would have been sold, when the opponents of pastor Schaum bought his freedom and brought him to York. They succeeded in securing his ordination by some ministers, of whom Mr. Muhlenberg says they called themselves the orthodox Lutherans, and denounced the United Ministers as Hallsenser and unorthodox. It is probable that it was John Caspar Stœver and Tobias Wagner, neither of whom then belonged to the Synod. Mr. Schwerdfeger thereafter ministered to the separated faction and had charge of several congregations in the country which had not been connected with the synod. These statements are drawn from Mr. Muhlenberg's diary at the time when he explains to the Fathers at Halle the reception of Mr. Schwerdfeger into the synod in 1762. Mr. Schwerdfeger probably was not conscious of the wrongness of his position and was used as the tool of others. Mr. Schaum continued to minister to the majority and to hold possession of the church throughout 1754, and until the Spring of 1755, when in April he removed to Tohickon. The entries of Mr. Schaum's baptisms end with the close of 1754 and he may have left here before his removal to Tohickon. It is not probable that Mr. Schwerdfeger ever had possession of the church record, or was pastor of the regular congregation here, as in 1755 there are only 9 baptisms entered. He went to New Holland in 1758, to Frederick 1763, to Albany, N. Y., 1773 and died in that neighborhood about 1788.

There were therefore in 1754 two parties here, each having its own minister, and of course there was bitter strife. Under these circumstances it was decided that it would be better for Mr. Schaum to be removed. Mr. Muhlenberg wrote to the two parties and proposed that if they would unite on a new man, Mr. Schaum would be sent to another place, and he proposed to them Rev. Lucas Raus, of New Goschenhoppen. This was about the close of 1754, or more probably the beginning of 1755. He received such favorable answer that he sent Mr. Handschuh to accompany Mr. Raus to York and try to settle the strife. They came, Mr. Raus preached and a call for him was signed by a considerable number of the prominent persons of both parties and was taken by Handschuh and Raus to Muhlenberg, who in the presence of both delivered it to Mr.



Raus. But he had changed his mind and was unwilling to go and affirmed that they wished to send him out of the way, to the outermost borders of settlement and into danger, and he refused the call. So Mr. Muhlenberg testifies and Mr. Handschuh supports the statement. There was great confusion at York when Mr. Raus did not come. He threw the blame on Muhlenberg and said that he did not wish him to come but wished to get one of the Halle ministers in, and the people here were incensed at Muhlenberg. So that when he urged Handschuh to have compassion on the scattered flock and remove to York, they refused the proposal. Thus the congregation was for a time alienated from the Halle ministers and synod and remained without a pastor, except that Schwerdfeger probably continued to preach.

At the beginning of the year 1756 they seem to have agreed to accept as their Pastor, George Ludwig Hochheimer, who arrived in this country Nov. 1, 1755, and who was sent hither with warm recommendations by Andrea at Germantown. He had been a barber and schoolmaster and not a clergyman in Germany. Whether he was ordained by Andrea I do not know, but such an act would not have been recognized by the better part of the congregation. Gerock in a letter of Aug. 1, 1756, says that "The Lutherans in York applied to me to ordain their Hochheimer, and that at once, because they thought him worthy, and the Germantown Bishop or second Dr. Luther praised him so highly and had so strongly recommended him. But I refused with an earnest and perhaps well-salted setting forth of the truth. Now they again press me and ask of me the necessary support and the utmost help which I can give. They earnestly urge that a union of the Lutheran congregations and their pastors may be brought to pass. I showed them what was necessary thereto. Only a few days ago I advised them to unite and with a sincere desire for a pastor to apply to Mr. Muhlenberg." In the same letter he says: "The day before yesterday, Herr Pfarrer Kirchner living in Allemaengel, Berks county, passed here on his way to York, at the recommendation of Pastor Muhlenberg to offer his services to them in their straits, whether with or without success I cannot say, the less so as in his talks with

me he betrayed his antipathy toward Halle and its Pietists and in York he would probably do the same, to avoid being suspected, and to court the favor of the men there.'" Hochheimer's entries end in Nov. 1756, whither he went at once I do not know, but in 1774 Mr. Muhlenberg met him in Charleston, S. C., and he had then for years been pastor in the Saxe-Gotha District in that state. While the majority accepted Hochheimer and had possession of the church and records, the minority still clung to the Synod and were visited in the fall of 1756 by Nicholas Kurtz and entreated his younger brother Wm. Kurtz, who was teacher here in the school established by the society for the support of schools among the Germans, to preach in the future for them, (Halle Reports p. 698.)

What was the reception Mr. Kirchner met with at York it would be difficult to say. For some months after his arrival Mr. Hochheimer was in charge, but it is possible that in 1757 he may for a time have served at least temporarily. There are a few entries of baptisms begun Oct. 10, 1757, which may be by him. It is certain that he settled in York county and had charge of congregations here and in Maryland. He was never connected with the Synod, since, when they learned his sentiments towards the Halle ministers, they were indisposed to receive him. In 1763 he sent a Latin letter to Muhlenberg by Nic. Hornell expressing his desire to unite, to which Muhlenberg wrote a discouraging answer. The signature to the letter is: *Ecclesiarum ad Cathores et in Maryland M. (minister) Joh. Casp. Kirchnerus*. He says he had come to this country nine years before. He must have had charge somewhere on the upper waters of the Codorus. He certainly had charge of Schuster's church, 10 miles S. W. of York from 1763 to 1767, which was probably organized by him. Dr. J. Daniel Kurtz in his sketch of the history of the church in Baltimore, *Evan. Magazine* III., p. 18, says that in 1758 he began to visit Baltimore preaching every six weeks, and he continued somewhere between here and Baltimore until about 1770 when he removed to Baltimore, where he died 1773. Dr. J. G. Schmucker in his history of this congregation, *Evan. Mag.* II. 37, says that Rev. John George Bager preached here after Hochheimer, and he



does not mention Kirchner, there is however not a single entry in the record at this time in Mr. Bager's hand writing, but the entries which I have supposed to be by Kirchner, may have been of baptisms by Pastor Bager, entered by the schoolmaster. Pastor Bager then lived near Hanover and merely visited as temporary supply.

REV. LUCAS RAUS.

Early in 1758 correspondence was again opened with Mr. Raus, with a view to his removal to York. At the beginning of March he left Goschenhoppen for the purpose of visiting this place when the arrangements were concluded and in April he moved hither with his family. This was done without any consultation with Mr. Muhlenberg or the synod, and without their knowledge. Feelings of animosity toward the United Ministers and especially toward Mr. Muhlenberg had grown stronger within him each year, and he did not inform them of his giving up his charge of congregations placed in his care by the synod, but introduced and commended as successor one who had no connection with synod. Ever since the breach with the synod caused at the time of the first call to Mr. Raus, there had been a coolness toward the synod on the part of the majority of the congregation here, and the ministers who had served them since then, except Mr. Bager, who can only have been supply for a short time, perhaps a few months, were not connected with synod.

The student Lucas Raus left the University of Jena in May, 1749, and left Sept. 1 for the coast, whence he sailed from Rotterdam Aug. 11 and landed at Philadelphia Nov. 22, 1749. He says that he came with no expectation of becoming a pastor but expected to be teacher in the family of some merchant. When he arrived at Philadelphia his case was a sad one; that during the voyage he was cheated out of his money by his German fellow passengers and had nothing wherewith to pay the 15 passage money due the captain who threatened to take him to the West Indies whither the ship was bound and to sell his time there. He bethought him of a fellow student at Presburg who had often tried to persuade him to come to America and

who was now in Pennsylvania. He wrote him a letter which on the arrival of the ship he sent to the care of the Lutheran minister in Philadelphia whose name he did not know. It was delivered to Pastor Brunholtz who interested himself in his behalf, consulted Mr. Muhlenberg and Mr. Schleydorn and they decided to pay the passage money out of funds sent from Germany to pay the expenses of sending out spiritual laborers for the field in Pennsylvania. He was taken by Mr. Brunholtz into his house and spent some months there, giving instruction to the children of the merchants Schleydorn and Schippy. After a time he occasionally committed and delivered a sermon, then preached frequently at Germantown, and was sent now and then to relieve Mr. Muhlenberg in the vacant congregations at Goschenhoppen, for which he had to provide. He was sent for 6 months to Mr. Hartwick's charge in Dutchess Co., N. Y., and then to the congregations at Goschenhoppen and Indianfield, preaching for a time also in the Oley Hills and Zion's churches of Mr. Muhlenberg's charge. From this charge, during his pastorate in which he was ordained at Providence Nov. 5, 1752, he came to York. During his stay at Goschenhoppen he was married to Anna Sophia Gemlingen.

The ministry of pastor Raus at York was successful in building up the congregation greatly beyond that of any previous pastor. The highest number of children ever baptized within a year before his time was 104 in Schaum's second year, since Schaum's removal it had not exceeded 32. In Mr. Raus' first full year, 1759, there were 132 and in 1761 161 children baptized. Nor was the number ever equaled afterward until in Dr. Schmucker's time. Other ministerial acts show the same increase. All parties had sunken out of sight and there was one united congregation. The church soon became entirely too small to contain the swelling numbers, and there was unity, zeal and courage enough to undertake the erection of a large stone church, which was to serve as the place of worship for half a century. The congregation had at that time three hundred adult and two hundred and fifty young members. On the 2nd day of June, 1760, the corner stone was laid; April 30, 1761, baptism was administered in the new church, so that by



that time it must have been so far completed as to shelter the congregation and be used for worship. It was not fully completed until the fall of 1762. Muhlenberg writes (Halle Reports, p. 925), Aug. 12, "Provost Wrangel visited me to consult about the consecration of the new church in Yorktown and the letters on that subject received from pastor Gerock. Dr. Wrangel decided to perform the act on the 15th Sunday after Trinity in conjunction with pastors Borell, Gerock and N. Kurtz and to spare Muhlenberg." The 15th Sunday after Trinity in that year fell on Sept. 19, while Dr. J. G. Schmucker says the consecration took place in October, perhaps some cause of delay occurred after the arrangements were made in August.

The new stone church, which stood until 1812, 40x65 feet in dimensions, occupied the same lot on which the present church stands, but was placed nearer the street. The gable was toward the street with a front door in the centre and one window on each side of it in the first story, in the second row above the galleries there were three windows. At the opposite end, in the rear, was a steeple of considerable height and well proportioned, in which were two bells. On the south side there were four windows in the upper story and a door in the first story beneath the third window. It stood thus until by reason of the decay of the timbers the steeple was taken down in 1805 as far as the bells and a roof placed over them.

Notwithstanding the large growth and external prosperity which attended the ministry of pastor Lucas Raus it ceased in the Spring or Summer of 1763 and the reasons therefor have not been fully known. Some light is thrown on the matter by papers preserved in the archives at Halle, of some of which copies have been in my hands. The estrangement between Mr. Raus and the Halle ministers, and especially Mr. Muhlenberg, had been increasing for years, until about the time he came to York intercourse had nearly ceased. There was no meeting of the synod held from 1755 until in 1759, so that no question of connection with synod could be raised, but when Mr. Raus came to York he did not communicate with the Halle pastors about the congregations he left, or that to which he came; he did not even inform Mr. Muhlenberg of his having ceased to serve the

two congregations of his own charge which had been given over to Mr. Raus; nor did Muhlenberg learn aught of his purpose until after he was gone. At the consecration none of the Halle ministers were present, or invited, except Kurtz, who since 1747 was in the back country at Tulpehocken and had little to do with general affairs. In 1760 when the invitations were sent out for the meeting of synod by Mr. Muhlenberg, none was sent to Mr. Raus, on the ground that he had withdrawn from all friendly relations to them. In 1761 Mr. Gerock proposed to invite him to the meeting at Lancaster, when Mr. Muhlenberg declined to do so, but said that Mr. Gerock might do so personally. Mr. Raus came to that meeting just before its close and presented direct and formal charges against Mr. Muhlenberg of heterodoxy in doctrine, and of life and conversation unbecoming a Christian, and offered to furnish written proofs in full to substantiate the charges. Of course such serious charges against the most prominent pastor and *de facto* bishop of the synod could not be passed over. Mr. Raus was told to present the proofs to sustain his charges. Provost Wrangel and Rev. Andrew Borell were chosen as arbitrators to whom the examination of the matter was referred. They were both Swedish pastors and were chosen as impartial judges. The charges were made May 19, at Lancaster, in September Mr. Raus presented his statement in writing to the arbitrators, who transmitted it to Mr. Muhlenberg, whose defense was submitted to them Oct. 17, 1761. All of these papers were afterward transmitted to Halle. Mr. Raus' paper covers six sheets and is chiefly occupied with a continuous narrative of the events of his life from his landing at Philadelphia until he left Goschenhoppen, all along which he finds evidences of unfair treatment of himself by the Halle ministers, but preëminently Mr. Muhlenberg. This paper of Mr. Raus I have not seen. The copy of Mr. Muhlenberg's defense, which I have read, covers 54 pages, small quarto. It takes up each point of Mr. Raus' statements in order, quotes his words and presents an answer to each. Very much of Mr. Raus' statement is therefore contained in the defense. Mr. Muhlenberg's paper shows, that under what he deemed unjust assault and great provocation, he was capable of vigorous indignation. So



far as I can see the charge of heterodoxy seems to have been, first the general one, that the Halle pietists were not orthodox Lutherans, and secondly, that Mr. Muhlenberg alleged that the Lutheran Church had some imperfections. The charges as to unchristian life seem to have been only as to treatment of himself. Mr. Muhlenberg thinks that the bad feeling arose chiefly from an erroneous but immovable conviction of Mr. Raus, that the Halle ministers received considerable sums of money from Europe for their support and divided this among themselves, giving him none, however grievous his need was.

These charges afford us an opportunity of receiving from Mr. Muhlenberg a very vigorous statement of his relation to the confessions and doctrine of the Lutheran Church: "I defy Satan and all the lying spirits who serve him to prove anything against me contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and prophets and of our Symbolical Books. I have often and again said and written that I have found in our evangelical doctrine, founded on the apostles and prophets and on our Symbolical Books neither error, fault, nor anything wanting." The money received from Europe was used to pay the expenses of sending over men and to aid in the erection of churches and schoolhouses.

The arbitrators found the charges unsustained, and demanded of Mr. Raus an acknowledgment and apology to Mr. Muhlenberg, which he violently refused to make. Of course his connection with the synod ceased, and his withdrawal from the congregation at York was required by the church council, as Mr. Muhlenberg records in his diary. (Halle Reports, new edition, p. 664).

The synod under the new impetus its renewed meetings gave, strengthened greatly by Provost Wrangel's zealous coöperation, gained greater numbers and weight. Some who had stood aloof were brought in, as Stöever and Schwerdfeger; Wagner had returned to Europe, and its bitterest opponents and calumniators Andrea and Kraft were dead, and there was not much standing place left for reputable men in Pennsylvania outside its bounds.

Mr. Raus had begun already at Goschenhoppen the practice of medicine, of which he had made some study in Europe, and

probably continued it here. He now gave his attention more fully to it, although he retained some country congregations until the close of his life. He had charge of Schuster's church from 1770 until 1787. The record shows baptisms administered by him at Bermudian church 1758-62, Dover very often, Kreutz Creek and Chockely in 1760, Carlisle in 1762, in the school house at Jacob Ziegler's, Warrington twp., at Justice Noblet's, and in English in Newberry township.

Mr. Raus tendered his resignation before Oct. 30, 1762, to take effect April 17, 1763, and the council wrote a letter to Mr. Muhlenberg asking for a pastor from the Ministerium. He answered, promising that after the congregation was vacant they would endeavor to find some one and visit until supplied. (Halle Reports, p. 945). It is almost certain that their call to Mr. Raus' successor was extended without consultation with Mr. Muhlenberg, since his diary shows that he and Gerock were consulting about the settlement of Mr. Bager here at this time, and he says the congregation became vacant April 3, 1763.

REV. NICHOLAS HORNELL.

Pastor Hornell was an ordained minister from Sweden, who, June 29, 1763, came to Provost Wrangel in Philadelphia from Wilmington, where he had spent four weeks with pastor Borell, and brought with him an invitation to take charge of the congregation at York. He called the next day on pastor Muhlenberg and desired to borrow some German books. Mr. Muhlenberg at his request wrote to pastor Gerock, informing him that pastor Hornell proposed to start July 8, by the Lancaster stage. Mr. Muhlenberg himself copied the Agenda for him to use at York. July 7, Hornell took leave of Muhlenberg with tears. At the meeting of the synod, October, 1763, a call from the congregation at Yorktown for Nicholas Hornell as pastor was presented and read. The synod decided that the call was satisfactory, that there was no objection to be made to it, it was unanimously approved, subscribed and given to pastor Hornell. Thus the cordial relation between the congregation and the synod was restored. Mr. Hornell was pastor here from July,



1763, to July, 1765. No baptisms are recorded after Jan., 1765, but the marriages continue until July 30.

The occasion for the cessation of Mr. Hornell's ministry was a sad one and affords another instance of the danger of accepting pastors from Europe whose antecedents were not well known. In 1765 rumors unfavorable to Mr. Hornell's conduct in Sweden were freely circulated and the church council wrote to Mr. Muhlenberg about them. In his answer of May 20, 1765, which covers over four folio pages in his diary, he says that on account of Mr. Raus' behavior toward him he had not visited York for a long time, but that he had delighted in the progress of the congregation and the dedication of the new church, and then describes the way in which Mr. Hornell had been introduced to him, that he had a certificate of ordination from Sweden, that Mr. Borell had admitted him to his house and pulpit and recommended him to Prov. Wrangel, that at Philadelphia Mr. Hornell had shown humility and willingness to learn, and was a large man of robust health and good voice well suited to a large congregation, that the congregation at York after months of acquaintance had zealously demanded that he become their pastor and given him a regular call, signed by the Ehreame Kirchenrath und vornehmsten Gleider. In the Fall of 1764 he had first heard some unfavorable statement based on a private letter, but he had questioned its truthfulness. In the following Winter he had again heard that Mr. Hornell had to flee from Sweden, but he had as yet no proofs. The whole letter is intended as a defense of himself, Provost Wrangel and the synod in their approval of Mr. Hornell.

June 5, 1765, Mr. Muhlenberg writes to the church council, on the authority of Dr. Wrangel, that a Rescript of the Consistory of Upsala, to which application had been made by Dr. Wrangel, shows that Nicholas Hornell was ordained at Lunden in 1747, that he served the congregation at Höörs in the Province of Schonen, that in 1760 he was arrested on a charge of serious wrong-doing, but that before judgment was pronounced he had fled to Denmark. Mr. Muhlenberg says that he feels bound in conscience to communicate these things. The Swedish ministers will no longer recognize Mr. Borell as one of their

number, and the German Ministerium will no doubt take the same course. He advises the council quietly to forbid Mr. Hornell any further performance of ministerial acts, or to advise him to resign, and Provost Wrangel wrote to Mr. Hornell to the same effect. Mr. Hornell resigned, delivered a farewell discourse June 30, 1765, and retired from the office of the ministry. During his pastorate he had been married in Dec., 1764, to Anna, widow of Thomas Davis, and in his diary, in May, 1767, Mr. Muhlenberg writes that Mr. Hornell was then living about half a mile from York.

In July, 1765, Mr. Bager paid a visit to York and on his return visited Muhlenberg and told him that Hornell had preached his farewell sermon and that the congregation would ask Muhlenberg to see that the vacancy be soon filled.

From July, 1765, until February, 1767, there was a vacancy, concerning which I have no information. The baptisms, 7 in 1765, and 13 in 1766, are entered in one hand, probably that of the schoolmaster, Philip Teutsch. After the death of schoolmaster Barthel Maul, between 1754 and 1759, William Kurtz was in 1756 teacher of the school established by the English Society. Philip Teutsch was at York in 1758 and may have been teacher at that time, as Kurtz left in 1757, but I do not find the fact mentioned before 1764. He continued to have charge of the school until his death in 1789, and was highly esteemed for his worth. The congregation was highly favored in its early schoolmasters.

REV. JOHN GEORGE BAGER.

In February, 1767, pastor Bager, who had been in charge of the German church in New York City since May, 1763, returned to York county upon a call which they had given him, unsolicited, as Gerock says, and became pastor of this church, residing in the parsonage. Before he went to New York he had resided near Hanover but that congregation was in 1767 in charge of pastor Wildbahn. He continued to reside here until 1769 when he moved into his old field.

Mr. Bager was born at Niederlinxweiler, near Ottweiler, in Nassau-Saarbruck, March 29, 1725. His father was a pastor



and in comfortable circumstances. He studied theology at Halle under Dr. S. J. Baumgarten. (H. R., p. 1412). Mr. Muhlenberg, in a letter to the New York congregation, says of him: "He is a worthy and learned man, who was examined and regularly ordained in Germany according to our Evangelical Kirchen-Ordnung." He was settled as pastor at Simmern, on the Hundsrück, in the Electoral Palatinate. He was married to Anna Elizabeth Schwab, born Dec. 4, 1728, at Giessen, in Hesse Darmstadt. They had two children born at Simmern, John George William, born April 15, 1750, and Charles Theodore Frederick, born Sept. 5, 1751, and buried at Helvoetsluys, the seaport in Holland from which they sailed. He was met at Philadelphia on his arrival, Oct. 23, 1752, by Rev. John Caspar Stœver and taken by him to Lebanon county, where he found a home on the Quitopohilla, and where his third child, Catharine Margaret, was born June 9, 1753, at whose baptism Mrs. Stœver stood as sponsor. In Dec., 1752, he visited Hanover and received a call on the 16th, but did not take charge until March 10, 1753, and may not have removed his family until after June. He was in that charge until his removal to New York. His fourth child, Christian Frederick, born Aug. 29, 1754, was baptized by Schwerdfeger, whom he calls Lutheran minister in Yorktown. At the death of his father he inherited money with which he purchased a farm, probably that in Berwick twp. now Adams county on which he lived. He resided in his old neighborhood after leaving York until his death, June 9, 1791. During many years he journeyed far and wide, ministering to the scattered Lutherans from Baltimore, where for some years he preached once in six weeks, to Grindstone Hill, now in Franklin county. His descendants are well known in this and adjoining counties and among them have been distinguished professors and pastors.

REV. JOHN NICHOLAS KURTZ.

In April, 1770, Mr. Kurtz took charge of the congregation at York, (Halle Reports, Pref. to 12th conl. §3). Biographical sketches of him have been published in Sprague's Annals, by Prof. Stœver, and by Schierenbeck, but they are so incorrect

that I will here give brief Annals of his life drawn from his own statements at his ordination (Halle Reports, new edition, p. 136 copied from the originals at Halle,) and from the Halle Reports and other authentic sources.

John Nicholas Kurtz was born in Oct., 1722, at Lützellinden in the Principality of Nassau-Weilburg, now Rhenish Prussia. His father was teacher of the congregational school and a near neighbor and intimate friend of the father of Pastor Schaum. His early instruction was doubtless received in his father's school. He says that he was trained by his dear parents in the fear of God and diligently admonished to prayer so that he was kept from gross sin. In his fifteenth year he was sent to the Paedagogium or classical school at Giessen, where he spent six years, during the last six months of which, having finished the course of the Paedagogium, he was a student of theology in the University. He gives in his Lebenslauf a very interesting account of his inner spiritual life and growth and the blessed influence on him of Pastor Ohly, of his own older brother, who it is said afterwards became professor at Giessen; and of Dr. J. Phil. Fresenius, who became professor in 1742. His brother, Pastor Ohly and Schaum's father persuaded his father to send him to Halle, whither he went in the fall of 1743 with Schaum who had already spent a year there. He speaks in warm terms of the spiritual privileges he then enjoyed. He attended for one Semester, upon the lectures of Dr. S. J. Baumgarten in Dogmatics, and for half a term there on Old Test. History, the catechetical lectures of Prof. G. A. Francke on Spener's Catechism, but he attended regularly no other courses. It was scarcely more than a full half year after his arrival at Halle when Dr. Francke proposed to give him a call as Catechet from the Pennsylvania churches. He and Schaum agreed to come together and started July 1, 1744, for England, and with Schaum and Pastor Brunholtz he arrived at Philadelphia Jan. 26, 1745. It was decided that he should be placed at New Hanover, to teach the congregational school, to instruct the catechumens, to preach alternately with Muhlenberg at New Hanover and Providence, or for him at the preaching places which were served from that charge such as Oley, Upper Milford and Saucon, to



baptize in case of need, and in general to be an assistant to Muhlenberg. He occupied the dwelling connected with school at first with Vigera, afterwards a family lived with him. Mr. Muhlenberg gives a full account of his ways and weaknesses at that time in a report of Dec., 1745, (H. R., new edition, pp. 114-116.) December 1745 and Jan. 1746 were spent by Mr. Kurtz at Raritan, N. J., and he went again Mar. 18, 1746, to the same place to supply the vacant congregations there which were very anxious that he should become their pastor. It was however decided that he should be placed at Tulpehocken. He started Dec. 15, 1746, from Muhlenberg's house on his journey, and his diary, (H. R., new edition, p. 198, &c.) furnishes an interesting account of his experiences and labors. He was still a catechet under the oversight of Muhlenberg and the other pastors, who came to confirm and administer communion. He had charge at first of Christ's Church and Northkill, and from the Spring of 1747 until May, 1748, half his time was given to Lancaster. At the first meeting of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, held Aug. 15, 1748, at the urgent request of the congregations, he was ordained. It was not the first ordination of a Lutheran minister in this country, that honored place being held by the ordination of a faithful and worthy man, Justus Falckner, by the Swedish Provost and Pastors Rudman, Björk, and Sandel, in 1703. Your own first pastor, J. C. Støever, had been ordained by Schultze, the other Caspar Støever by some one, perhaps Henkel. It was however the first ordination by order of a Lutheran Synod, and at the first synodical meeting. The papers submitted in his examination, his sketch of his life, the obligation he assumed, the call given him, have all been preserved, and show how careful and anxious as to soundness of doctrine, purity of life and order in the Church, the fathers were, (H. R., new edit. pp. 135-141.) In the Tulpehocken charge Mr. Kurtz continued first as catechet, then as pastor, for twenty-three years and four months, from Dec., 1746, to April, 1770. In 1748 Reed's or the old Tulpehocken church came under his care, in 1750 Heidelberg was formed, then Rehdersberg and for a time he supplied Bernville. At the time of his removal he was even temporary supply at White Oak, Warwick and Manheim in Lancaster county and

Schaefferstown in Lebanon county. (Herold and Zeitschrift, Sept. 15, 1883.) When Mr. Kurtz came to York he was in his 48th year, and in full vigor, having secured for himself the love of the churches and the respect of his brethern. He was a well-formed man, five feet ten inches high, with broad fair forehead, dark eyes, a strait strong nose, very white skin, with dark curling hair and sound teeth till his death. He had a full strong resonant voice, very different from that of Mr. Schaum, who stuttered badly. He was inclined to preach the law and not to abate its terrors. He had clear strong convictions and great firmness of purpose. He was very faithful in every known duty and deeply earnest in his work.

Mr. Kurtz's ministry at York began in April, 1770, his last entry in the Tulpehocken Record being of April 13, his first at York, May 6. In 1771, in the late fall, he attended the first meeting of a district conference at New Holland, such meeting having been proposed by Dr. Helmuth at Synod Sept. 23, and approved; there were six pastors present, from York, Lancaster and Lebanon counties. (H. R., p. 1339.) It would seem from Dr. Muhlenberg's statement (H. R., p. 1413, 5) in 1776 that the annual meeting of the Ministerium was held at York, but we have as yet found no other allusion to it than that Rev. Mr. Goering was then ordained. During his pastorate here the Revolutionary struggle took place and Congress met here. He was at first troubled about the oath of allegiance to the King he had taken, but his conscience became clear and in 1776 he was naturalized and became an American citizen. During the meeting of Congress, when the houses of citizens had to be opened to entertain guests, his house was the home of Bishop White, then of the Spanish Minister, then of the French Minister, and finally of a Member from South Carolina. In 1777, when money was scarce and provision for the soldiers very meager, Mr. Kurtz, after a sermon suited to the occasion, invited his hearers to collect all articles of clothing and stores of every kind and send them to his house, and as the response was prompt and cordial, a committee was appointed to distribute them to the suffering soldiers. These statements of the war times are given on the authority of his grandson Dr. Benj. Kurtz.



In 1781 a revised constitution for the congregation was adopted and placed on record, signed by the pastor, the schoolmaster, Philip Teutsch, seventeen elders and vorsteher, and a large number of the members. The first formal constitution, adopted in 1748, was the one at that time submitted by the United Ministers to the congregations of which they took charge. Its original basis had been prepared by Francke and Ziegenhagen when the Saltzburgers emigrated to Georgia. It had undergone some alteration to adapt it to the congregations in Pennsylvania which already had a form of government based on that of the Dutch Lutherans in New York and New Jersey. As modified, it was used in all the congregations, but some variations were allowed in concession to previous use established in a congregation. Many difficulties had arisen under it in the course of years, especially in Philadelphia, and a very careful revision was made by the joint wisdom of pastors and church councils, in which Provost Wrangel took prominent part. This revised constitution was adopted in Philadelphia in October, 1762, at New Hanover 1765, at Lancaster 1769, and became the foundation on which the congregational organization rested throughout the limits at that time of the German Lutheran Church in America, and has so continued in many of the older congregations until this time.

The Constitution adopted here in 1781 is that of Philadelphia, (H. R., pp. 962-971), with many of the modifications made at Lancaster, and other changes. Nearly all the additions made here are in the direction of stricter discipline. Among them are the following: Parents are required to secure the approval of the pastor before inviting sponsors, all communicants are required to make application to the pastor before coming to the Lord's Supper, none but a pastor regularly called and ordained according to Lutheran order can preach, a future seminary is added to the places from which pastors may be gotten, the pastor must be elected by a *two-thirds* vote and is president of the council. An addition to the duties of trustees and elders says: "They shall follow no disorderly or sinful occupation, nor allow in their houses any sinful or unchristian things, such as gam-

bling, dancing, drinking or disorder." A section on the duties of members and the occasions of discipline is added—sins against the sixth commandment requiring public confession and restoration of sinners. I have seen no other revision of this Constitution which exceeds this one in strictness of discipline.

In 1783 and 1784 there was a long continued agitation caused by the condition of the church-building. The roof had sunk so as to become bowed, the rain entered, the walls were spread and the building was in so dangerous a state that many were afraid to enter it. It was formally decided to rebuild, then not to do so, but to repair. At last in 1784 the roof was renewed and the walls repaired, and the church so restored as to serve for nearly twenty years longer.

I have not had the means of determining the extent of the pastoral charge of Mr. Kurtz. The pastors west of the Susquehanna in 1770 connected with synod were: 1. Chas. Fr. Wildbahn at Hanover, having charge of many congregations south and south-westward, as Taneytown, Thomas Creek, Points Creek, St. John's near Littlestown, Owens Creek, even Conococheague in Washington county, Md., and one called Codorus, which must be the congregation Mr. Kirchner had before he went to Baltimore. 2. Rev. Jno. Geo. Bager, living near Abbottstown and having charge northward of Wildbahn. 3. Jno. And. Krug at Frederick, meeting Wildbahn from the south. In 1773 Gerock went to Baltimore, in 1776 Göering was ordained and settled at Carlisle, having charge also then or later until 1783 of Upper and Lower Bermudian, Dover, Paradise and Lower Settlement. Besides these there were a number of unordained, self-constituted ministers, and others irregularly ordained by them, of whom we have little record. After Mr. Göering left Dover to come to York in 1783, Mr. Kurtz seems to have had charge of the supply of that field, as he asked permission in 1785 to use a young man who was preparing for the ministry under the care of himself and Göering, in the supply of these congregations. This young man, Frederick David Schaeffer, was licensed 1786 and went to Carlisle, and had care of part of Göering's former charge and Bender's Church, and began the service at Harrisburg. Mr. Kurtz is said to have



done much work of exploration and ministration west of York in the sparsely settled country. Other regular ministers settled in later years in that field were Danl. Schröeter who followed Wildbahn 1782, J. Geo. Young at Hagerstown 1785, Melsheimer who came to Hanover 1790. Anton Ulrich Lütge, or Lüdgen, was at Shippensburg in 1791 or perhaps two years before, and preached at Chambersburg, Grindstone Hill and Scherer's, 1792 Guenther Wingerd was licensed for Taneytown and thereabouts, J. G. Schmucker for Quickel's and August Rütze as catechet for Schuster's, Bleimyer's, Frey's, Sattler's and Stahley's, John Ruthrauff at Lower Bermudian, Kessler's and Langdorff, licensed 1794, removed to Greencastle and was followed here by John Grobp, licensed 1795, who lived at Dover; 1795 Newberry twp. presented call and asked license for George Græber. Conrad Rieman began preaching in this county in 1801, became catechet 1803 and candidate 1804, settled at Abbottstown 1807 and had eight congregations.

In 1794 Frieden's, St. Peter's, St. Daniel's, Crügerstown in Maryland, applied for the reception of their pastor, Mr. John George Hehl, who had been ordained by a Mr. Butler, and had applied before, in 1787, and was refused admission, and now again he was refused.

Mr. Kurtz's pastorate closed finally Oct. 6, 1789, on which day he removed to Baltimore, where he lived with his son, Rev. J. Daniel Kurtz until the end came. The following entry is made in the record of deaths by Pastor Göering: "On the 12th of May, 1794, died Rev. Nicolas Kurtz, Senior Reverendi Ministerii, 74 years old, who was pastor of this congregation in Yorktown about twenty years. He was a great preacher, had eminent gifts, much zeal and a sincere desire to secure his own salvation and that of his hearers. He led a pious life, was a very upright man and very biblical in his belief. He died suddenly of apoplexy in the city of Baltimore where he lies buried. America had in his time very few preachers equal to him."

In the record of the New Hanover church is the entry of Mr. Kurtz's marriage, made by Mr. Muhlenberg, who performed the ceremony. Mrs. Kurtz is said to have been a woman of great excellence of judgment and character and especially of much

gentleness, and to have had a happy influence in softening the legal severity of her husband's character. They had nine sons and three daughters, all born before they came to York; the baptisms of eight of them are recorded at Tulpehocken, among them that of John Daniel, born March 30, 1764, pastor at Baltimore.

Mr. Kurtz served as Secretary of the Ministerium in 1763, as President in 1778, and at the death of Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg he was accorded the high honor of becoming his successor as Senior Ministerii, by the unanimous vote of the Ministerium, on the nomination of Dr. Kunze.

REV. JACOB GÖERING.

He was the son of Jacob and Margaret Göering, and was born in Chanceford twp., York Co., Pa., June 17, 1755. His father had emigrated from Germany and was a farmer on a small scale. The son showed from an early age a strong desire to learn and also to become a clergyman. He had few advantages of schools but great hunger for knowledge and industry in applying every spare hour to its acquisition. When about 18 years old, at the beginning of 1774, his father took him to Dr. Helmuth, at Lancaster 12 miles away, and told him the whole story of his life, studiousness and longings. Dr. Helmuth decided to take him into his own household, a very generous act, for his own income was small, and there he remained for two years. Dr. Helmuth says, Aug. 25, 1775 (H. R., p. 1369): "Since half a year he has worked out his own sermons, delivers them with dignity and acceptance, and serves several smaller congregations, not without good result. Before he came to me he had gathered for himself from books a small store of knowledge of sciences and even of languages. He has talent and is industrious, and best of all he is a diligent student in the school of Christ." The scholar did not disappoint his teacher and proved himself through life diligent in study as he was acute and active in mind, fervent in spirit and zealous in the Lord's work as he was eminent in his generation for his attainments. Dr. Helmuth says that from Jan., 1775, he preached to several small congregations, these were probably not far from Lancaster, and he was under the



care of his teacher. Dr. J. G. Schmucker says he was publicly examined and licensed at synod in his 20th year, which would have been 1775 as catechet. By authority of his teacher, or the ministerium, he preached and so helped to care for vacant congregations; in this capacity visited Carlisle and congregations between there and York. In 1776 he was ordained as Diaconus and settled at Carlisle, (H. R., p. 1413.) While at Carlisle he was married to Elizabeth Syng of Lancaster who after eighteen months died without issue, of consumption. I cannot precisely affirm what the limits of his field of labor were throughout this period, but when he resigned the charge in 1783 he preached in six congregations, which then formed a charge in which he had preached until May, 1783, which became vacant by his removal and united in the appeal to the synod for a pastor; they were Upper and Lower Bermudian, Dover, Paradise, Carlisle and Lower Settlement; until 1780 he lived at Carlisle and, from then until May, 1783, at Dover, (MS. Protocol of Minist.)

In 1783 the annual meeting of the Ministerium was for the second time held at York. It began on Trinity Sunday, June 15, and lasted until Tuesday evening. There were sermons in the morning by Rev. Dr. Kunze, in the afternoon by pastor Ernst and in the evening by pastor Henry Muhlenberg, of Lancaster. This was the earliest evening service mentioned. Thirteen ministers were present and the absence of six was excused. Monday's session was opened with the synodical sermon by the president Emanuel Schulze, on the character of the evangelical minister who faithfully fulfills his office.

At the time of this meeting June 15, 1783, Mr. Gøering had already accepted a call to become assistant pastor in this charge, had resigned his former sphere of labor, and had removed to York. His first entries in the record are made in June. In the previous year, 1782, he had taken a second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of pastor N. Kurtz, born Nov. 5, 1760. Mrs. Gøering survived her husband many years, dying May 31, 1831, having borne him two sons and eight daughters. What the arrangement and division of labor between the two pastors was I have not been able to learn, except that the general care of outlying mission work westward was committed to Mr. Kurtz. The entries

of baptisms from June, 1783, to March, 1785, are made by both pastors indiscriminately, from that time until his removal they are almost all entered by pastor Kurtz, but he may have copied those of his son-in-law from his diary. I know of no evidence of any other than a cordial relation between the pastors, and the church grew steadily through the six years of the joint pastorate. On the removal of Senior Kurtz to Baltimore, Oct. 6, 1789, Mr. Gøering became sole pastor, In 1791 he accepted a call to Hagerstown, Md., and left here about the end of June. What led to this change I do not at all know, but it was certainly not agreeable to the congregation, which would neither consent, nor be reconciled, nor elect another pastor, but applied to synod in 1792 earnestly entreating that he be given back to them. It was then arranged that after three months he should return. In September, on the 18th, his entries begin again. There was no entry of baptisms during the vacancy except at a few dates probably of visits. In 1793 he had charge of the York, Chockely and Kreutz Creek congregations.

On Sunday, May 22, 1796, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met for the third time in York. There were present 14 ordained ministers, 10 licensed candidates, 2 catechets and 12 delegates from congregations, John Hay representing this congregation, and 10 ministers were absent. Dr. Helmuth was President and Dr. Schmidt Secretary. In the report on the condition of the schools it is said that the school at York was very strong and that the instruction was given both in English and German.

An annual account of the alms was begun in 1782, and afterwards bound up with the Constitution of 1781 in a book in which was entered the charter and proceedings of the corporation. (Occasionally an item of information is found in it, as the date of Mr. Kurtz' removal to Baltimore and Mr. Gøering's going to Hagerstown. It contains no account of the pastor's salary.)

In 1804 an act of incorporation of the congregation was passed, issued by Gov. McKean May 2, 1804, enrolled June 26, and the first election under it was held on Easter Monday in that year. It changes the time of service of the elders, of whom two were to be elected each year to serve for 6 years, the wardens, as the Vorsteher are called, to serve for two years. The



pastor may be chosen by a majority of elders, wardens, communicants and contributors, instead of two thirds. The corporation elects its own president, instead of the pastor presiding. Among the rules adopted under it June 1, 1805, was one that the pastor should *never* be president. The title is: "The Ministers, Elders and Church Wardens of the German Lutheran Congregation in and near the Borough of York, in the County of York, in the State of Penna." April 22, 1805, it was resolved that the steeple be taken down as far as the bells and a roof erected over them, because of the decay and dangerous condition of the timbers. Nov. 21, 1805, a new stove was to be purchased for the church, so that there had probably been one before that time.

After a lingering illness Rev. Jacob Gøering died of consumption Nov. 27, 1809, and a minute was adopted by the church council almost in the very words of that which he himself had made at the death of Mr. Kurtz. Pastor Gøering was a man of a very acute and active mind with no little fondness for dialectic discussion. Three of the treatises prepared by him were published and are all controversial; *Der Besiegte Wiedertaufer*, 8vo. pp. 92, 1783, *Der Verkappte Priester Aaron*, (on the Seventh Day Baptists, 1790,) *Answer to a Methodist's Remonstrance*. He wrote a number of other works on various subjects, but Prof. Stoever says that before his death he caused them to be burned. If my memory does not deceive me the MS. of one of his works was in the Archives of the Seminary in the study of Dr. S. S. Schmucker.

Dr. J. G. Schmucker, who was his intimate friend, and who, after licensure, during his pastorate at Quickel's, studied Hebrew with him, speaks highly of his attainments in the oriental languages; he also speaks highly of the fervor, earnestness and profitableness of his preaching, as well as of his great spirituality. His funeral services were conducted by the Reformed pastor, Geistereit, and the Moravian pastor, Rondthaler. Pastor Gøering was Secretary of the Ministerium in 1797, 1804-1806, and in the year of his death was elected as President.

During the vacancy of nearly two years which followed his death, the congregation must have depended on supplies.

REV. JOHN GEORGE SCHMUCKER, D. D.

On the 22nd of May, 1809, the members of the corporation met to take action as to the election of a pastor. A subscription for the support of a pastor had been circulated and an opportunity given to the members to indicate their choice. It appeared that over two-thirds of all regular communing and contributing members chose Rev. Jno. Geo. Schmucker,—it was resolved that a regular call be extended to him and a deputation be appointed to present it to him at the meeting of Synod at Hanover, May 28. In June it was reported that with the advice and approval of the Ministerium he had accepted the call.

It was on the first of August, 1809, that he took charge, although his family were not settled in the parsonage until in September. Six congregations constituted the charge at that time, York, Quickel's, Wolff's, Holtzschwam, Kreutz Creek and Chockely. In 1813 the number of communicants reported to Synod is so much diminished that he must have given up part of the field, though in that year the sketch in the *Evang. Magazine* says he still has five. In 1812, John Herbst, Jr., may have taken one, in 1814 or 1815 Chas. A. Morris took charge of Kreutz Creek, in 1817 Chockely had for some time been in Herbst's charge, in 1820 the charge consisted of three congregations, probably York, Quickel's and Wolff's, to which some years later Hoover's was added.

In 1811 steps were taken toward the erection of a new church. A meeting of the congregation was held to decide whether to repair the old or build a new one, and papers in behalf of each plan were laid before the members. The majority in favor of a new church was so great that those who would have preferred the repair of the old gracefully submitted and not a signature was attached to the paper for that plan. So measures were taken to prepare for the great and costly undertaking. In Dec. subscriptions were opened, dimensions decided on, general plan fixed and building committee appointed. Messrs. Geo. Hay and Peter Striber were made managers and superintendents, Geo. Lottman, Jno. Barnitz, Jacob Schmeisser, John Brillinger and Peter Schmeisser made assistants. In Jan., 1812, Ignatius Lightner was made treasurer of building, in April Wm. Nes



put in the place of Geo. Lottman, dec'd. On the 2d of July, 1812, the corner-stone of the new Christ's Church was laid, the dimensions of which were sixty by seventy-five feet. The services were conducted by Revs. Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg, J. Dan. Kurtz and Geo. Lochman, besides the pastor

• During the whole time in which the new church was in course of construction the German Reformed congregation generously granted the Lutherans the alternate use of their church.

On the 1st of May, 1814, the new church was solemnly dedicated to the worship of God, the service of consecration was prepared and the act performed by Rev. Fred. Valent. Melsheimer of Hanover; who else besides the pastor united in the services the records do not show. During the erection of the church it became necessary to build a new school house in 1813, which was done under the supervision of Jacob Upp and Jacob Eichelberger. In 1815, April 27, a subscription was begun for completing the tower and erecting an inclosing wall. The costs of all this work were great and the most vigorous efforts were needed for many years afterward to pay off the debt incurred. What the cost of the church was I have not learned, but have found the following data. A record of bills paid in the erection of the church itself amounts to \$18,590.74. The whole amount of the first subscription payable in 1812-1813 was \$12,181.39. A second subscription for the steeple and wall in 1815 amounted to \$1,823.32. A third subscription to pay the debt in 1819-1820 amounted to \$2,316.87. After all payments previously made there still remained a debt which in Dec., 1824, was after an elaborate and almost judicial exactitude and care apportioned to the members according to their ability to pay as shown in the county assessment; the amount so apportioned was \$1,747.75. But even this action did not result in the extinction of the debt arising from the erection of the church, as in 1829 a committee was appointed to try to remove it, and in 1833 \$1,500 was still to be raised for that purpose.

In June, 1817 the ministerium of Pennsylvania met at York for the fourth time. There were present 38 ordained ministers 18 licentiates and 34 lay delegates, and 33 ministers were absent.

Dr. Geo. Lochman was president, Dr. Chr. Endress, Secretary, and Rev. Hen. A. Muhlenberg, Treasurer. It that meeting the conference in Ohio asked permission to form a separate synod. It was the third centennial commemoration of the Reformation and the president was instructed to invite the German Reformed Synod, the Moravian, Episcopal and the Presbyterian Churches to unite in the commemoration.

In April, 1828 Mr. Jacob Barnitz who had been secretary of the church council from 1797 to 1805, secretary and treasurer of the corporation from its establishment in 1805 until 1827, and treasurer until his death, departed this life, when the corporation adopted a minute acknowledging his long and faithful services. It has been my privilege to examine the records of a large number of our older congregations and there is scarce one among them which might not have envied the York congregation its secretary and treasurer. He has made my task of writing this sketch much easier, from the date of his appointment on.

In 1827 permission was given the Sunday School to meet in the church in Summer, which is the first mention I have found of it. In 1828 a seal was adopted by the corporation. In 1829 lamps were purchased for the church for evening services. In 1830 ground was purchased of Mr. Baumgardner, situate on Duke St., for a burial place. In 1832 the use of the small bell was granted to the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg until its return should be demanded by the church council.

When the public discussion of the temperance question began, both Dr. Schmucker and the assistant minister, Mr. Oswald, were deeply interested in it and very zealous in advocacy. So fierce was the opposition that personal violence was at times threatened, and the salary of Dr. Schmucker, dependent on voluntary subscriptions, fell off one half in one year. But the pastors were firm and in earnest, and of course in time the community gave them but the higher honor. In 1833 the council decided that the church should not be used for meetings in favor of, or in opposition to the temperance movement.

I cannot state the precise time at which regular services in the English language were begun. It is probable that it was



about 1820, for in that year a petition was presented to the council asking for such services. The petition was submitted to the congregation, but its action I did not find. The English services were held at first only in the evening. Dr. J. G. Morris says they were announced by some distinct mode of ringing the bells and that the sexton waited on the pastor to learn whether he should ring English or German. The addition of the English services in the evening was to a great extent an addition to the pastor's labors, as the three country congregations made afternoon services necessary, and with increasing years the burden grew heavy for the pastor, so that he decided to secure an assistant. Of course he did not take this step without careful consultation with prudent, faithful elders and members, but I am of the opinion that he took it on his own responsibility, without official action by the church council, as I find no action on the subject recorded until years afterward when a question was raised as to the relation of the assistant to the corporation. In 1829 Rev. Jonathan Oswald, who was licensed by the West Penna. Synod, Oct. 7, became assistant minister, and the arrangement was then made that he should take entire charge of Wolf's and Hoover's churches, in which the services were German and preach in Christ Church in English on three Sunday evenings out of four and on the fourth Sunday in the morning, at which time Dr. Schmucker preached at Quickel's Church. This provision of regular and frequent services in English was with great wisdom made at York early enough to save the congregation from severe losses which here were threatened and which in so many other places were endured.

Since that time 54 years have passed, and the young assistant of 1829 is still a resident of York. Well known to you all, honored in all the church, ripe in the experience and learning of an industrious and studious life time, and entitled to your thanks for the quiet fortitude with which he met the opposition and the patience with which he bore the trials connected with the introduction of the English language here, and the cordial fraternal affection which existed between the associated pastors was a comfort to both. The English pastor and services were at first merely suffered by the corporation. The services were

restrained in number by fixed limits, the corporation furnished no part of the support of the English preacher, who received his support from special payments by those who desired such services. Unser Herr Gott und seine Gottesdienste were Hock-deutsch in the estimate of the official congregation, and if anybody was so foolish as to wish for anything else than German, he might pay for it. The church council after a legal examination decided that they might recognize Mr. Oswald as the pastor's assistant, but that they could not under their corporate powers add to their number any persons to collect his salary. So the English might take care of themselves. They did so. In this land they are sure to do so. The future is with them, The only question is whether they shall be driven away from their mother church or not.

Towards the close of the year 1835 Dr. Schmucker gave notice of his purpose to resign the pastoral care of Christ's Church. Rev. A. H. Lochman was invited by the church council to preach on New Year's Day, 1836, and Rev. J. Oswald in German, Jan. 10. An election was held Feb. 7 at which time Mr. Lochman was nominated by the corporation and chosen by the congregation and a regular call was sent him which he accepted. No little feeling was aroused in the congregation with reference to the processes or result of the election. Mr. Oswald had been for over six years the pastor of the English portion of the congregation, and they were warmly attached to him and desired that he should become the successor of Dr. Schmucker, to whom his relation had ever been most cordial. On the other hand, the large majority preferred German, and their fears were awakened lest the English interest should soon grow dangerously strong, so that they were not favorably disposed toward Mr. Oswald, who was identified with that interest. Such feelings decided the election, and not the fact that either Mr. Oswald or Mr. Lochman was more accomplished as German or English preacher, or in any other respect to be preferred to the other. But God overrules even the infirmities of men to the advancement of his kingdom. The election had two very desirable results, it secured to Christ's Church the services for a life time of one who is and ever has been loved and honored wher-



ever he is known, and it secured the establishment of an exclusively English Lutheran church, which however difficult the struggle at first, proved of incalculable value and insured the future perpetual enlargement of our Church in this place.

In April, 1836, the ministry of Dr. J. G. Schmucker closed. It is fitting that I should say something of one who occupied for so long a time and during so important a period this prominent pastorate at York, whose memory is still so fresh among your aged people, and whose remains your loving care guards beside the church erected during his ministry. In person he was of medium stature, rather thick set, but not corpulent; his complexion was dark and his body very erect. His character was unusually symmetrical and well balanced, and his temper so placid, or under such control, that even his own household scarcely ever saw it ruffled. Dr. J. G. Morris says he "was one of the most unaffectedly polite men I ever saw; he was so regardful of the feelings of others, so careful to avoid wounding them, so forbearing towards their faults, so condescending to inferiors and so patient with gainsayers, as to compel their admiration and respect." As a preacher he was most careful in his preparation, of sound judgment in the selection of matter, methodical in arrangement, earnest in delivery, tender in feeling, deeply serious, and all these elements united to make him an admirable and most useful preacher. In the study he was very diligent, procuring from Europe in each year if possible a few books and thoroughly mastering them, so that he had his whole library at command. He published a number of volumes, chiefly connected with the prophecies. He contributed largely to the *Evangelical Magazine* in both series of that name. In all the great movements in the Church in his day he was so prominent that to name them is to name an important sphere of his labor. In the establishment of the General Synod, of the Synod of West Penna., of the Theological Seminary, of Penna. College, he had a prominent part. He was a warm friend, and at his death Senior Vice Pres. of the American Tract Society. He was beautiful in his life, peaceful in his death, and the memory of him is fragrant among us.

He continued to reside in York, still preaching for years at

Quickel's, until in 1852, when he removed to the home of some of his children at Williamsburg. He died Oct. 7, 1854. His funeral discourse was preached by Dr. Benj. Kurtz and his remains deposited in front of this church, the burial service being said by Rev. Jonathan Oswald and the sermon preached by Dr. Lochman.

He was Secretary of the Ministerium of Penna. 1810-12, President 1819-21, President of the Synod of West Penna. at its establishment for several years, and again in 1834, 1835 and perhaps in after years. In 1825 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Penna.

He was married first, to Elizabeth Gross from Quickel's congregation, by whom he had 12 children; she died in 1819; second, in 1821 to Anna Maria Hoffman, of Baltimore, by whom he had 7 children.

REV. JONATHAN OSWALD, D. D.

Mr. Oswald was born in Washington county, Md., Dec. 20, 1805. He was the son of John and Eve Oswald, *née* Gardner and his father was a farmer. His parents were of Swabian and Alsatian origin, and on the father's side of long generations of Lutherans, his mother the descendant of Mennonites.

After having pursued theological studies for sixteen or eighteen months he went to Gettysburg and was present at the inauguration of Prof. S. S. Schmucker as professor in the Seminary, and was the second student registered, Jacob Kæmpfer having preceded him. After pursuing the whole course of theological study at that institution, then occupying two years, and being graduated, he was examined and licensed by the Synod of West Penna., Oct. 7, 1829, Rev. John Ruthrauff, by whom he had been baptized, being President. The honorary degree of D. D. was conferred on him in 1860 by Penna. College.

REV. AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN LOCHMAN, D. D.

Mr. Lochman was the son of Rev. Dr. George Lochman and Susan Hoffman, whose sister Anna Maria was the second wife of Dr. J. G. Schmucker. He was born Oct. 5, 1802, in the parsonage of Salem Church, Lebanon, Pa., of which his father was



pastor. He attended the parochial school of Salem Church, of which Mr. Jensei and then Mr. Strein were teachers, until in 1815 his father removed to Harrisburg, where he was entered as pupil in the Harrisburg Academy, of which Rev. Mr. Todd, and afterward Mr. Hamilton, was Principal. In 1822 he was sent to Philadelphia and entered the University of Penna. in the Junior class, half advanced, where he was graduated in July, 1823. He had begun the study of theology, under the direction of his father, before leaving the university; after his graduation he continued his studies, having as fellow students Frederic and Jonathan Ruthrauf, J. Nic. Stroh and David Eyster. His father was one of the pastors to whom, in the absence at that time of any theological seminary, students were committed by the Ministerium. He was licensed as candidate at the meeting of Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Carlisle, June 16, 1824. He was sent out, in connection with Rev. J. N. Stroh, who had been licensed in 1823, as Reiseprediger to western Pennsylvania and spent some months in visiting vacant congregations and scattered members in Huntingdon, Centre, Venango, Warren, Crawford and Erie counties. The congregation at Lewistown was organized by them on this journey. After his return from this tour he became pastor of a new charge in Cumberland county formed by the separation from the charge of Rev. Benjamin Keller, of Carlisle, of the Stone Church, Trindle Spring and Langsdorff (now Kingston) congregations. He resided in Mechanicsburg, where as yet there was no congregation. While living here he was married, July 28, 1825, to Anna Maria Parthenheimer, of Philadelphia. When his father's strength failed, the son moved to Harrisburg, early in 1826, and assisted him until his death, July 10, 1826, when he became his father's successor in the Harrisburg charge, which consisted of the Harrisburg, Middletown and Schoop's congregations. He continued in this charge until his removal to York in April, 1836. Here for forty-four years he was the diligent and faithful pastor of the old mother church of York, and honorable successor to the line of distinguished men who had held the pastorate before him. For more than a century the pastorate of Christ's Church was occupied by an unbroken succession of men who held high

place in the councils of the Church, who were eminent in their generation, prominent in all good works, the memory of whom shall live.

As a pastor he was greatly beloved and eminently successful. He was the familiar friend of the households under his care. His great kindness of character and his warm personal interest in them awakened strong attachment.

In all general movements of the Church he has taken an active part. He was one of the first Board of Trustees of Penna. College, elected in 1832, and has continued to serve with one brief intermission for 50 years. He was Trustee of Franklin College and greatly aided the measures by which a portion of its funds and Trustees were transferred to Penna. College. He has been almost continuously one of the Directors of the Seminary and for many years its President, in which capacity he has delivered the charge at the installation of no less than three of the Professors. He has been repeatedly chosen as the President of the Synod, and frequently as a delegate to the General Synod, of which body he has been both Secretary and President.

The honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him in 1856 by Penna. College. He has shown no little literary activity, having made translations from the German of Rosa of Lindenwald, The Basket of Flowers, Seppeli and The Emerald. An address at the funeral of Dr. Jacob Hay, in 1874, was published. He contributed to the *Lutheran Preacher*, 1834, II., p. 72, a sermon on John 9 : 2, 3, and to the *Evangelical Review*, VIII., p. 436, The Lord's Supper Practically Considered; X., p. 322, The Sabbath; XI., p. 397, An Exposition of Matt. 11 : 12; XVI., p. 550, Address at the Installation of Dr. J. A. Brown, and XVIII., p. 1, at that of Drs. C. A. Hay and M. Valentine as Professors in the Seminary at Gettysburg.

Dr. Lochman has retired from the active pastoral office, full of years and of labors; we have allowed ourselves to include in this narrative this brief sketch, contrary to the custom which excludes sketches of the living, because he has closed his public life, and because the account of Christ's Church could not omit a memorial of one who nearly half a century was its pastor and whose ministry in it has closed.



## FORMATION OF FIRST ENGLISH CONGREGATION.

A portion of the congregation, especially those who had been most active in securing English services, warmly attached to the Rev. Jonathan Oswald, who for nearly seven years had been the English assistant to the pastor, greatly regretted that he had not been chosen as pastor. They also took grave exception to the proceedings of some of those who favored the election of Mr. Lochman. After several preliminary meetings held Feb. 18 and 26, a meeting was held Feb. 28, after divine services in the lecture room of the Reformed church, at which a new congregation was organized by the election of elders and deacons and the adoption of a constitution, signed by 68 male members. Steps were taken to secure means for the purchase of ground and the erection of a church, which were attended with such success that a lot was purchased on the corner of Beaver and King streets, the corner-stone of a church laid May 29, 1836, and the building consecrated June 11, 1837. Services had been regularly held in the lecture room of the Reformed church until Dec. 19, 1836, when the lecture room of the new church was used. - Of the congregation thus formed, Rev. J. Oswald continued to be the pastor until the close of 1861. The cost of the ground and building was \$7,024.48. It is sad that differences of view and feeling should have furnished the occasion, but the formation of an English Lutheran congregation was an inestimable benefit; and the ever enlarging prosperity of St. Paul's Church, under the labors of eminent and faithful pastors, calls for continual thanksgiving.

The records of Christ's Church have been so carefully kept during the pastorate of Dr. Lochman, that our narrative may fitly assume the form of annals, the materials for which are drawn from them.

## ANNALS.

1836. May. It was resolved to build a lecture room and the corner-stone was laid Aug. 14, on N. George St. Nov. 26. Assistant wardens were appointed for the English services.

1843. Nov. 25. Authority was given to Mr. Lochman to  
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invite any Lutheran pastor whom he might select to preach a trial sermon, with a view to his becoming assistant to the pastor.

1844. Aug. 31. The pastor was authorized to secure the services of Rev. A. L. Bridgeman as assistant, if he consent to receive as salary such sum as may be specially subscribed for his support. Mr. Bridgeman declined to come.

1847. Jan. 30. The erection of an additional church was considered. Feb. 27. Rev. C. Reimensnyder was invited to preach with a view to a call as assistant to the pastor. An election was appointed for him, but before final action in the matter a new shape was given to the movement by the adoption, June 19, of amendments and additions to the Constitution to the following effect:

1. The members of the congregation who prefer English services may form themselves into a second branch of the congregation and be recognized as such.

2. So soon as organized they may elect a pastor of the second branch. In all other respects, all members of both branches remain one congregation and all property remains the property of the whole congregation. The pastor of the second branch not to be a member of the corporation of Christ's Church.

3. The second branch may elect a council, adopt a constitution, and rules and regulations for its affairs, provided they are not in violation of the charter. The services of the first branch to be in the German language and those of the second branch to be in English, the churches to be used by the two branches alternately.

4. The German pastor to have the use of the parsonage. The ordinary collections to be paid into the treasury of the corporation out of which all costs of maintenance of the churches are to be paid. Each branch to provide for the support of its pastor and collect for its own uses and for its contributions to the synod.

1848. July 29. It was resolved that another church be erected for the use of the second branch so that the first branch may have sole use of Christ's Church, both branches to unite in furnishing means for the erection; this proposal was to be submitted to the second branch for approval, which approval was



given. In August subscriptions were taken, a committee of each branch having charge, the subscriptions to become binding if enough was secured to warrant the erection of the church.

1849. Jan. Notice was given of the decision of the corporation to proceed with the erection, if it could be done without incurring debt by the corporation. In Feb. the corporation proposed that if the English branch would procure a lot, erect a church and assume any debt caused thereby, then the property in Duke St. be granted them for 10 years, the present subscriptions to be transferred to them and aid be given them in securing additional amounts; they retaining their present rights, except to the use of the church and lecture room. This proposal was accepted. In March a building committee was appointed and permission given to erect the building on the graveyard lot on Duke St.

1850. Aug. 25. The corner-stone was laid and the new building named Zion's Church.

1851. In the Spring the church was dedicated, Rev. Charles Martin, M. D., became pastor and the long continued efforts to relieve the burdens of the pastor reached a favorable result. In May it was proposed to sell the parsonage on N. George St. and to erect two parsonages on the grounds on Duke St. adjoining Zion's Church, which proposal was approved by the congregation in Nov. In Jan., 1852, the parsonage was sold for \$4,031 and possession given in April. In 1853 two new parsonages were erected at a cost of \$4,388.

1859. It was resolved that a separate act of incorporation should be taken out by the English congregation.

1861. Jan. 26. The corporation was authorized to execute a deed to Zion's congregation for the church, parsonage and the ground on which they stand. The deed was presented, approved and ordered to be delivered Dec. 25, 1863. The right to use the church and lecture room for week-day services, catechetical instruction and funerals, until a convenient lecture room was secured, was reserved by agreement. The joint Sunday school of the two congregations had held its sessions in Zion's Church ever since its erection, and so continued until 1869.

1867. Oct. 31. The Jubilee of the Reformation was cele-

brated with much enthusiasm by the Lutheran churches of York, in which besides all the pastors, Drs. Morris and Valentine took part. In the afternoon the members of all the Lutheran Sunday schools in York and vicinity met in Christ's Church, 1500 children being present. The jubilee offerings of Christ's Church were about \$1,100.

1869. The services in Christ's Church, after the formation of the English Zion's congregation, had at first been conducted entirely in the German language. After a time an infrequent English service in the evening had been introduced and these services had gradually become more frequent without marked opposition, until in Feb., 1869, the corporation decided that one half of the services should be in English. This decision aroused a determined opposition from the more German portion, who petitioned for its rescission. The corporation having refused to recall their action, legal measures were resorted to by the Germans. The case was for a long time in the courts, a final decision, rendered only in 1873, declared that the corporation had not transcended its powers. After the decision a new German congregation was organized, which called a pastor connected with the Synod of Missouri. A request of the Germans for a portion of the burial grounds on S. Duke St., on which to erect a church, was refused.

1874. The Sunday school of Christ's Church had been separately organized since 1869, and held its meetings in the *church*. The need of rooms for its use and for week-day services was sensibly felt. The church also was in need of repairs. It was resolved in Feb. to repair and remodel the church, raising the floor and providing in the first story a Sunday school and lecture room. The work was carried on to a successful completion and the building committee were finally discharged Nov. 1876.

1876. April. The old school house was sold. In Nov. the corporation decided to submit to the congregation a proposition to remove the dead from the burial place on S. Duke street and to sell the ground. The congregation presented but feeble opposition and it was decided to sell it. In the following year the



dead were removed and the ground sold to a market company for \$10,000.

1877. Feb. The evening services were made entirely English.

1880. June 12. Rev. Dr. A. H. Lochman presented his resignation as pastor, to take effect Sept. 1, 1880. It was not accepted and a committee was appointed to try to induce him to withdraw it. He, however, insisted upon it and it was reluctantly accepted. The longest pastorate in the history of the congregation was thus brought to a close.

1881. In February it was resolved that Rev. Mr. Enders be proposed by the council to the congregation for election at a meeting to be held March 11, 12. April 30, a call was extended to Mr. Enders, which after some delay was accepted by him. He afterwards asked a release from his promise to come, which was at first granted by the council and then withdrawn. During the delay Dr. Lochman continued to discharge the duties of pastor until the close of 1881, and Rev. J. H. Fritz from Feb. to June, 1882.

REV. GEORGE W. ENDERS.

On the thirtieth of June, 1882, Rev. Mr. Enders arrived and entered upon his labors as pastor. It was at once resolved to erect on the east side of the chancel recess a stairway and sacristy, which was done and the exterior of the church painted. But little over a year has passed since Mr. Enders began his ministry in Christ's Church.

The approach of the time at which one hundred and fifty years of the life of the congregation would come to an end, led the pastor to suggest the propriety of the worthy commemoration of the event. I was invited to prepare this historical sketch. The fact that my grandfather was long the pastor of this church and that my father grew up and was confirmed in it, made it the more fitting that I should do so. The blessing of the God of our fathers dwell ever in this house and rest upon this congregation.

## ARTICLE III.

## LA ROCHEFOUCAULD AND HIS MAXIMS.

PROF. F. V. N. PAINTER, A. M., Roanoke College, Va.

A maxim, from the Latin *maxima sententia*, may be defined as a concise and striking statement of some important, practical truth. It differs from an axiom in not being a self-evident truth, is based on an induction of facts, and hence embodies the results of observation and experience. We observe individual men for a time, and then proceed to draw conclusions upon human conduct in general: A considerable acquaintance with men is presupposed in the statement of La Rochefoucauld that "few persons are wise enough to prefer the censure that is useful to the praise that is hurtful to them." From these facts it is obvious that the truth of a maxim depends on its being a correct generalization. It must be justified by sufficiently large number of facts; otherwise it will be entirely erroneous or express at best only a partial truth. This is illustrated by the saying of La Rochefoucauld that "we praise only to be praised." It can not be reasonably doubted that praise is bestowed often through selfish motives; but since there is such a thing in the world as disinterestedness, La Rochefoucauld has erred in making his maxim universal. Either his induction of facts was too small or else the facts themselves were misinterpreted.

A maxim is the expression of a judgment. Whatever, therefore, influences men in their judging will tell upon the maxims they make or adopt. Among the various factors influencing the minds of men, the national type of character is worthy of consideration. Although its influence may not always be apparent in individual judgments, it gives a peculiar tone to thought in general. The Celtic mind is different from the Teutonic mind. The maxims of La Rochefoucauld are thoroughly French. They exhibit the keen penetration and the felicity of expression that characterize the operations of the French mind. They lack the profound moral sense that belongs to the Teutonic races. They



are brilliant rather than profound. Above all, they have a flavor of mocking satire that is thoroughly at home only in France. A few examples will make this clear. "We all have strength enough to bear the misfortunes of others." "Men would not live long in society, if they were not dupes of one another." "Virtue would not go far, if vanity did not keep it company." "He who lives without folly is not as wise as he thinks." This satire, cynicism, piquancy, abounds in La Rochefoucauld.

The nature of a body of maxims will depend largely on the author's sphere of observation. The whole mental life of a man is determined largely by his surroundings. M. Taine has only overstated a fact when he says, in the preface to his admirable study of La Fontaine: "A man may be considered as an animal of a superior order that produces philosophies and poems almost as silk-worms do their cocoons, and bees their honey." A large experience is necessary to a rich and varied mental life. The great masters in general literature, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo, had a wide acquaintance with men and things. Without this experience their genius would have been greatly limited in its sweep. Maxims are the quintessence of literature. Their composition requires a sphere of observation embracing every rank and condition of society. An acquaintance with only one phase of life is not enough. Human nature is capable of various and even contradictory manifestations; and in order to estimate it justly, we must consider it under different circumstances. Measured by the requirements thus indicated, La Rochefoucauld's preparation for writing maxims was defective. It is true that his experience was large, but it touched only one class of society, and that only in one set of circumstances. He was born and reared in the French capital; took a prominent part in the war of the Fronde; was a frequenter of the famous Hotel de Rambouillet; and was associated with nearly all the distinguished men and women that gave splendor to the court of Louis XIV. With this world of wit, ambition, licentiousness, deception, and selfishness he was thoroughly acquainted; but of that humbler sphere of life in which virtue, piety, and self-sacrifice find their best exemplifications he remained in unsuspecting ignorance.

The maxims of La Rochefoucauld, more than five hundred in number, touch upon a great variety of subjects. They are all more or less closely connected with what he observed around him. It seems possible, as we study his life, to detect the circumstances that gave rise to particular maxims. Unsuccessful in all his intrigues during the Fronde, and having lost, at the same time, a considerable part of his property, it was but natural for him to write: "Our wisdom is not less at the mercy of fortune than our goods." More than one of the brilliant court circle is portrayed in this: "There are people spoken well of in society, whose sole merit is the vices that promote social intercourse." Here is a tribute to the polished deception this brilliant Frenchman saw about him: "There is a disguised insincerity that feigns the truth so well, that not to be deceived would show bad judgment." The nature of the social relations at court is described in the following: "The most disinterested friendship is only a relation in which our self-love proposes some profit." La Rochefoucauld depicts his own conduct, as well as that of Louis XIV. in the last years of his reign, when he says that "reconciliation with our enemies is only a desire to render our condition better, weariness of war, and a fear of some unfortunate occurrence." His view of clemency is not complimentary to the king. "The clemency of which a virtue is made, is exercised sometimes through vanity, sometimes through idleness, sometimes through fear, and almost always through all three together."

To no other subjects are so many maxims devoted as to women and love. This fact is not hard to account for. Gallantry, in the worst sense of the word, formed no small part of life at court. Besides, La Rochefoucauld successively passed under the influence of three celebrated women, by whom his life was largely moulded. Through Madame de Chevreuse he became attached to the party of the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, and excited the enmity of Richelieu. He was led into the Fronde through an ardent passion for the beautiful Madame de Longueville. During the last years of his life he enjoyed the intimate friendship of Madame de La Fayette, who was accustomed to say, "He gave me wit, but I reformed his heart." He



was fond of the society of women, towards whom, as he tells us, he always observed the utmost courtesy. In a portrait he has drawn of himself he says: "I believe I have never said anything before them that could give them pain. When they have intelligence, I prefer their conversation to that of men; it is characterized by a certain sweetness that is not met with among us; and besides, it seems to me that they express themselves with more clearness, and that they give a more agreeable turn to the things they say."

The maxims relating to women and love are, as a rule, cynical and severe. To lose confidence in woman is a sign of moral decay. It is with instantaneous and emphatic denial that we read: "There are few honest women that are not tired of their business." Perhaps it was in palliation of his own conduct that La Rochefoucauld endeavored to make Nature responsible for unfaithfulness. "As one is never free to love or to cease to love, the lover can not complain justly of the inconstancy of his mistress, nor she of the infidelity of her lover." A vivid recollection of his part in the Fronde, into which he was led by an unwise devotion, may have inspired the reflection that "those grand and brilliant actions which are represented as the effects of great designs are ordinarily the effects of humor and passion." It gives us a pleasing glimpse into the sparkling conversation of the time when La Rochefoucauld says: "The wit of most women serves more to defend their folly than it does to support their reason." Here is a maxim that many will think broader than the court circles of Louis XIV. "The reason lovers never get tired of each other's society is that they always talk about themselves." La Rochefoucauld finds it difficult to define love, but it has no mystery for him. Reflecting as usual the life about him he says: "If there is a pure love, exempt from any admixture of our other passions, it is that which is concealed at the bottom of our hearts and which we are ignorant of ourselves." This is nearer the truth: "There is no disguise that can long conceal love where it is, or feign it is where it is not." Love is often unreasonable, but it seems rather sweeping to say that "if we judge love by the most of its effects, it bears a closer resem-

blance to enmity than to friendship." Here again is a touch of cynicism: "We can find women that have never had a love-affair at all; but we can hardly find any that have had only one." After all, La Rochefoucauld is somewhat skeptical about the whole matter. "It is with true love as it is with ghosts: everybody speaks of them, but few have seen them."

La Rochefoucauld, as he tells us, preferred moral subjects in conversation to all others. Most of his maxims relate to moral sentiments and acts, and the collection as a whole may be regarded as a treatise on ethics. He does not indeed enter into a discussion to determine the ultimate rule of right and wrong. Metaphysical speculation is entirely foreign to his habit of thought. His method is to observe individual acts, and to explain separately the secret motives of them. He is empirical and not transcendental. He is to be classed with the most selfish of ethical schools. He traces all our acts to some form of self-interest or self-love, and does not recognize the existence of disinterested benevolence and self-sacrificing love. Though amiable as a friend, he was cynical as an author, and uniformly presents in his maxims the worst side of human nature. In discovering selfish motives in what usually pass for acts of pure benevolence, he displays surprising ingenuity; and it is in this abuse of his genius that we may refer to him one of his own maxims: "The greatest fault of penetration is in going, not to the mark, but beyond it." He does not take into account the generous impulses by which we are actuated every day, nor the sense of duty that to many is stronger than death. Whence comes, for example, our love of justice? "The love of justice in most men," says our author, "is only a fear of suffering injustice." Old persons, he would have us believe, are not solicitous to guard the young against mistakes; on the contrary, "old men love to give good precepts, in order to console themselves for not being able to give bad examples." An unwillingness to be praised does not come from a sense of humility or a consciousness of our short-comings; "the refusal of praise is a desire to be praised twice." As to our love of truth, "aversion to falsehood is often an imperceptible ambition to render our testimony considerable, and to secure for our words a religious



respect." An ethical principle that leads to such harsh and erroneous judgments surely carries with it its own condemnation.

In a few of La Rochefoucauld's maxims we meet with nobler sentiments. What is hypocrisy? "Hypocrisy," he answers, is a homage that vice pays to virtue." In the following maxim there is a noble recognition of the confidence that should go with friendship: "It is more disgraceful to distrust our friends than to be deceived by them." La Rochefoucauld had known the smiles of fortune as well as the frowns of fate; and it indicates the presence of a worthy ideal of life when he writes that "greater virtues are needed to support good than bad fortune." The imagination has a great deal to do with our lot, and "we are never so fortunate or unfortunate as we think." There are obvious diversities in the condition of men; but "whatever differences there may be, there is a certain compensation of good and evil that renders them equal." We may judge human nature too harshly; the evil it does is not always from deliberate choice. "Treason is committed more frequently through weakness than through a deliberate design to betray." But the nobler sentiments exhibited in these maxims are exceptional with our author, and his favorite task is to discover the selfishness of human nature in all its disguises.

It does not often happen that a man's practice is better than his principles. Such, however, seems to have been the case with La Rochefoucauld. His maxims were the offspring of his intellect rather than of his heart. Though usually reticent, melancholy, and distant, he was open and free in his intercourse with kindred minds. He was capable of noble sentiments; and his desire to be a worthy man was so strong that, as he tells us, it gave him pleasure to be told of his faults. He rarely gave way to anger; and though rather insensible to pity, he lost no opportunity to alleviate distress. In his last years he bore the agonies of the gout with admirable fortitude; and under the loss of his son, he displayed, in the words of Madame de Sévigné, surpassing "courage, tenderness, and reason." He had written that "neither death nor the sun can be regarded fixedly;" yet, in contradiction of his maxim, he met death with great calmness. Madame de Sévigné, to whose letters we are indebted

for several interesting facts, thus describes him in his last sickness: "His state is worthy of all admiration. He is well prepared as regards his conscience; that is all settled; but, for the rest, it might be the illness and death of his neighbor that are in question; he is not flurried about it, he is not troubled about it. Believe me, my daughter, it is not to no purpose that he has been making reflections all his life; he has approached his last moments in such wise that they have nothing novel or strange for him."

Most of the statements made in the last paragraph are based on La Rochefoucauld's sketch of his own character. No one knew better than he the warping influence of self-love, which he pronounces "the greatest of all flatterers." It is certain that he did not magnify his faults. Fortunately some of his contemporaries, who were not blinded by affection for him, have left us estimates of his character. It is one of his maxims that "our enemies approach nearer the truth in their judgment of us than we do ourselves." Madame de Maintenon called him "a man of wit, of imposing manner, but of little knowledge." Cardinal De Retz, who did not like him, has placed him in a group of admirable portraits in his "Memoirs." "There has always been something mysterious," he says, "in La Rochefoucauld. He was inclined to meddle with state intrigues from his youth, and at a time when he had no attention for little concerns, which never was his weak side; nor any knowledge of great ones, the managing of which, on the other hand, was not his talent. He never was fit for any manner of affairs, and I cannot tell why, for he had qualities which would have supplied in any other those which he wanted. He could not extend his view far enough, neither could he even perceive all at once what was within its reach. But his good sense, excellent in a speculative way, added to his sweetness, his engaging way, his easiness of manners, which was admirable, ought to have compensated more than it did for his want of penetration. He ever had an habitual irresolution, to which it is impossible for me to ascribe a cause. \* \* He never was fit for war, though an excellent soldier; neither was he ever a good courtier, though he had always a great inclination to be so. He never was a good party



man, though all his life long engaged in parties." The Cardinal adds that his maxims express too little faith in virtue, and concludes his characterization with the judgment that La Rochefoucauld would have done better "to have known himself, and to have been content to pass, as he might have done in the common way of life, for the politest and finest gentleman that has appeared in this age."\*

The maxims are original in conception, and admirable in style. The author of them had the faculty of clear conception and artistic expression. Scarcely a word or turn of expression could be changed for the better. Yet there is no affectation or over-refinement of style, but a simple and manly directness. Nearly every maxim arrests the attention, and many of them readily fix themselves in the memory. They have the quality of stimulating thought in a rare degree. The maxims have been popular in France from the time of their first publication, and have exerted a noteworthy influence upon French literature. Speaking of the maxims in his *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, Voltaire says: "People read this little collection eagerly; it accustomed them to think and to express their thoughts in a lively, precise, and delicate way. It was a merit that no one had before him in Europe since the revival of learning." They lack only the sentiment of humanity and confidence in virtue.

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\*La Rochefoucauld in his "Memoirs" has given a portrait of De Retz. It is as little flattering as that just drawn by the Cardinal.

## ARTICLE IV.

## GOD-CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CHRIST.

By PROFESSOR W. H. WYNN, PH. D., Acting President of Midland College, Atchison, Kansas.

It cannot fall far short of the truth to say, that at the root of all religion, and all morals also, is a realizing sense of the nearness of the Divine. Morals may be held as a superficial code, wholly secular, within mere human relations, and motiveless of God. And a quality of goodness may be the result—a good citizen, a good father, a good civil officer, and in general, by ordinary social standards, a good man. But all goodness dis-severed from religion and therefore from God, has only a derived value, and when farthest off from its religious moorings will be found, in the stress of trial, to be uniformly disingenuous and false.

Taking, therefore, every movement of the soul entitled to be called spiritual, and going in search of that which lies closest at the heart of it, we shall always find it to be an ever-growing consciousness of the indwelling life of God. The reality is found there, whatever invaluable accessory may meet us by the way. When a man can walk abroad among his fellows, and mingle in the affairs and duties and trials of life, and feel that he is every day becoming more and more conscious of God's being commingling with his, and, in some sense, absorbing his, he may, without assumption, conclude that he is rising in the scale of all highest human worth, and attaining the divine standard of the full "measure of a man." "God-consciousness"\* is the term we wish to use as descriptive of this fundamental experience of spiritual life.

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\*The term has done large service technically in certain metaphysical schools, as descriptive of what goes naturally with the instinctive functions of the Reason, but it stands in this discussion for the voluntary effort of the free spirit to carry forward the intuitions of Reason into a deeper and deeper realization of its God. In this shape it becomes a positive element in spiritual life.



And now, we immediately become aware of many perplexing inquiries, some speculative and others practical, when this great subject is broached. Who is God? What relation does He sustain to the human spirit? To what extent, and in what way, do we become cognizant of his presence? Is the consciousness of his presence a real valid experience—not to be talked about simply, or indefinitely dreamed of, as something, some day, in the far-off stages of ideal attainment, to be realized? Is it an experience with which a man may throw himself into the thick of human commotion and competition, accessible through every avenue of his senses to the manifold, streaming influences of the material world around him, to its cares, its sufferings, its painful pressing emergencies, and yet be always conscious of the life of God entering into and sustaining his soul? If such an experience were attainable of what benefit would it be? Would it not be a mere sentiment, and even worse, indeed, because of its drawing off our intellectual and voluntary energies from the stern battle of life in which we are all engaged, and from which there is no discharge? To all these inquiries, persistently put forth by the skeptical spirit of our times, there is but the one answer, that the experience is not only possible, but that without it, in some form of more or less definite realization, religion is a misnomer, and, as I think, the deeper virtues of morality are but a name.

We must look first—with considerable reluctance we confess—at what has come to be a wide-spread, exceedingly dangerous attitude of contemporary thought on this great subject. Agnosticism! we have become thoroughly wearied with the term, and it seems a kind of desecration to give it a mention at all in the discussion of religious themes. It is a cold, forbidding, thoroughly unsympathetic, religiously paralyzing term. And yet it is so formidable a pretender in these days that we dare not overlook it. We are right in the midst of a most stupendous intellectual experiment, enthusiastically conducted by certain leading scientific minds of our age—an experiment, not to sacrifice religion and morals, but to deprive them of a theistic basis, to shift them from the foundation of Christian fact and doctrine on

which for long centuries they have rested, and plant them on a—mere negation.

Agnosticism signifies, I do not know, but before this profound abyss of nescience I am stricken with awe. Is there a God? Like *Ignaro* in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, its reiterated answer is, "I do not know." When Arthur forces his way into the castle of *Orgoglio*, he finds the old Janitor there with a wry neck and a bunch of keys, who has but one answer to every question the mighty inquisitor puts, and that is, "I do not know," "I do not know." In so serious a matter, however, it is but due the grave philosophers who stand for this phase of sentiment, to confess that this analogy of *Ignaro* is not quite complete. They say they are not false to any impulse they find in their minds; they are sincere. Having cut loose from revelation altogether, and moving under the lead of scientific formulas wholly within nature, they say that in all their researches they come at last to a point beyond which no human intellect can penetrate. The eternal silences are there, an untraversable abyss of mystery, not simply as yet unconquered by the human intellect, but out of relation to the finite mind, and so inaccessible to it forever.

For instance, here is this planet on which we move, its earth, its water, its vegetable and animal life, its sunlight, its air. The chemist is at work on these. Sixty or more elements, unresolvable substances, are at his command. They resist all known processes at further decomposition, and if at last they should haply yield to his analytic skill, yet the chemist knows that the time must come when, both in theory and in fact, he must stand with the whole fraternity of his associate scientists before some primordial All-Force, which no science and no intellect of man can ever embrace. Its bare existence might be inferentially affirmed, but to every other question you might propose about it, the scientist feels himself obliged to answer, "I do not know, and it is not in the capacity of the human mind ever to know."

Now right at this point, on this desolate awful coast of cimmerian darkness and mystery, Mr. Herbert Spencer and his school profess to erect the religion of the future. We must all leave off worshiping Jesus, and the great God of the Bible, and



come and bow down with the new prophets before the awful mystery—the awe-producing mystery—that lies in and around this universe of worlds, and, as Mr. Huxley exhorts, express our devotion in “the voiceless praise of silence.” Doubtless this new gospel has provoked the experiment in many young minds, esoterically, and on the sly; for it would scarcely be possible for one religiously disposed, to follow the discussions of these speculative scientists without conceiving quite vividly the strange emotions of this novel kind of worship. He must set up a new altar, not to the Unknown God, but to the most worshipful fact that his mind cannot know a God. It is not the personal, sympathetic, loving, tender Heavenly Father, nor the toiling, burden-bearing, thorn-crowned, sin-pierced Son of Man, that we are henceforth to worship. The day for all this religious anthropomorphism is gone by. It is the sea, the incommensurable sky, the vast, fathomless, amorphous abyss, or, as Mr. Harrison very provokingly, but very justly, suggested, in his controversy with Mr. Spencer, it is the “All-Nothingness,” toward which the devout aspirations of the world are henceforth to be turned. Come ye weary, heavy laden, to the—All-Nothingness, and learn the joy there is in “rolling up your psalms against a wintry sky.”

Mr. Spencer was deeply wounded at this travesty of his sentiments, and actually wrote down in definite and precise statement, that the Unknowable is the *one sole reality* of the universe, of which everything addressing itself to consciousness is but the phenomenal manifestation and show. He was driven to this by the logical goading of his sarcastic critic, but every one can see the blight of a *non sequitur* sits fatally on his reply. For how can the Unknowable, whose long-bruited distinction is that it will admit of no predicate, be set up with such all-comprehensive fulness of the predicable, as to say concerning it, that it is the one sole Reality, of which everything known to us is but the passing show?

It is not well; however, in dealing with this subject, to force the system of religious agnosticism into the dismal extremities of logical inconsistency in which it must always be entangled,

but, rather, to seize clearly the positive elements there may be in it, and determine what they have to do with the religious instincts of the race. It is fair to say that the new divinity at whose shrine the agnostics would have us bow, is the impenetrable mystery that lies on the confines of all human research. That mystery we all know is there, dark, impalpable, closing us around on all sides like a shoreless sea. Any one visiting the Atlantic coast for the first time, will have this emotion rushing full-tide upon his soul. There before him lies a fathomless waste of waters, far-stretching round all zones, its billows white-capped chasing each other from undescried distances hitherward, to leap in mad precipitancy on the rocks. Ever and anon the awful grandeur of the tempest holds carnival on the watery domain, and the imperious element throws itself upon the earth and sky, as if to threaten the usurpation of the whole realm of things. Now what emotion must, for the time, have resistless sway of the beholder? I can easily conceive of a subdued state of feeling, very nearly akin to religion. Awe there must be, and a profound sense of the impotence of man. For on the bosom of that heaving mass of waters lashed into fury, the strongest swimmer is as powerless as an infant, and fleets and argosies are as bubbles on its yeast of waves.

But you cannot worship the sea. You cannot worship the sky, out of which, also, pour all the mysteries of day and night, sunshine, lightning, rain, and the wild war of the elements when the hurricane takes up its line of march. It is a mistake to say that our Aryan ancestors worshiped the sky. They worshiped the Invisible, whose abode was in the blue canopy above us, and they worshiped Him without image or fane. And when polytheism came on in the Dorian and Ionian branches of the Aryan family, a race of personal divinities sprang up in the earth and sea, and sky—personal divinities into whom the Invisible had distributed himself, so to speak—all of whom could know, and feel, and work changes in the realm of things—all of whom were more or less directly interested in the trials and triumphs of the generations of men that were coming and going on this sublunary sphere. Poseidon was awarded the dominion of the



sea; Demeter held sway over the land; and the sun-god Apollo flamed down from the inaccessible heights of the sky.

What all this signifies as bearing on the religious instincts of the race, any one who has given the least attention to the study of comparative mythology will readily see. A phenomenon so wide-spread as polytheism, and embodying the religious conceptions and aspirations of such diversities of race-culture as reach from the lowest condition of savagery to the highest stages of civilization and refinement, and sustaining the spiritual life of so many generations of men—a phenomenon of this kind must have some important contribution to make to the philosophy of religion, as in these days we undertake to search it out.

The lesson is this. Men are, in the supreme sense of the term, persons; and they cannot worship except as they find or project an analogous personality in the divinities they conceive. The object of their worship must always be a personal God, or otherwise the well-springs of their devotion will speedily run dry. The very nature of worship forbids an object of any other kind. Take the sea, or the sky, or this deep, dark, impenetrable mystery that hems in human thought, and stretches out in eternal silences beyond, of which immensity is but a feeble hint. Conceive it all as vividly as may be—there is nothing in it before which religious devotion may bow and adore. Give it as much positive content as you may see fit, as, for example, the the incomprehensible All-force, or Prime-Force, there is at least nothing personal about it, and nothing to which the personal yearnings of a devout soul would have any impulse to cling. With or without content, the vast All-Force or the limitless inane, it is impossible to exclude from the conception the oppressive sense of some resistless brute immensity\* rushing in to overpower and crush out a puny worm.

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\*Mr. Martineau, who has a most happy faculty for finding just the collocation of words that will most thoroughly unmask a sophistry, and then thrust it, spear-like, through and through, has these words: "If you place me face to face, not with an infinite living spirit, but only with what is called the "Great Necessity," what enthusiasm do you expect the vision to excite? Can there be a more paralyzing spectacle? And

Hence the uniform accompaniment of pessimism in these agnostic schemes. Religion is born of fear, forsooth!—these agnostic systems, instead of engendering the spirit of worship, send their devotees cringing under the wheels of a crushing fatalism, more ruthless than the wheels of Juggernaut by as much as the means of torture are the more refined. The spirit is not simply humbled before the relentless march of cosmic forces; it is seared and crushed. The religion of despair! when one attempts to put those two words together, immediately they fly apart. Religion is hope. Hope is the incense of prayer. But how can a man pray to the great cosmic Almighty that goes thrashing through the stars? Men worship because, in clinging to their divinity they expect sympathy, and pardon, and elevation, and renewal, and because they have the instinct to know that the divine life in which their life inheres is in some way akin to their own. They cannot worship a mystery; they cannot pray to an impersonal force. The test of experiment can at any time be made. Worship is a term which has no significance at all, except as one believes that he is reaching out to a being who is infinitely sympathetic and strong, who is a living, intelligent, loving being like himself, whose heart-throbs beat in unison with his own, and who can lift him up in the free participation of his own spiritual excellence and beauty and truth. And it seems incredible that men should have ever thought of this in connection with negation, mystery, emptiness, death, as though sepulchres should be turned into temples, and the yearning of the nations should be after the cold obstruction of the grave. There can be no religion there because no hope, no light, no joy, no comfort for the longing soul.

I have tarried thus long on this strange religious vagary of our day, because it is a plausible and defiant negative of the consciousness of God which we have placed at the heart of spiritual life, and because, with all its skilfully wrought absurdity, it

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shall I fling myself with passionate devotion into the arms of that ghostly physical giant? It is impossible: homage to an automaton universe is no better than mummy-worship would be to one who has known what it is to love and trust and embrace the living friend.”—Martineau’s “*A Study of Religion*,” Introduction, p. 12.



indicates the point of exigency in the religious nature of man to which Christian anthropomorphism brings its supply of help. The God-consciousness of which we speak is not the faint intuition of the divine, or of the Absolute, or Unconditioned, which metaphysicians discover to be implicitly bound up with the consciousness of self, the natural and indefeasible property of every reasonable mind. This is found equally and universally where there is no spiritual life, and is adequately expressed by describing God as immanent in human souls. Immanent there, He must make himself known. But in the nature of the case it must be in the faintest outline, as of a dim image wavering and fading in the mist. Evanescent, flitting, now light, now dark, there is wanting some expedient for steadying it on the horizon of the soul, some way of bringing it out in living, palpitating, fulness for the embrace of faith. And then there are the obscurations of sin, and the wanton perversities of the skeptical mind. All in all, it is not to be wondered at that the natural intuitions of the soul God-ward should more and more fade away into atheistical darkness and defeat, and that the Unknowable should be crowded into the gaping inane. In some way the torpid energies of the soul must be aroused to a realizing sense of the all-pervasive life of God, to a voluntary effort to get into reciprocal nearness to Him. This is spiritual life. And now our task must be to see how these divine solicitations are brought to bear upon the hearts of men, through the theanthropic person and life of our Lord, through the high office He subserved in the moral universe of God.

Here was a man who came not as a philosopher, an orator, a statesman, a sage, who promulgated no logically compact system for the acceptance of men, as did Plato and Aristotle, and his illustrious contemporary Philo Judæus, but simply lived out in tangible exemplification before the world a life wholly and avowedly swallowed up in God. If you were to seek the key that would proximately unlock the fathomless mystery of this one exceptional character in all the history of the race, you would find it in this singular fact, that He avowed himself to have attained, to the fullness of his measure, to the unlimited realization of the life of God. "I am in the Father, and the

Father in me"—there is in this, the consciousness of complete interpenetration, he in God and God in him. Indeed, his language is stronger than this, expressing in the climax of his self-renunciation, the wholesale abnegation of his human to the unobstructed sway of the divine—"I can do nothing of myself; the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." He realized this kind of consciousness far beyond any measure to which we can attain, but over and over again has pointed out to his followers that this is the path on which they must rise.

It is worthy our loftiest effort, to get near the Master in this central assumption of his. We must conceive of him as standing there, on the open plains and among the hills of Judea, and pointing to the sky, and using the term that had then become current all over the Aryan and Semitic worlds, "Heavenly Father," indicating, in this way, the all-brooding life of the infinite God—and then withdrawing his index finger, and pointing to himself, to mean that the Father is not best discovered in the physical immensities that stretch above us, but in him, in man, transfused and new-fashioned by the life of God. No doubt in some profound and purely physical sense the Father was in all men, and all men were in him, but this was not the scope of the great Teacher's words. Preëminently in himself, as the one, sole, perfect Man of all the ages, the first-born of every creature, the Divine Man, the God-Man, was this consciousness of essential union with the divine most profoundly realized, and most impressively exhibited to the world. But he always meant to say, that what he so fully realized, we, in our measure, may realize too, and to this end he was the incarnate image of God for the otherwise groping aspirations of men, filling out in bodily manifestation, and on a sensuous plane, all the fullness of the Godhead to be taken tenderly into the embrace of faith. "No man hath seen God at any time"—the natural intuitions of him are obscure and blurred, and they sink away under the eclipses of sin into the gathering gloom of doubt and unbelief—"the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

This is the sublime anthropomorphism of the incarnate revelation of God, self-asserted by the Master, and, as we see, inher-



ent in everything he did. You cannot read intelligently a single page of that marvelous history, or get the meaning of a single expression, except as this lofty mysticism will furnish the key. "Only begotten Son;" "in the bosom of the Father;" "no man cometh unto the Father but by me;" "he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father"—it is impossible not to feel the far-reaching scope of these words. It is Jesus putting himself in the foreground of the Infinite, making himself a living, divine-human image whereby the blank expanses of religious intuition may be gathered up into shape. Shut your eyes upon this world, and lift up your soul in the attitude of prayer—what can you see? See? I see, says the prophet, one like unto the Son of Man. And that, thenceforth, is to be the destination of every humblest disciple of his that has caught the faintest photographing of his glorified form—he is to see him, when to all the outer unspiritual vision of men he is a blank. "The world seeth me no more, but ye see me"—a present, perennial faculty, to be clouded and blinded only by sin.

It is not our purpose to dwell on the ethical efficacy of this faculty,\* nor to exhibit in any detail its wide and comprehensive range in spiritual life, but simply, now, to commend it as having an application broader than to devotional frames. It is a royal ecstasy to be up on the mount—to see the transfigured form floating in the air, and to be dazzled and soothed by the ineffable splendor wrapping all our storm-driven life into a calm. But demons are awaiting us in the valley below, and we must go down into the turbulent arena to win whatever attainment is possible for us exactly in that *melée*. Will our God-consciousness, intensified now by the thousand-fold splendors of the glorified person of our Lord, go with us as a valid experience, and with untold resources of help, into practical life? That is a

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\* This task has been most exhaustively performed by Dr. Dorner in his work on Christian Ethics, which, but for its immense scaffolding of scientific proposition-making and historical gleaning, suitable to the lecture-room, but obstructing and perplexing the free progress of the reader, especially on English soil, is one of the most remarkable and enlightened contributions to this line of religious thinking ever made.—*Translation; Scribner & Welford, New York.*

question that, more than any other, in this busy, industrial, scientific, skeptical age of ours, needs to be set at rest.

That a man should go around in the thronging routine of business, cherishing the idea of an all-pervasive divine life and substance in his soul, cultivating the conviction that himself, and all men, and all things, are immanent in God, and adjusting himself toward it—is this not impracticable and visionary, the mere dream of a recluse, or, at best, one of those innocent delusions of a religious enthusiast that often get a powerful following in the world? So, perhaps, the unvoiced revolt of scores of young minds of our age and country are at this moment saying; and so strong does the tide run in this unspiritual channel, that the man who would urge this doctrine must incur no little risk of being put under the ban of public sentiment as an old-time theorist, a belated dreamer, or a monastic drone.

Look, we shall be told, upon the sublime struggle of man with the vast physical forces that are streaming in now from countless hiding places in earth and air; see how many forms of beneficent application these are now assuming; how railroads and telegraphs and steam-ships are engirdling the globe; how the toiling millions are spun round in the intoxicating whirl of industry; how mines and markets, and banks, and boards of trade, and vast business complications, and the increasing intricacy and complexity of our social organization, of government, and labor, and capital, and crime, are absolutely exhausting the intensest intellectual energies of the age. We must look at facts as they are, and not go moping in this hurly-burly after an ideal state of things. Men's minds are glued to the earth by the very stress of the swarming activities of the time, and they have no leisure, and can have no disposition, to go bowed down in devout musing, or theological quandering, as to the relation of God to the human soul. Of this we can know nothing, and if we could, the mere holding of it in the mind would give it no added advantage either this way or that. To the philosophers, and preachers, and poets, with this refined inertia, and let us go heroically into the thick of the fight.

And yet we return with renewed confidence to the proposition with which we set out, that this God-consciousness, a real-



izing sense of God in the soul, is at the heart of the religion of Jesus, and that without it there can be no such thing as spiritual life. That, beyond question, was Christianity in its inception, and as it lies now in warp and woof of the gospels we possess ; and unless there were good and sufficient reasons in the religious condition of the contemporary time to believe that this whole system of teaching has lost its influence on the popular mind, that it is out-grown and effete, there is nothing left us but to interpret it as it is. Jesus ! what above all dost thou teach me in thy person and thy life ? Let me look well to this in the use of the fullest light I possess. Thou dost teach me to hold God in my soul. Thou has demonstrated its practicability in a life of constant toil, and worry, and danger, and the fiercest conflict with the intractable wills of men. Against principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places thou didst hold on to this as the star of thy life ; and thou didst so cancel the vast interval between the human and the divine as to assure me that proximately, in my measure, I may follow the same star.

Of course the ultimate appeal must be to the undisguised experience of those who have gone out to follow the Lord in this regard. Do they do it ? Is it something more than a pretense ? Bear in mind that a conviction wrought out in the stern laboratories of human worry and work, may compass one in his going as an habitual spiritual frame, as an atmosphere, an accompanying cloud of glory evermore repeating, This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him. It need not, therefore, engross the mind as theological formula, or be in constant turmoil with metaphysical subtlety in settling its place in the soul. This turmoil may easily be dispatched beforehand. For what proposition is susceptible of such immediate and irrefutable confirmation in reason, and such instantaneous corroboration from all the maxims of modern science, when liberally comprehended, as this, that all things, and certainly all human spirits, "*consist*," as the Apostle has it, that is, *stand together* in God.

To the young mind, bedizzened by the glory of our scientific era, it may be preferable to conceive of God as the Prime Force,

and then this proposition would be swept in upon him as an irresistible logical sequence. Here is this body of mine, he would say ; a coördination of forces it is, building me up into a complex organism of wonderful intricacy and power. Soon disease and death will steal in upon it, and it will go down to the common reservoir of forces, and be yielded up to the bosom of the great all-comprehending Prime Force. So all things—thus runs the sublime epos of science's young dream—all things from the myriads of worlds that float in space to the tiniest blade of grass that rustles beneath our feet, rocks, winds, waters, generations of men, wheeling sun-globes—everything, in its ultimate collapse, sinks into the bosom of this primordial force. So far his reasoning would be easy, and if religion were possible in the case, it would be no insuperable matter for him to carry about with him a persistent and overmastering consciousness of force. Force would be his God, and force would be at the centre of his spiritual life.

But alas ! we cannot identify spirit with force. I am more than my body ; I am a thinking, reasoning, aspiring spirit as well. I am a person, and not a thing, and so my conception of God must not stop short of this analogue in him. A vast impersonal prime force will not satisfy me ; and despite all the zeal and ingenuity of the recent school of philosophers in persuading young men that the impenetrable mystery of that great, all-pervasive, impersonal prime force is all the God they can have, they will not so believe, they cannot so believe, so long as they are ingenuously loyal to the better moods of their minds.

So, therefore, all speculative difficulties may be summarily dispatched on the threshold of this great matter, and the soul go on to the practical experimentation of the moral power of God in Christ. What is to be done here, is the important question we have on hand. There is, indeed, a problem of profound interest in what we may call the literary embodiment of the divine image, whereby its conveyance is made over to us in an historical form. We read a book, or a series of books, and the divine image is gathered from thence. It would seem, therefore, that to get our human God, we must abandon for a time the shrine of our inner consciousness, and go in search of him among the



populations of the globe, and at some culminating epoch in the history of the race. This, too, we shall do by reading in a book the fragmentary annals of events long past, and piecemeal memoirs, and literary monuments which require in their rendering the critic's acumen and the translator's skill. And so we are sinking this image along objective channels, and not, as we supposed, at the shrine of the religious consciousness within.

But without even touching upon so important a subject, it will suffice to say that God-consciousness, in any aspect of it, requires the solicitations of the outer world. The vastness of the material masses, and the grandeur and sweep of the physical forces, are suggestive of power, and so whenever the outer world is intelligently contemplated, the consciousness instantaneously apprehends a God of power. But the human elements are yet to come. It is but reasonable to expect that love and wisdom, the distinctively human traits, shall be recognized, by the mind maturing so far as to take note of these, as in their origin distinctively divine also. And, so, the God-consciousness would be filled out and rounded by the exhibition of these human attributes carried up by some veritable historical man to such limitless measures of perfection as every candid beholder would immediately pronounce divine. In other words, the consciousness of God is always under the training of solicitations from without, and the completed cycle of disciplinary agencies must take in the moral and spiritual perfections of the historic man. Hence the Incarnation, and the eucharistic splendors of the glorified Christ. But our aim is wholly practical in the discussion of this momentous theme.

That image emerges from an historical current, and retains its essential features all down the ages, amid every variety of crude religious vagary, and the thousand-fold differentiation of theological cult and creed. The *consensus* of Christendom as to the divinity of Jesus is the one long marvel of sentiment that sets that question, as to its speculative aspects, forever at rest. Such is the impress which that lone figure in Palestine has left upon the mind of the race, that, in the long, war-distracted, socially-upheaving centuries that followed, with currents and counter-currents of refined paganism and barbarian inundation combin-

ing to sweep it away, its essential features have to this day remained unchanged. Jesus!—to you and to me, to all men in any way subject to the direct or indirect rays of his person, he is the same; he is our embodied God. And the more profoundly we study him, and especially the nearer we can approach him in the purified standard of our lives, the more indelibly does that image impress its divine outline and fullness upon the soul. Since the resurrection morning men have easily taken over that glorified figure from its cloudy pavilion on a mountain in Galilee, into the innermost shrine of the Godward aspirations of the soul, and made it fit in and fill out the dim outline of intuition which nature had already put there. “Ye believe in God, believe also in me”—to a spirit of any moral susceptibility at all, how easy, how inevitable the task! At once we know the meaning of these words. They are a straightout avowal of that which was to grow more and more into the universal convictions of the race, that he was here to meet the inherent anthropomorphic impulses of the human soul, and to be before the eye of devotion the humanly outlined and apprehensible form of God. This is to put himself in the place of God, a deliberate instruction to his disciples to transfer all their Godward conceptions and aspirations to him, so that for them there should, in reality, be no other God. If they had been cherishing any ideas of God, suggested from whatever source, in which there was the dimmest forestalling of the reality, he henceforth was to absorb, and correct, and illustrate all these, and to go in, and completely occupy the supreme places of the soul, and sit down on an unchallenged throne.

Now what is the practical outcome of all this? For us plodders in this far-off later time, getting his image through indirect sources, how are we to avail ourselves of the full tide of spiritual influence coming in from his person, how realize his presence to the extent of reaping from it the whole resource of divine power to lift up and renew? Henceforth it is the Christ-consciousness to which the God-consciousness has given place. Something new, it is also a vivid reproduction of the old. It is God in Christ, nay, it is Christ himself becoming God over all, ascending the steps of the throne, and sitting down its sole occupant



in the midst. Now how are we to address ourselves to this new stage of the religious consciousness, so as to find in it the vast spiritual resource it promises to afford.

Our answer to this, needing always to be coördinated with the unvoiced teachings of experience, may be summary and brief. Above all, that image, as the subjective outlining of God upon the soul, must be kept constantly in view. We need not be mystics, but this much of mysticism is fundamental to the Christian scheme. It is supplemented, however, by an element of realism that operates as a powerful check upon any disposition to drowse away the stern exactions of duty in a paradise of dreams. The three disciples, favored with the transfiguration spectacle, cannot always house on the mount. And, indeed, it is just here that we come specifically upon the matter we set out to suggest. There is a dream-state to Christian experience that has infested it all along, that gives rise to all the countless fanaticisms that have swarmed in its track, most of them innocent, some of them burning with the fires of hell, all of them serious obstructions to the progress of the truth. Christ is God tabernacling with men, that is going with them, living with them, fighting their battles for them, and the tent of the Tabernacle was the commander-in-chief of the Israelitish host. It is no doubt—God be thanked!—an occasional brief spell on the mount, but soon there is the bugle-call of duty, and then it is, march, march away.

The Christ-consciousness, with its vivid subjective outlining of the Master, must go with the disciple into the stern conflicts of active life, being a movable sanctuary for him, so to speak, raying out light and reinforcement for him when an emergency shall arise. It must come out in deepest, warmest, palpitating splendor, as the Holy Graal in the legend, when the soul quivers in the stress of temptation, and trembles in the balance between heaven and hell. The outlined God, making “an awful rose of dawn” on the horizon of the spirit, is a revelation of supernal beauty, no doubt, and may very well kindle all the highest, purest ardors of the soul, but he is a Redeemer none the less, and saves from sin while the dread emergency is pending.

What we are to warn against is, that these two offices are never to be divorced. We may see his glory, and love to see his glory, but it must be gilding the stony, thorny pathway of life. Shining evermore for beauty, and in his glorified figure the fairest among ten thousand, and the one altogether lovely, he must nevertheless be beckoned for the strong service of rescue he is ever ready to afford. He is our deliverer from sin, offering himself to this end, not as God's deputy, or God's substitute, but as God himself, because deliverance from sin never came, and will never come, from any other source. We must have all this down in the rigid ways of the world, not alone in churches, not alone in the ecstatic visions of the Mount. It will be seen how inseparably the aesthetic and ethical elements of our religion coalesce. Either isolated falls away into naught, or at best into a poetic dream on the one side, and wearisome will-work on the other.

Two things will sum up the practical philosophy of the religion of Jesus: The God-consciousness must give place to the Christ-consciousness; and this must grow more and more intense and luminous as that glorious figure is met with, and mingled with, so to speak, in the work and worry of this sin-blighted world. The practicability of it is wholly a matter of experience, but has been tested and demonstrated by men in every condition and calling of life, and for thousands of years. In our day, despite the iron masque which sits so sternly on the face of the age, despite the cold, unspiritual, scientifically hardened attitude of the leading social influences toward all this introspective discipline, as something alien and hostile to the commercial spirit of our time, to its money-getting greed, to its unscrupulous maxims in attaining to positions of inordinate wealth and power—despite what seems to be, in our hasty estimate, the untoward habit of the great masses of men, there are all around us thousands of men and women demonstrating for themselves, under every variety of circumstance, and under every stress of fiercest trial and disappointment the practicability of this experience, and the inexhaustible wealth of comfort it affords. These are in all ranks of life, and in every stage of at-



tainment from ignorance up. For it is not essential to this experience that the subject of it should be able to analyze it as we have attempted to do.

The Master knew its adaptability to all shades of human want and capacity, even the humblest, when he said that God had hid these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them to babes. They, the poor, the driven, the unfortunate, the afflicted, those down under the whip of circumstance, and dropped by the great ones as the despised refuse of social life, but now minded to rise,—these catch a glimpse of that image as it moves from city to city, and from plain to plain; over the dim land of Palestine, dispensing the sweet speech of mercy, and dropping beneficent miracle over thousands such as they; they hear it speak of pardon, and light, and of the dear Father yearning towards his children when as yet they were rebellious and unkind, and of its coming from that far infinity and bringing the divine compassion with it; of its going back thither when it could carry upward with it the eager eyes of such as they, won from their estrangement; they see it pass into a temporary eclipse on the cross, and in the lone silence of sepulchral gloom, then out again into the resurrection splendors of the glorified Son of man—this they carry with them, and go into the battle of life to endure its hardness, and achieve its conquests, under the light and guidance that evermore emanate from that source. We may rest assured their enterprise is not in vain. And so for all of us, whatever abundance of privilege may have fallen to our lot.

This is the religion of Jesus stripped of all its theological guises, and set down into the practical ways and stern wrestlings of human life. There is no condition of men however humble, and no pursuit of life however intensely secular, provided only that the brand of the Evil One be not upon it, that may not be swayed, and molded, and spiritually lifted and toned, by a sense of the immanent Jesus, and by a daily discipline that will bring his image out more definitely on the soul. And certainly such a consummation would be but the realization of the mind of the Master, the purport and scope of all that he aimed to do and suffer for men. The time will come—let us hope that it is just now waiting to be ushered in—when all Christendom will con-

spire to this end, and the ethical features of the religion of Jesus will be rescued from the disastrous neglect into which they have fallen, and the severed branches of the Christian Church will blend once more under the inspiration of this Christocentric principle, and become living functions in the mystical body of our Lord.

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## ARTICLE V.

### THE COLLEGE THE HOPE OF OUR LAND FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

By PROF. S. C. WELLS, PH. D., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.

Each age of the world has been marked by the strength and direction of its currents of thought. Our own has been, in these respects, most active and earnest. But among the great movements of the popular mind that have made it remarkable, none have been characterized by more earnestness and insistency—more severance from all the traditions of the past, than those concerned with the theory and practice of matters educational.

This is attested, in part, by the extraordinary multiplication of schools of all grades in a ratio exceeding the increase in population, phenomenal as this has been. Again, by the increase in facilities and appliances and radical changes in methods of instruction. Again, by the disposition to reach extremes in the use of means of culture and in the discipline and general conduct of our schools. In a word, there are those moltings and metamorphoses that indicate a heightened, restless public interest.

No higher evidence, however, of the strength of this interest and the recognition of the claims of education, which are its subject, can be given than by the remarkable increase of endowments to our schools. In 1886 these reached the sum of \$15,000,000 exclusive of amounts under \$5,000. The rate of increase since gives promise of abundant means for the realization of any ideal so far, at least, as this is contingent on material resources.

These large benefactions flowing so steadily and freely into the school treasuries are not the gifts of Croesus alone from his



golden coffers and with his mixed motives. They come, as well, from patriots and philanthropists of lesser means, from those who, in every state of monied ability, recognize the common brotherhood of man and who love Him who gave himself for the world. The states and general government, too, in recognition of the strength of this great popular trend, and in appreciation of the "power behind the throne," have made and have sought to make appropriations to the same end. In many states, indeed, such provision has been made at the expense of other interests and in the face of a necessity, always a matter of grave concern in any representative government—an increase in the rate of taxation.

In the midst of tendencies so full of promise, in the midst of this generous appreciation and lavish expenditure, "Watchman, what of the night?" Are the sacred interests in trust conserved? To the thoughtful mind are the tendencies healthful and are the results already reached commensurate with legitimate expectation? We answer that the indications are not all healthful, nor all reassuring.

The trend and drift seem to be, with all the energy of the nineteenth century, toward instruction rather than education. We need not, here, insist on the generic difference between these, nor, in insisting on the one, disparage the other. Both are of supreme importance to man in the discharge of his high functions. It is only where, in the reversal of the laws of mind, one attempts to usurp the place of the other that their relative importance in time and place must be insisted on.

There is, confessedly, restlessness with the tedium of that steady and persistent drill involved in education. There is impatience and misconception in reference to its fruits when estimated by false standards. There is temptation to use a large part of school time, all too brief at best, in the interest of what is falsely called practical, with the consequent loading and extending courses of study.

Again, the notable discoveries made in the domain of physical sciences during the latter part of the last century and the wonderful ones in these closing years of the present, have given

a great impetus to these studies. In the light of modern science matter seems to be invested with properties, in nature and degree, undreamed of in the older philosophies. The fascination of its study, the manifold applications of its newly discovered laws, the widening vista of its possibilities, have strongly impressed the thought of the age with the savor of materialism. Time was when the distinction between mind and matter, between the spiritual and material worlds, was sharply defined. Now between the two there seems a border land, a misty belt in which great ideas lie illy discerned, in which, indeed, "men seem as trees walking." In the strong popular interest thus created, an influence is felt over the whole field of speculation and action.

But in the swing of the pendulum of thought further and still further toward this end of its glittering arc, there is room for grave apprehension. For, in accordance with the beautiful law propounded by Geoffrey St. Hilaire no function can be unduly developed except at the expense of some other function. We rejoice in this extension of knowledge and in the rich fruitage it has borne. But are there no other interests than the material? Are these the chief ones? Does the soul's eye sweep no other horizon than the world of matter about us, as illimitable as this may be to our finite conception? If so, there is to be a stern insistence on and the recognition of other necessities, possibilities and destiny in every scheme of human culture. Who does not love nature! There is a grace and charm in her every varying mood, when she smiles, when she weeps, in the bridal robes of Spring, in the widowhood of Winter. She is ever new, ever fresh in the interest of her phenomena. But is she self-conscious? Is there a potency in her for the production of her own phenomena? Is her voice the expression of her own conscious existence or but the sweeping of her tense chords by the hand of the Creator? Has she a soul and is she worshipful? Better such worship, sad though the alternative may be, a worship simple and earnest as that of the "Children of the Sun," than that godlessness which attempts to exclude God from our schools.

The blessed leaven of the Gospel has been permeating the



governments—has been adding to their freedom and glory and has introduced the higher civilization in which we boast. It has circumscribed the domain of idolatry. On heathen shores the temples of false worship will decay never there to be rebuilt again. Yet at such a time, and in a land which has had so rich an inheritance in the fruits of the Gospel, there seems a growing disposition to disassociate this Gospel from all the ongoing and life of our government. There is a jealous care and nice discrimination as regards the conscience of the citizen; but it is too often a jealousy for the state and discrimination against the Gospel. Much has been done toward securing freedom of religious opinion by the wise provisions of our Constitution. But much remains that vitally concerns the glory of the state and the blessedness of the subject in the spirit of the administration of these provisions.

For, Christianity is not an exotic on our shores to be introduced or excluded in accordance with political expediency. It belongs to the very warp and woof of our government by inheritance from the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth and by coördinate growth, “not as a part, but as the inspirer, correcter, modifier—the power which, from rude and crude elements, helped to raise and shape the national character of the people from whom our institutions have been derived.” This vital connection, so little appreciated, has been uniformly sustained by the decisions of the most eminent jurists. In Washington county, New York, in 1810, an indictment was had against a party for “wickedly, maliciously and blasphemously uttering in the presence and hearing of divers good and Christian people, certain false and blasphemous words concerning the Christian religion and concerning Jesus Christ in contempt of the laws of the state.”

In the hearing of the appeal by the Supreme Court the counsel for prisoner contended that the offense charged was not punishable by the laws of the state—that the preamble to and the provisions of the Constitution of the state and silence of the legislature made it inferable that Christianity did not make a part of the common law of the state. Also that the Constitution allows a free toleration of all religions and of all kinds of worship—that the offense charged attacked only the divinity of

Christ. To this the prosecution answered that the common law of England as it stood in 1776 was adopted by the constitution and made part of the law of the state. Blasphemy and the contumelious reproaches of our Saviour were punishable by the common law of England, not on account of there being in England an established Church, but that it was a principle coeval with the English law and had stood unshaken amid the revolutions and changes in Church and State. The prosecution furthermore cited from decided cases whereby the Court of the King's Bench in England would not suffer it even to be debated that, to write against Christianity in general was not an offense punishable at common law in the temporal courts.

Chancellor Kent, Chief Justice of the Court, in delivering the unanimous judgment of the Court, said that "whatever strikes at the root of Christianity tends manifestly to the dissolution of civil government"—"that writings and actions which go to vilify the Gospel, continue to be an offense against the public peace and safety." "Such offences have always been condemned, independent of any religious establishment or the rights of the Church. They are treated as affecting the essential interests of civil society."

Since Christianity is twined thus intimately about the very fibre of our government; since on its presence as a factor depend all that is vital and enduring in our institutions, it would seem necessary that the citizens of the state should be indoctrinated in its great basal principles. It would also seem necessary that this be done in youth, when the influences on which character depends are most potent and enduring. Sparta, acting on the theory that its young men were the property of the state, assumed entirely their education, inspiring them with its traditions, its ideas, its spirit. Directing means wisely to its narrow but intense national aims, it made of them the men who conquered gloriously at Plataea, the heroes who died at Theymopylae. Our own government, among its other functions assumes, too, to no small extent, the education of its children. But, under the changed circumstances, does it do its work as consistently and as wisely? From the abundance of the common treasury it draws largely to this end. Moreover the tendency



is for its citizens, relieved of this burden in their private capacity, to stimulate steadily the work until it shall cover the whole ground, defying all private competition, crippling and ruining all private enterprises. This, however, would be a matter of small concern if the end were well accomplished. But in this, whether necessary or not, still the sad fact remains that there is a divorce between Christianity and education. In the different positions under the state organization there are many pious teachers, as incidents, not from necessity nor as the rule. There are many godly men and women, who, for the Master's sake, are sowing the seeds of eternal truth in the opening mind as occasion offers. But the high traits and Christian consecration which prompt to such work were not sought in the matter of appointment except as they have in them the promise of moral lives. They have no market value and as against equal intellectual qualifications they make no basis for successful competition. For, whether right or wrong, whether it may be avoided or whether without remedy, the state proposes to give only an education of the intellect. A certain amount of drill and instruction even without moral culture is indispensable in the affairs of life and therefore useful. With this there can be no controversy. But the fallacy is in the theory and practice that education on such a basis, however far it may be pressed and however profoundly it may be done, can meet the supreme wants of a moral being such as man.

What will it profit him in the light of his own higher and deathless interests, as a member of society, as a citizen of the state, if with his intellectual faculties developed to the highest degree, and with all the learning of all the schools, he be without those guiding, controlling, balancing principles which can be developed and exercised alone by moral culture? The experiment has been tried under the most favorable circumstances. Turn to Athens, where the greatest and wisest of the Greeks were the teachers of the people. With profound skill they awakened an interest and enthusiasm in all that pertained to the culture of the mind. The little land of islands, sea coast and mountain, the land of the olive and vine, became a nation of acute and vigorous thinkers. In the world of letters they

were creators. In all that is graceful and beautiful they became models for the ages. In every department of thought, in speech and in song, in philosophy, in art, they have left forever the impress of their minds. Masters of their own age, they have reached across the centuries that have intervened and still witch the world.

But there is another side. Aristides was just, Plato was wise, Epaminondas loved his country, Phocion was pure and happy in domestic life, Pericles died with the consciousness of never having caused an Athenian to put on mourning, Xenophon loved truth. But these were mountain peaks, towering upward stately and grand toward a purer atmosphere, their summits rosy with "a light not seen on sea or land." But the lower plane was in moral darkness. In their busy marts of trade, in their homes, at festival and feast, under the ivy, in their courts, in their temples, their public and private license, the moral color of their lives; all, as compared with that which we regard pure and chaste and of good report, is full of corruption. With all the glitter of their wonderful intellectual culture as projected against the background of their current history, how abhorrent seems their civilization and that of Corinth in its characterization by the Apostle to the Gentiles!

But turning from the past to the present issues of our own time and land, we find much to fill the thoughtful mind with concern. The times seem sadly out of joint. A spirit of unrest is abroad in the land. Interests clash with interests. The complementary factors in material progress are at antagonism. There is infidelity to trusts as a glaring feature of the times. The lesson of contentment learned by Paul is now but little conned. In its stead there is a forsaking of the older ways to wealth and power, because these are tedious and slow. In a word, methods, customs, institutions that have stood the tests and strain of a hundred years whilst we have been growing in prosperity and greatness are, little by little, dragging their anchors.

Is this picture of the insufficiency of merely intellectual culture darkly drawn? Let us quote from an address delivered at Amherst by Dr. Seelye: "It is a remarkable fact which students



of social science clearly see, that with the increase of schools of learning there is also an enormous growth in the very evil which some men have supposed that the wisdom of this world was going to destroy. It is found in German statistics that while 41 servant girls in 1,000,000 take their own lives, this is done by 163 doctors, 217 lawyers and 618 literary men and scholars. Our own census shows still darker figures. In 1850 the number of insane in our population was at the rate of about 1 to 1500 in round numbers; in 1860 it was 1 in 1200; in 1870 it was 1 in 1000; in 1880 it was 1 in 550. The increase of the insane during the present century has been steady, large and universal in the civilized world, and the increase has been exactly proportioned to the increase of what we have called our civilization. Some of the very leaders in the war upon society are the choice products of our universities. The most dangerous class to any community: the foes to society most to be dreaded now or at any time, are not the uneducated class. There is in nature no solution of this problem, as the problem presents an exact contradiction of nature."

If, as we have a right to assume, the large contributions flowing in for educational purposes indicate a deep interest in this subject, it were well for educators to improve so happy a conjunction of circumstances by laying the foundations of their work broadly. If again, in the accomplishment of this work tendencies are manifesting themselves to ideas and methods not only foreign, and therefore obstructive, but vicious, and therefore full of peril in their outcome, it were well if they built wisely too.

Again, if as shown, the government, whose citizens are the subjects of education, has an inalienable connection with Christianity, so that by the decisions of the highest courts Christianity is a part of the law—a connection so intimate that the same high authorities quoting from Justinian declare that "the knowledge of divine things is necessary as well as the knowledge of human things to say what is law in its administrative sense;" then there can be no question that we need Christian education. For, profound apprehensions of right, those true and just discriminations between alternative views of duty, consideration for the rights and interests of others as against the strong lead-

ings of natural selfishness, a culture broad and deep enough to save our civilization from its wreck, can come from the Great Lawgiver alone, as in his own perfect life they are best illustrated and enforced.

Where shall we turn for such an education? Naturally first to the Christian home in its early bias and enduring memories. Thrice blessed is the nation whose sons and daughters go forth from such homes to the activities of life and to take upon themselves its burdens. These homes may be of the Jewish type, prescribed by God himself in which his commandments were to be taught diligently to the children of the homes; "Thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way and when thou liest down and when thou risest up, and thou shalt write them on the posts of thine house and on thy gates." From homes so ordered how much of the strength and glory of Israel in all his fortunes went forth!

In this later age, under this newer dispensation, look at the Christian homes of Germany, either where royalty is nurtured or where in simplicity and purity they nestle in shadowed valley or by the side of dancing waters. Glance at the Christian homes of our own land, where tender solicitude, indoctrination in truth and principle, where faithful counsels, illustrated by the charms of every Christian grace have given to many a life a bias and fragrance that have endured long after white haired parents have fallen in the sleep of death. But such homes are sadly few in comparison with our teeming population. Even where the elements exist, as intelligence, piety, time, much of the work which is their sacred function, which parents may do and they only, is relegated in whole or in part to other agencies organized to such ends and which have multiplied so rapidly in our age.

In conversation, recently, with the president of a prominent New England college, he lamented the decay of religion in the family which he, in common with many other observant men felt to be most noticeable in modern New England. There is, for instance, a growing tendency on the part of the sons of the Pilgrims to intermit the service of family prayer. As a consequence the young of these households enter college with a spirit of indiffer-



ence if not of irreverence and out of all sympathy with the religious atmosphere and influence of the institution.

Shall we turn to the church? There is no need to magnify its efficiency as an educator. By its establishment it has within it the oracles of truth. By its mission it deals with the highest forms of wisdom and knowledge which it becomes man to know. Drawn from the fountain of all truth, the agency of the great truths it proclaims, illustrates and enforces by the highest and holiest of all sanctions can never be overestimated. Addressed primarily to the conscience, their influence is felt in arousing the mind, in making better members of society, better citizens of the state, as well as inheritors of eternal life. Whilst the wisest and greatest may sit with perennial profit under its ministrations, to very many, it is from necessity their only education. But compared with its great work, even that of education is a "serving of tables" which the church has turned over to its handmaids, the universities and colleges of its planting. For it cannot, would not compel the attendance of those whom it would instruct, nor are the great truths which it proclaims those for which the world is hungering and thirsting. Great and gracious as are its provisions, freely as they are offered, the cry of the prophet is still heard, "My people will not hear." For, exclusive of the regions still destitute of its organization, how small a proportion of the population of any land come within its walls. Of this number how few come with a frequency that would warrant expectation of profit?

The census tables, invaluable for other purposes, give no data for such estimates. They can be derived only approximately from the observation of each church within the field of its own activity. A report has been made of a canvass in 1885 by the churches of Vermont to ascertain the number of church goers within their bounds. This showed a total in 42 townships of 52,838 people. Of these 25,586 are church attendants, while 27,252 never attend church. Of these non-attendants more than half live within easy walking distance of the sanctuary. In this estimate those who attend God's house as often as once in three months are classed as church goers. But if, instead of all, only

those be counted who regularly attend, the figures become startling. The aggregate congregations in this district of 52,838 people are put down at only 9,812 of whom 3,500 are Romanists and only 5,400 Protestants, thus making the average attendance only one sixth of the inhabitants. It is added as a sad commentary on this report, "If the Son of Man were to come now would he find faith on earth?"

There is nothing in the situation or condition of this state which would make the results there reached an unfair basis for general comparison. In this pressing need, therefore, of that which is so necessary to the preservation and perpetuity of our institutions, and to supply which there seems no promise nor potency elsewhere, where shall we look? We answer to the college. For, first, the greater number of colleges in the United States, at least are essentially Christian. From the rude beginnings of colonial times to the present, they have been the planting of Christian men and women. They have been manned, too, in great part by godly men who have borne in their connection the "burden and the heat." In all the mutations of the times but few of them have lost, in whole or even in part, this distinctive characteristic.

The American college was without controversy organized as a nursery of sanctified intelligence. The faith of the church trusted that under its agency not only the youth of the church who had been called to the ministry of the Word would receive preparatory training, but that many others would, as a result of the blessed opportunities thus enjoyed, be consecrated to God to meet the growing wants of the church in all departments of its work. This consummation has pressed heavily on the heart of the church in all the years. For this its means have been given with increasing liberality. For this its prayers have gone with its means. Stated petitions have been appointed by the church and at the altars of many a household the interests of the college are remembered. From such considerations it will be evident that the work of promoting sanctified intelligence and of bringing its subjects as far as may be under the influence of the truth are among the most inalienable functions of the college. Failing in this, though it may grow in the number of its



students; though it may add building to building and shine in all the glory of spires and polished columns; though its courses of study be extended and the work of intellectual culture be thoroughly performed it will have retreated on the line of its own advance. The distinguished president of a southern college remarked, some years since, "If a student leave our college without having been brought savingly under the influence of the truth, I feel, that however bright he may be and however well-instructed, that, in his case the college has been a failure." This is a high ideal, but it is one that may be aimed at. With such convictions Pennsylvania College and her daughters have impressed themselves indelibly on the church.

But how is the college to be held to this great work? How is it to be true to all its traditions? How is it to conserve in a still higher degree the momentous interests committed to its charge? We answer, by keeping it on the line of its own work. It here occupies a distinctive sphere, has its own peculiar methods and has great and gracious opportunities for the education of mind and heart. Outside of this it loses its strength like Antaeus above the earth. It is tempted to the enlargement of its courses of study and to the adoption of university methods. But it is especially tempted to narrow the range of theory and drill so as to develop the expert. It must, in justice, be confessed that this is a product of the schools which the world expects and admires. For the world has need of men thoroughly acquainted in practice with the different departments of thought and action. Whilst this may be true as it is, the only question is as to the time, place and circumstances under which these products shall be attempted. For, in accordance with a law to which reference has been made, no one function can be unduly developed except at the expense of some other function.

It is a popular reproach to college graduates that they are not equipped for any calling in life, or, as it is more grossly expressed, not able to make a living except in teaching school, for which of course the qualifications are spontaneous and universal. But there seems manifest injustice in such reproach. The student's college may not have fitted him for keeping, at once, the complex accounts that represent the buying and selling in the

great marts of the world, nor to be at ease or safety in association with the stock dealers on Wall street. He may find it difficult to get his activities and new acquisitions into line promptly for farming more successfully than his fathers have done. He may not even be prepared to conduct ship or steamer from one side of the Atlantic basin to the other when storms are in the air. But if Alma Mater has aroused the dormant powers of his mind, so as to show him his strength, has taught him to reason, has taught him patience and system in work: if during this season of culture the seeds of truth have been dropped, little by little, into the expanding mind there to be nurtured by college opportunities and associations whilst they grow into right views of life and right habits, he should rise up and call her blessed. It is the province of the university, if it have one not already encroached on, to give him the more special qualifications for the different activities of life. Whatever may be said the well trained college man grasps very rapidly and very comprehensively the requirements for practical pursuits, whether in the professions or in trade, science or commerce. The following extract from "Successful Men of To-Day," by W. F. Crafts, is in point: "I have examined the educational record of the seventy foremost men in American politics—cabinet officers, senators, congressmen and governors of national reputation—and I find that thirty-seven of them are college graduates, that five more had a part of the college course but did not graduate, while only twenty-eight did not go to college at all. As not more than one young man in five hundred goes to college, and as this one-five-hundredth of the young men furnish four-sevenths of our distinguished public officers, it appears that a collegian has seven hundred and fifty times as many chances of being an eminent governor or congressman as other young men."

The college receives and brings under its influence the young at that critical period when character is forming. The son in his father's house yields obedience to the laws of his parents and to the regulations of the household, unreckoningly, as to the orderings of nature. The great alternatives in action which test and strain, which confirm him in virtue or ruin, have not yet come. He is in comparative safety beneath the home roof.



Moreover, in his limited experience, his faculty of comparison scarcely developed and with scant data for its exercise; with memories of the loving offices for helpless infancy, father and mother are to him the wisest and the best.

In leaving home for purposes of education, if there does not come the rebound from the stringency of parental discipline, there certainly does come the necessity for self-directed action. A larger experience in men gives him new standards of goodness and wisdom for better or for worse. But in the intimate associations of college life extending through the years of his course, he insensibly associates the learning he admires with the Christian character and consecration of those who are made his guides and companions. In such an atmosphere there often come revolutions in the aims of life. To the most there is, little by little, a widening of the narrowness of self-seeking and an elevation to a higher and broader plane. For, statistics prove abundantly that the large majority of college students who remain for any sufficient time under its discipline and under its influence are influenced for good. This is especially true of what are termed the "smaller colleges." Some, sad to say, deteriorate, some are ruined. But it is the smaller number who bring reproach on the college name.

Here, again that eclecticism is proscribed that would restrict the student's attention in his immature growth to that class of studies which concern the intellect only and that bear more directly on the application of knowledge to special lines of business. On the contrary his mind is brought necessarily into intimate contact with such as not only lend to the strengthening of his expanding powers, but which reform and refine the taste and with those higher ones in the domain of moral science and religious thought which lay bare the springs of action, afford the grounds for true judgments, which elevate, broaden and develop that higher nature which more than aught else is his distinguishing inheritance and glory.

The simple introduction of the Bible into our public schools has become a matter of contention with a doubtful issue. Here, at least, it can be taught. How can we estimate the value to the understanding of the studies, by which it is informed, being

brought thus intimately into contact with, of their being illustrated and inspired by the rhetoric, the history, logic and archæology of this great comprehensive agency in all sound education! Huxley, whose bias would not make him a partial witness, has said that with the Bible, Milton and Shakespeare, no one need be dependent on Greece for culture.

All familiar with the style of Macaulay can discover his indebtedness to this book on every pictured page.

But in the morning of life and in the happy scenes of college days, in the freedom from the cares and pre-occupations that come later, as these humbler lessons from the wondrous book, so full of beauty and interest are grasped by the expanding mind, the elements of its higher and holier truths may be received, if ever, into the good ground of the heart.

In the apprehension of that form of education which it is the province of the college to give, and which the Christian college can best give, Huxley seems to have had more than half glimpses. For, with the necessary difference between college and university, and with the impress of a deeper signification to truth—a significance that the Roman Governor could not grasp—he spoke grand words and beautiful ones on becoming Lord Rector of Aberdeen University: “In an ideal university, as I conceive it, a man should be able to gain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a university the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men and to follow in the footsteps of explorers in new fields of knowledge. The very air he breathes should be charged with that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism of veracity which is a greater possession than much learning: a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge, by so much greater and nobler than these as the moral nature of man is greater than the intellectual.”

The college as a home of Christian education; from its organization fitted to the work of symmetrically developing the faculties of mind and heart; untrammelled by the state and therefore free to impress upon its subjects the high and holy lessons that infinitely transcend all the learning of all the schools;



unconnected with the state and therefore conservative and safe from popular waves and periodic changes; the object of increasing benefactions from all who would perpetuate the highest interests through time; dowered by the prayers of the Church and household; the Christian College is the hope of society, the bright expectation of the Church for its impending conflicts and predestined victories.

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## ARTICLE VI.

### THE PRAYER FOR THE KINGDOM.\*

By REV. J. A. SINGMASTER, A. M., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The petition, "Thy Kingdom come," besides being a sublime prayer, is the epitome of history and the essence of prophecy. It expresses the often unuttered yearning of the ages for the better time to come. It is the embodiment of an idea older than time and lasting as eternity. It has for its center the person and work of Jesus Christ and embraces in its application every tribe and nation, the untold myriads which have passed away and the generations yet unborn. It contemplates the universal empire and the glory of God, under whose beneficent reign the law of love will be supreme. Heaven shall come down to earth, for His will shall be done here as there.

But alas! men have said this prayer so often and in such a way that it has almost lost its meaning to them. Its familiarity has destroyed its power. Christendom has ever enshrined it in her liturgies but too often ignored it in her activities. Even now at the close of this blessed nineteenth century this prayer is a new revelation to those who ponder it. I believe that the Church is just awakening to somewhat of a conception of its meaning. Men ordinarily live so remote from the mount of vision, are so selfish in their actions and contracted in their views that they fail to take in a scheme so vast and all embracing as the kingdom of God. The brevity of the individual life and the

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\*An address delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., June 24, 1888.

narrowness of the environment make us forget that "Providence takes a step and ages roll away." (Guizot).

This text may seem to some to be of too general a character to be apposite to this particular occasion. But aside from the fact that this very general character suits it to any occasion, there is a peculiar propriety in its present use as the basis of an address before a Young Men's Christian Association, for the work of this Association ought to be and is, I believe, in the line of this prayer. No more appropriate motto could be inscribed upon its banners and written over the portals of its halls than "Thy kingdom come." I want to deepen your conviction to the effect that the cause in which you are engaged is the cause of God and of humanity and therefore worthy of your best thinking and most earnest acting. In the providence of God the Y. M. C. A. has become a light-radiating centre, especially in the large cities, and a noble instrumentality for good everywhere. Not the least service rendered by our *Alma Mater* has been the equipment of a number of young men for this particular sphere of usefulness in the chief city of this Commonwealth, in the metropolis of the nation and elsewhere.

The kingdom is to come in the realization of just such objects as the Y. M. C. A. has in view.

1. It is to be commended for its spirit of *work*. Whatever else the Y. M. C. A. is, it is active; either that or nothing. It, at least, has heeded the injunction, "Son, go work"—which is at once the evidence of life and obedience. Whatever fears may have arisen lest it should be theologically unsound and practically irresponsible, they must be groundless as long as benevolent results continue. And, indeed, the Church will have herself to blame for any weakness or disaster; for the active members are all communicants. The world will not be taken for Christ without tremendous labor. Universal experience has settled that, but we have been slow to learn it. The moral deserts of earth will never blossom as the rose unless you break them up with the ploughshares of the gospel of repentance and open channels for the life-giving waters of salvation.

2. I believe again that the Y. M. C. A. is a powerful auxiliary of the Kingdom because of the *special work* it does—saving and



employing young men, for from them most is to be feared and most to be hoped. It is a sad reflection that the vast majority of the patrons of the dram shop and other dens of vice are young men. I have seen them swarm out of theatre doors by the hundred. While only about one-tenth of the young men of the land are in the Sunday-school, the penitentiary is full of them. In one of the largest prisons of the Empire State, of which two-thirds of the inmates are males, about two-thirds of these are but twenty-six years of age. In a similar institution, to which no boys are admitted, the average age of the 1900 inmates is only twenty-four years.

On the other hand what mighty possibilities for good reside in young men, and what prodigies of labor they may accomplish! Of the 2,500,000 men enlisted in our civil war one-half were under 24 years of age and two-thirds under 30. Athanasius was only 29 when he stood up against the world in defence of the truth at the Council of Nice. Luther nailed his Ninety-Five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg when he was 34. His coadjutor, Melanchthon, was but 17 when he issued his Greek grammar, and only 24 when he wrote the *Loci Communes* of which fifty editions were printed in his life time. Calvin wrote the immortal *Institutes* at 27. The battle of the Reformation, as nearly all the battles for freedom, was largely fought by young men. Blessed, therefore, is that institution that saves the young men and enlists them in the cause of truth.

3. For the promotion of *Christian unity*, and thus for the realization of Christ's prayer that his followers might be one, there is no greater agency extant than the Y. M. C. A. Undenominational in character and evangelical in aim, it secures coöperation which would be otherwise impossible. It removes prejudices and promotes charity. The bitterness of past ecclesiastical conflicts is almost impossible to-day with the better understanding which mutual labors have brought about. I am sure that the basis of that union which is lasting, is unity of spirit rather than exact doctrinal agreement and liturgical uniformity; and that coöperation in work is of far more account than the questions of apostolic succession or even of "Symbolical Books."

4. But an even more important service than this is the Y. M. C. A. rendering in the fulfilment of the great commission to *evangelize*. In the settlement of the problem of reaching the unchurched people of the large centers of population, these associations of young men are a very vital factor, with their ease of access, reading-rooms, entertainments, free lectures, baths, gymnasiums and religious services of a popular character. They thus become a John the Baptist in paving the way for the Church.

I have no doubt, too, that in the colleges these societies do incalculable good in promoting piety and in awakening sinners. On the day of prayer for colleges I heard Dr. Cuyler say, at the meeting in his own church, at which representatives from the Y. M. C. A. of the principal New England colleges and Princeton were present, that he attributed his conversion and subsequent entrance into the ministry to the influence of a society of young men at Princeton.

It is also a source of profound gratitude in these days that a foreign missionary movement of such magnitude and importance is in progress among our institutions of learning, having its origin and advocates in the Associations. What better credential of their divine sanction than this can we ask? Oh, it is inspiring to know that in the new education of the present day—more practical and sensible than that of any preceding generation—as well as in the much needed physical culture which goes with it, there is this great revival of the missionary spirit. I see in it the answer to the deathless petition, “Thy kingdom come.” What grand promises this attitude of affairs contains for the future, when young men in sound health with sinewy bodies and dauntless courage and the spirit of martyrdom are marching on the citadels of heathenism! May God speed the day when every young man in our colleges may hear and obey the bugle call that summons the sacramental host to conflict and victory!

And so we pray, “Thy kingdom come.”

I. Mark the scope of this prayer. We can only understand it when we look at it undivorced from its connection. Remember that it is a part—yea, the substance—of that “model prayer,” to be used always and everywhere. The Jewish rabbis had



taught even then that no prayer could be complete without a petition for the coming of the kingdom, though little did they comprehend the glory of the true kingdom. Standing very near the beginning of the prayer, it seems significant of the duty, as elsewhere taught, to seek first the kingdom of God, and all through life to keep his glory in view. Human ambition is to be moderated and directed by its spirit and every lasting achievement is to be sought within its charmed circle. All motives and purposes are to be submitted to this touch-stone and entertained or rejected according to its verdict.

Notice, further, that immediately following the petitions for the coming of the kingdom and the full sway of the divine will, stand the request for "daily bread," intimating that even the pressing needs of an outer life are not to be more regarded than the needs of the kingdom, that we are to pray for both at once, that we need the kingdom more than the bread, yea, that whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we are to do all to the glory of God, and that the bread is to be asked that in the enjoyment and strength of it we may press forward the claims of the kingdom.

This is by no means an arbitrary arrangement of Christ for the prosecution of his claims, the logical order of our life being that the lower should minister the higher. Coming into a world of moral disorder, and consequent darkness and pain, from the realms of harmony and joy in the presence of God where serene peace is the portion of every soul, he taught his disciples and us to pray in our search for happiness, Thy kingdom come.

This petition has been fittingly called the prayer of history. All human events revolve around the cross upon a greater or less orbit. This is the true philosophy of history. Without this truth as a starting point, you may make history to mean anything or nothing, but only thus can you look at it as a unity and the race as one. An overruling providence links all the affairs of men by an inexorable law to Calvary. The planets do not move more surely in their appointed paths around the centre of their system than the nations do in fulfilling God's will.

At first thought it appears singular that the Bible, laying

claim to the allegiance of mankind, should so largely restrict its historical records to the doings of a single people. Under the shadow of the pyramids, or of the massive walls and hanging gardens of Babylon, in empires so vast and powerful that Israel was as nothing beside them, the sacred historians are never diverted from the main purpose of telling the story and voicing the hopes and prospects of their people as being the brightest and best of all the earth. Standing at the vantage point of this nineteenth century, we are prepared to justify the wisdom of inspiration in giving us what the Bible contains and nothing else. For is it not evident that whatever of good has survived the catastrophe of the ages, it has come to us more largely through the Jew than through the Gentile? Matthew Arnold names as the two powerful forces bequeathed to us by antiquity, Hellenism and Hebrewism—the desire for pure abstract truth, on the one hand, and the authority of conscience on the other. I wonder whether he does not give Greece credit for more than it deserves, for truth and conscience are joined in holy wedlock everywhere in sacred writ.

When Judaism gives Christianity birth, the latter becomes the theme of the Book. Henceforth that crystal stream of providence and prophecy, which had come down through the centuries like a thread of silver, expands into an ocean. The Kingdom is coming to a fuller development. A new epoch in its history is reached. The Jews were the means, under God, whereby salvation was prepared for mankind, as Kurtz remarks, and the Gentiles prepared mankind for salvation. When, therefore, the fulness of time had come, and the Redeemer had appeared, and thus the particular work of Judaism completed, the Kingdom begins the work of conquest. And lo! it appropriates the language of the cultivated Greek and mounts the chariot of Roman power. It survives the decay of empire, and in its conflicts outlives the shock of battle. Nothing permanently obstructs its onward march or impairs the vigor of its youth.

The history of Europe and America is the history of the matchless triumph of Christian civilization. The end is not yet. If with the comparatively small facilities Christianity has won its way from the prison of persecution to the throne of empire,



what may not be looked for now, when science has become her handmaid and the inventive genius of man her servant?

II. But even now, in spite of what has been wrought, is there any probability of the final, *complete triumph of the kingdom*?

I. Men "say that ancient civilizations are too refractory to be moulded into the spirit of the Gospel, and that the heathen are too firmly wedded to their superstitions to be converted to God. O, in our meanness of spirit and powerlessness of faith, think of Christ! He stood alone in his serene majesty and boldly taught the story and the glory of that kingdom for which we are to pray. He, speaking as it were into the air, with no press to record and no sail to carry his words; with no convincing illustrations of saintly martyr-spirit to point to; no Rome, or Antioch or America, with their converted thousands to authenticate his message—He, towering up in solitary grandeur of might and sight above all men, said unto his disciples, 'When ye pray, say Thy kingdom come!'" (Storrs).

Surely Christ believed in and taught the coming of the kingdom and his testimony must be true. Nor will it be questioned that holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, predict the success of this prayer with all the glow and hopefulness of promise in language rich with all the wealth of oriental metaphor. Our faith, therefore, in the spread of Christianity is the measure of our faith in the Bible and in God. The logical consequence of rejecting the one is the rejection of all. If Christianity have not vitality enough to displace idolatry, then it is not divine and Christ is not the Son of God, and the Scriptures are not true. We are forced to one of two conclusions: either that Christianity is a stupendous fraud, involving centuries of time and millions of men, including the most enlightened and benevolent of the race, or that it is divine and will be victorious.

2. Even apart from a personal faith in its doctrines but, weighing it in the scales of an unbiased judgment, much must be conceded to it in view of its wonderful and universal adaptation. Bound by no custom, subject to no language, independent of mere form, unfettered by temporal government, without prejudice of race or caste, it is equally at home amid the bleak high-

lands or the splendors of the tropics. Founded and fostered in the Orient, it flourishes like a native growth in the Occident. Reared under the shadow of tyranny, it maintains its identity in the freest of republics. Started on its mission when schools were few and superstitions many, it has never been made antiquated by the mighty strides of science. Everywhere it has been the precursor of reform and the friend of the stricken. In its wake have sprung up the greatest seats of learning and the most humane of institutions. And, above all, whatever may be justly claimed for the purest of false religions, it can be truthfully said of the religion of Christ alone that *it satisfies the heart*.

3. The promise of success is not a matter of theory or even of probability, but rests upon the tangible facts of history.

When we get above petty local incident, closing our eyes to the defection of an unfaithful few and our ears to the babblings of infidelity and measure the progress of the kingdom by generations, we are amazed at the result. When Christ taught this prayer Rome was at the zenith of imperial grandeur and power. The loftiest of her Seven Hills was crowned with a magnificent temple dedicated to Jupiter. Greece had then attained "the climax of religious art," enshrining her favorite deities in temples so noble and beautiful that even their ruins excite one's admiration. The streets of Athens were lined with altars. Statues of gods and goddesses graced her rocky ledges. Wherever the eye turned were seen "objects of devotion" in sculptured forms and architectural triumphs. Grave senators appealed to the gods, while sages and scientists predicted coming events from silly presages. Everywhere irreligion or false religion, in coarser or refined forms, flourished. Germany was largely forest, inhabited by a warlike people. England was pagan and little known, while America was for fifteen centuries undiscovered. When Paul, in answer to the Macedonian appeal, went to Philippi, he found not a solitary Christian in Europe. Even the temple of Solomon was in the hands of the heathen.

But, mark the mighty change. Rome soon yielded her imperial sceptre to a Christian emperor and dedicated her basilicas to the worship of Jehovah. "The idols of Greece had for ages been the curiosities of art," while that Jesus, whose resurrec-



tion was the object of ridicule by the wise men on the Areopagus, is to-day worshiped in the palace of her king. Germany, England and America, are now illustrations of the transforming power of divine grace, and from them is going forth the leaven that is moving the world.

Do you ask for figures? Why should I weary you with the recital of oft-quoted and well authenticated numerals? From the handful have come millions. During the present century, in spite of alluring worldliness and adverse immigration, the membership of the churches in this country has grown in greater ratio than the population.

Does this show that Christianity is effete? It is true that it has not yet conquered the world, but in all fairness have not the results been commensurate with the effort? We have been playing at missions and yet miracles of gentile conversion have taken place within the memory of this generation.

But you say, there are more heathen in the world to-day than ever before. I answer there are more Christians than ever before and that the proportion of the latter to the whole population is much greater. For every single convert on the day of Pentecost, there are 100,000 living to-day.

But you say that millions of Christians are indifferent and the means of evangelization comparatively feeble. I answer Palestine is small, but she has given the world mighty impulses. England is small, but she is the mistress of the seas. Napoleon was a little man, but Europe shook under his step. So the Scriptures may appear small, but they are a lever that is moving the world. "This *little* Gospel, this 'foolishness of God,' is a mighty power. \* \* Law is planted in it. Penalty flashes from it. Promises shine with celestial effulgence" in it. When an ambassador was sent by an African prince, who had seen and felt England's power, to Queen Victoria to ask her the source of her country's greatness, she gave him a beautiful copy of the Bible, saying, "Take this to your sovereign and tell him that this is the secret of England's greatness."

But you say, Behold the prodigious advances the Mohammedans are making! The pessimists are getting alarmed. Upon competent authority, it may be answered that their progress has

been grossly exaggerated and the work they have done is necessarily extremely superficial. But even granting that whole tribes have abandoned their fetich for the lesser evils of Mohammedanism, does that militate against the coming of Christ's kingdom? Not at all.

In reference to all these things I would ask not only, Where is your faith? but also, Where is your judgment? Have you forgotten that the Jews spurned Christianity, that the Romans outlawed it, that the Greeks ridiculed it? "Infidelity has always boasted that it was staggering to its fall." Hume and Gibbon predicted its overthrow. Tom Paine declared that he would outlive it. But all these things only confirm the words of Beza: The Church is an anvil that has worn out many hammers.

India, the home of one-sixth of the race, is yielding to the claims of the Gospel. Japan, the most progressive of oriental countries, is adopting our higher civilization. Even the dark continent is seeing the dawn of her emancipation. The opening of the Congo, embracing a region larger than the United States, is the latest herald of the coming day. Much has been done, but not a tithe of what might have been. Dr. Pierson has well said, "We can gird the globe with a zone of light in twenty years if we have men and money, both of which the Church is perfectly able to furnish in abundance. \* \* God has flung the doors wide open, actually challenging the world to take possession. He has wrought results within a half century that have constrained even unbelievers to say, This is the finger of God. \* \* \* Within a quarter of a century the most stupendous achievements of the human mind seem to have reached their climax. \* \* But God always keeps pace with man. \* \* The study of history shows that in the march of humanity God has always led. \* \* Accordingly God has accomplished within half a century what we should have supposed it would require half a millennium to effect."

The meridian glory of the kingdom is not nearly so far off as our unbelieving hearts suggest.

III. The conversion of the world will never be accomplished in the divine plan without the use of *instrumentalities*. The problems of evangelization must be wrought out by man under



the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It would be assuming a hopeless and a useless task to endeavor to enumerate all the agencies under the control of God "who maketh winds his messengers; his ministers a flaming fire;" but we are not at a loss to mention in one word his prime minister. It is *Mind*. The human intellect is the greatest force in creation. Before its royal sceptre all nature bows. Under God it becomes the chief factor in the kingdom of grace. What the Church needs, therefore, to-day, what it has always needed, is the consecration of *trained talent*. I do not say that God can not and does not make men of humble attainments grandly useful in the kingdom. I am not even arguing that every minister of the Gospel must be a thoroughly educated man; but I do say that it is only reasonable that the highest gifts of God ought to be dedicated to His service, and that these will tell most largely in the extension of His kingdom. It may be urged that many gifted men are eminently impractical and unsuccessful, but surely this is the fault of the training and not of the gift. Any culture that unfits us for the comprehension and performance of the larger duties of life in our relations to society and to the age, is all too narrow. But I apprehend that the fault is not so much even in the training as in the animating spirit underlying men's lives. O shameful puerility, that any one should sink the *man* in the scientist, physician, politician, merchant or even clergyman! A man ought to be larger than his profession; he ought to be more than a specialist. I believe that the problem given every man to work out, is how in his own appointed sphere he may make his life a contribution to the kingdom—a resplendent stone in the mighty temple of God.

While there is abundant room for the exercise of whatever powers men may have, it is evident that the very possession of cultivated gifts constitutes a divine call to service. The kingdom demands men of large vision who can measurably take in the scope of this prayer. It may be well enough for the humble toiler to look only at his littler corner, but God lays it upon the consciences of young men trained in a Christian college to

look beyond into the broad world-field, with its teeming millions, its vast demands and splendid opportunities.

Here are great difficulties which only the cultivated intellect can surmount. The Church has made a mistake in frequently not putting the right man in the right place. Ah! she has been forced to it, perhaps, because her ungrateful sons, after having enjoyed the provisions of education, have turned their backs upon her in the pursuits of a selfish ambition. It is impossible for the uneducated worker to cope with the sophistries of infidelity, the tenacity of venerable customs, the wiles of priestcraft and the dense darkness of heathendom. There are continents to be taken for Christ, nations to be evangelized and hoary superstitions to be overthrown! The conflict is mighty, demanding the most unswerving conviction, the most dauntless courage, the loftiest culture and the noblest effort of manhood.

And so, when the world is conquered for Christ, the demand for consecrated intellect will never cease until its regenerate population is organized into free governments and employed in the useful and honorable spheres of a livelihood. Christianity owes it to God and humanity to give the barbarian a language for jargon, commerce for barter and to share with him the products of its inventive genius to make life more endurable and joyous.

IV. And now let me remind you once more that this prayer—Thy kingdom come—is the *rule by which God measures the success of human life*. As men are dominated by its spirit, as they labor by this standard, do they fail or succeed, survive or perish. The test of enduring work and immortality is not wealth, nor power, nor culture, nor freedom? “The test is this,” says Dr. Storrs, “How far is the divine idea realized? Is the kingdom of God set up? Is his will measurably done? Here is an absolute and final test. It grows clearer and more imperative as the race is coming to its future. We measure the society of Christ’s day and condemn it. We measure mediæval life by this standard and condemn it. Men will measure us in future years, and condemn us if the moral spirit and tendency of this age fail to realize this conception of Christ.”



Only those who in other generations understood and lived by the rule of the kingdom live to-day in the grateful memory of the posterity whom their noble lives have inspired with lofty purposes. An enduring but unsought fame is the best justification of the course of him who refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, thus escaping the oblivion which envelops his contemporaries and making him one of those colossal figures which a vista of thirty centuries does not diminish. What is it that has immortalized a company of fishermen and tax-gathers above the sceptred monarchs and mitred priests of their day? How is it that the memory of a humble woman who shed tears upon the feet of a Galilean peasant is perpetuated, while jeweled queens and noble ladies are unremembered? Why should the shout of victory, "I have fought the good fight," ringing out from the Marmertine dungeon, go reverberating through the centuries, while the applause that flattered the triumphant Cæsars lingers a faint memory about the ruins of the Coliseum?

It is not strange that it should be thus, for the work and the suffering of the kingdom link one with God and thus with immortality. It was a sagacious remark of Lincoln that he always tried to find out on which side Providence was and then espouse that side, for it was sure to win. There must have been many toilers on the Ark for wages, but he alone was saved with his family who wrought in *faith*.

But men are ordinarily slow to read history between the lines, and they go on duplicating old follies, while the hand will write Tekel on their lives in the moment when they are flushed with their supremest but most worthless triumph. There are thousands to-day who are in the mad race of wealth, forgetting that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth and that the noblest names on the record of fame are connected with self-denial. There are those who are scaling the dangerous heights of political distinction on ladders of compromise, forgetting that posterity has only contempt for compromise and that lofty principles have ever, from the days of Joseph and Daniel, been the sure road to thrones of imperial grandeur,

“There goes a young man who has just ruined himself was said of Salmon P. Chase as he came out of the court house at Cincinnati, having just concluded the defense of a fugitive slave. In less than thirty years from that time he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. while the prominent citizen who volunteered the above remark is unknown. The name of the most celebrated orator in Jerusalem in the days of the early church, Tertullus, is only preserved for his speech against a certain pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition and a ringleader—one Paul! This is the irony of history. When Luther was yet an obscure monk, Erasmus was already perhaps the most celebrated man of his day, but in the crucial test of devotion to the kingdom he failed, and so lost his crown. Tho’ no monument marks the unknown grave of Henry Martyn, and though David Brainerd died a young man a century and a half ago, they live to-day as never before. When Sydney, Smith who had the brains to make him more than a wit, sneeringly alluded to Carey as the “consecrated cobbler,” he little thought that he was ridiculing the leader of the grandest movement in modern history. Verily saith the Lord, them that honor me I will honor.

I hope now that you have been impressed with the idea that it is not simply the dictum of Scripture but also the verdict of history that the one thing worth living for on earth is the kingdom of God; that all human achievement without this in view is at best but the scaffold which shall be taken down when the temple is finished; that the grander the apparent success of a Christless life the more lamentable its failure. The one sure thing in the world, amid the mutations of time and the wreck of empire, is the coming of the kingdom. And the supreme question for you and me is, Am I in the kingdom? Is the kingdom within me? Is my life a contribution to its growth? “This is the criterion of renown.” Upon this hangs the hope of immortality.

Fellow members of the Y. M. C. A., I congratulate you on your noble calling and inviting opportunities, and I charge you in the name of our common Master, be true to the sacred trust in your hands. Do not mar your calling by the treason of an inconsistent life. Win your fellow-students for the kingdom. Bind about them the sweet potency of a life of love. Show



them by your example that manliness is the fruit of true religion. They are worth saving—worthy of your pains, because they are blood-bought and because the Kingdom needs them. In the hot conflict of the times for the triumph or overthrow of Christian institutions, let us muster every man. Every voice and every vote count—and those of the educated count for much. The Kingdom must come in a purer literature, more honest commerce, cleaner politics, so that Holiness unto the Lord shall be written, not only upon the mitre of the priest, but also on the bells of the horses.

O, young man, would you live, would you be useful, loved and honored, I counsel you to say: Thy kingdom come; and then to bring into harmony with that prayer every thought and every activity of your life. The world is pressing forward to the full answer to this petition—the consummation of all things. We are hastening toward the day of our graduation. May we all graduate with honor at the great Commencement where all the generations of the saints shall unite with angels and archangels in the grand coronation of our King. Panoplied with the light of the eternal day, diademed with immortal beauty, the sharers of his toil shall enjoy with him the fruit of his triumph forevermore.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### THE ACTS OF ST. PAUL AND THECLA.

#### A RELIGIOUS ROMANCE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

By REV. B. PICK, PH. D., Allegheny, Pa.

One of the oldest and most interesting relics of the extant New Testament Apocrypha, are the Acts of St. Paul and Thecla. They were first edited by Grabe in his *Spicilegium* (Oxford, 1698; 2d ed., 1700); then by Jones, *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (London, 1726); and finally by Tischendorf, in his *Acta Apocrypha* (Leipsic, 1851), and Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Syriac and English, London, 1871, 2 vols.) These acts have

furnished a rich material for the so-called "Thecla Legend." How great or how little the substratum of truth in it, we cannot decide. The fact is that churches were built in honor of the "blessed virgin-martyr Thecla;" in prose and rhyme the deeds of our heroine were celebrated, and Sept. 24th is commemorated in her honor in the East, and Sept. 23d in the West.

Before speaking of *the date of compilation* and *the object of the author*, we will give

#### I. THE CONTENTS OF THE ACTS.

When Paul had fled from Antioch of Pisidia and went up to Iconium, he was accompanied by two persons, Demas and Hermogenes, men full of hypocrisy, who pretended unto Paul as though they loved him, but they loved him not. On the way Paul made the oracles of God sweet unto them, teaching them the great things of Christ. Onesiphorus, having heard that Paul was coming to Iconium, went out to meet him, that he might bring him into his house. Now he had not seen Paul in the flesh, but Titus had told of him. He therefore went along the road to Lystra, looking for Paul among them that passed by. And when he saw Paul, he beheld a man small in stature, bald-headed, of a good complexion, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he appeared like a man, and sometimes he had, as it were, the face of an angel.\* And when Paul saw Onesiphorus, he smiled upon him. But

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\*In the *Philopatris* of pseudo-Lucian of the fourth century, Paul is contemptuously alluded to as "the bald-headed, hook-nosed Galilean, who trod the air into the third heaven, and learned the most beautiful things." *Malala of Antioch*, of the sixth century, describes Paul as being "in person round-shouldered, with a sprinkling of grey on his head and beard, with an aquiline nose, greyish eyes, meeting eyebrows, with a mixture of pale and red in his complexion, and an ample beard. With a genial expression of countenance, he was sensible, earnest, easily accessible, sweet, and inspired with the Holy Spirit." And *Nicephorus*, of the fifteenth century, says, "Paul was short, and dwarfish in stature, and, as it were, crooked in person and slightly bent. His face was pale, his aspect winning. He was bald-headed, and his eyes were bright. His nose was prominent and aquiline, his beard thick and tolerably long, and both this and his head were sprinkled with white hairs."



Onesiphorus said, 'Hail, servant of the blessed God.' And Paul answered, 'Grace be with thee, and with thy house.' But Demas and Hermogenes were full of wrath and hypocrisy.

When Paul had entered the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and they bowed their knees and brake bread. In this house Paul began at once to preach "the word of God concerning temperance and the resurrection;" his discourse consisting of a series of beatitudes, in form like those with which the Sermon on the Mount opens, but in substance taken up with the commendation of asceticism and celibacy as follows:

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

"Blessed are they that bear rule over themselves, for God shall speak with them.

"Blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God.

"Blessed are they that have kept aloof from this world, for they shall be called righteous.

"Blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall have God as their portion.

"Blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God.

"Blessed are they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest beside the Father and the Son.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not see the bitter day of judgment.

"Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity; for the word of the Father shall become to them a work of salvation against the day of his Son, and they shall have rest forever and ever."

["Blessed are they that tremble at the word of God, for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are they that have received the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called the sons of the Most High.

"Blessed are they that through love of Christ have come out from conformity with the world, for they shall judge the angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father."]\*

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\*The words within brackets are found in some manuscripts.

While Paul was thus speaking, there was a certain virgin, called Thecla, the daughter of Theocleia, betrothed to a man named Thamyris; and she sat at a window which was close by, listening attentively to Paul's discourse concerning virginity and prayer; and she gave earnest heed to the things which were spoken, rejoicing with all her heart. And when she saw many women going in to hear Paul, she, also, had an eager desire that she might be deemed worthy to stand in his presence and hear the word of Christ.

For three days and three nights Thecla listened to the apostle, despite her mother's remonstrances. The tender entreaties of her betrothed Thamyris, whom Theocleia summoned to interfere, proved equally unavailing. The lover, thus repulsed, hurried into the street, and watched the house where the stranger was preaching, whose eloquence had cast this deplorable spell over Thecla. Observing Demas and Hermogenes among those who were going in and out, he questioned them, and offered them money for information concerning the preacher. In reply, they disclaimed personal knowledge of Paul, saying: Who indeed he is we know not, but this we know, that he deprives young men of wives, and maidens of husbands, saying, 'There is for you a resurrection in no other way, unless you remain chaste, and pollute not the flesh, but keep it chaste.' At a banquet which Thamyris gave them in his house, they advised him to bring Paul before Castelius the governor, on the charge of teaching "the new doctrine of the Christians," which (they assured him) would ensure his execution, promising at the same time to teach Thamyris that the resurrection of which Paul speaks, was already past for those that have children in whom they live anew; and that men rise again when they fully know the true God. Accordingly, next morning Thamyris, with other magistrates and a great multitude, repaired to the house of Onesiphorus and compelled Paul to come with them before the tribunal of Castelius the governor: where, however, he accused him merely of dissuading maidens from marriage; though Demas and Hermogenes were at hand prompting him, "Say that he is a Christian, and thus shalt thou procure his death." Paul



being then called on by the governor for his defence, said, 'Forasmuch as I am this day examined as to what I teach, listen, O governor! A living God, a God of retributions, a jealous God, a God in need of nothing, consulting for the salvation of men, has sent me that I may reclaim them from corruption and uncleanness, and from all pleasure, and from death, that they may not sin. Wherefore God sent his own Son, whom I preach, and in whom I teach men to rest their hope, who alone has had compassion upon a world led astray, that they may be no longer under judgment, O governor, but may have faith, and the fear of God, and the knowledge of holiness, and the love of truth. If, therefore, I teach what has been revealed to me by God, wherein do I do wrong?' The governor, without delivering any judgment, ordered him to be committed to prison until it should be convenient to hear him more attentively. Thecla made this imprisonment her opportunity. That very night, by bribing her mother's doorkeeper with her bracelets and the jailer with her silver mirror, she effected her egress from the house and her entrance into Paul's cell; and there after a night spent at his feet in hearing his doctrine, she was found next morning by her mother and lover. At their instance, Paul was immediately dragged again before the governor, pursued by the multitude with the cry: "He is a magician, away with him!" Thecla, too, was brought before the governor, who ordered Paul to be scourged and cast out of the city, whereas Thecla was condemned to be burned. She was hurried forthwith to the theatre, where, as she stood seeking Paul with her eyes among the thronging multitude, her faith was rewarded and her courage sustained by the appearance among the spectators of Paul, as she thought;—but, as it proved, of the Lord himself, who, as she gazed, went up to heaven. Even the governor who had condemned her was moved by her doom, but other human sympathy she found none: her fellow-citizens, even the young girls, were busy in carrying fuel and building the pyre. When it was ready, she mounted it with undismayed spirit, making the sign

of the cross;\* and it was forthwith kindled. Immediately there was heard a subterranean rumbling; a thick cloud darkened the place and poured down a deluge of hail and rain; the fire was quenched, the people fled, and Thecla escaped. Meantime Paul, with Onesiphorus and his family, on their way to Daphne, had taken refuge in a tomb, where he continued instant in prayer for Thecla. Their supply of food running short, the apostle took off his cloak, and sent one of the lads back to Iconium to sell it and buy bread. The boy, while doing his errand, met Thecla, who was seeking Paul, and brought her with him to the hiding-place. There they found Paul on his knees in the act of praying for her deliverance, and a scene of joyful thanksgiving ensued. The apostle then sent Onesiphorus and his family back to the city, and himself with Thecla, went on his way to Antioch; forbidding her, however, to cut her hair short so as to pass for a man, as she proposed to do. He also refused her request for immediate baptism, encouraging her, however, to "be patient, and she should receive the water."

Having entered the city of Antioch, her beauty caught the eye of Alexander the Syriarch, who sought to obtain possession of her by offering money to Paul. The apostle evaded these advances by disclaiming all right to dispose of her by saying: I know not the woman whom thou speakest of, nor is she mine. At this Alexander embraced her in the street of the city. But as Thecla would not suffer this, she took hold of Alexander and tore his cloak and pulled off his crown. Ashamed of what had happened, Alexander had her brought before the governor, who, when she admitted the acts charged against her, condemned her to be cast to wild beasts, notwithstanding the outcries of the women of the city, who sympathized with her and exclaimed against the sentence as cruel and iniquitous. At her urgent entreaty, however, he granted her protection for her chastity in the interval between the sentence and its execution, by committing her to the care of Tryphaena, a widow lady who having

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\*To make the sign of the cross seems to have been an old custom, for already Tertullian (*De corona mil.*, cap. 3; *ad uxorem*, II., 5) mentions it.



lately lost her daughter Falconilla, found comfort in the charge of the condemned maiden. When the appointed day came and the games were exhibited, Thecla was bound to a fierce lioness, but the beast licked her feet. She was then suffered to return for the night to the care of Tryphaena, who cherished her tenderly, not merely through womanly pity, but now under a yet stronger influence. Her lost Falconilla had appeared to her in a dream, saying, "Mother, let Thecla be to thee in my stead, that through her prayers I may pass to the place of the righteous." The bereaved mother now accordingly asked and obtained the intercession of Thecla, who prayed thus: "God most high" (or as one MS. reads: "God of our Fathers, Son of the Most High, Lord Jesus Christ") grant to this woman according to her wish that her daughter Falconilla may be for ever."

The next day Alexander came again to fetch Thecla. But Tryphaena cried aloud, so that Alexander fled away. And straightway the governor sent an order that Thecla should be brought. When she had been taken out of the hands of Tryphaena, they stripped her of her garments, and a girdle was given to her, and she was thrown into the theatre, where there were let loose against her bears, lions, and the lioness of the previous day. But instead of killing Thecla, they tore one another. While she was praying, many more wild beasts were sent in. And when she had ended her prayer, she turned and saw a pond filled with water, in which seals were kept, and she said, "Now is the time for me to wash myself;" and she cast herself in, saying, "In the name of Jesus Christ, I baptize myself on my last day." A cloud of fire encompassed the maiden, protecting at once her modesty and her life. The seals were struck dead with lightnings, the other beasts lay around, torpid as in a trance, while the women flung spices and perfumes. When fierce bulls were let loose, Tryphaena fainted, and the multitude cried, 'Queen Tryphaena is dead.' Alexander now asked the governor to release Thecla, saying, 'If Cæsar hear of these things, he will destroy the city, because his kinswoman Queen Tryphaena\* had died beside the theatre.' And the governor called

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\*Gutschmidt (*Die Königsnamen in den Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, in "Rheinisch. Museum," 1864, pp. 177-179) has identified Queen

for Thecla out of the midst of the wild beasts, and said unto her, 'Who art thou? and what has thou about thee, that none of the wild beasts toucheth thee?' At this she said: "I am a handmaid of the living God, and I believe in His Son in whom He is well pleased; and therefore it is that none of the beasts hath touched me; for He alone is the limit (or according to another reading, "the way") of salvation, and the ground of immortal life, for to the storm-tossed He is a refuge, to the troubled repose, the shelter of them that had despaired: and in a word, whoso believeth not on Him shall not live forever." When she was released, she stayed with Tryphaena, who had meantime recovered from her swoon, eight days. And she instructed her in the word of God, so that most, even of the maid-servants, believed.

But Thecla desired to see Paul. When she heard that he was at Myra in Lycia, she disguised herself in man's attire, and went there. When she saw him, she said, "I have received the washing, O Paul; for He that wrought with thee towards the gospel hath wrought with me also that I should be washed." When Thecla told him that she was going to Iconium, Paul said to her, "Go and teach the word of God."

Arrived at Iconium, she first visited the house of Onesiphorus "where Christ first made the light shine upon her." After having tried in vain to convert her mother—Thamyris having died in the meantime—she went to Seleucia, where she "enlightened many and died in peace."

[Thus the story ends in its oldest form, as preserved in ancient Syriac and Latin versions; but the four extant Greek copies represent her as living an anchorite's life in a cave, on herbs and water, and they subjoin a marvelous account (certainly of more recent composition) of her latter years. Some heathen physicians of Seleucia, being jealous of miraculous cures wrought by her, sent hired ruffians to violate her virginity, hoping thereby to deprive her of the favor of Artemis, to whom they ascribed

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Tryphaena to be a repudiated wife of Polemon II. King of Pontus, who is proved by the evidence of a coin to have been certainly living in St. Paul's time, and who was probably cousin (by descent from Mark Antony) to the emperors Claudius and Nero.



her gifts of healing. But the rock opened miraculously and gave her an asylum from the attempted outrage. She then went to Rome\* to see Paul once more, but found that he was dead. She died there soon after, and was buried near his tomb, at the age of ninety, having survived her martyrdom seventy-two years.] This is the legend of Thecla.

## II. DATE OF COMPILATION AND OBJECT OF THE AUTHOR.

The story as we have it now was undoubtedly written originally in Greek, although the oldest Greek MS. of it is not earlier than the tenth century. Yet there are ample proofs of its high antiquity. For already in the so-called decree of Gelasius, which probably belongs to the early part of the seventh century we find that from the list of "scriptures received by the Church" the "book which is called the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*" was excluded. But we have yet earlier testimonies. The earliest is that of TERTULLIAN (between 220 and 240), who in his treatise *De Baptismo*, ch. xvii., writes: "But if any defend those things which have been rashly ascribed to Paul, under the example of Thecla, so as to give license to women to teach and baptize, let them know that the presbyter in Asia, who compiled the account, as it were, under the title of Paul, accumulating of his own store, being convicted of what he had done, and confessing that he had done it out of love to Paul, was removed from his place. For how could it seem probable that he who would not give any firm permission to a woman to learn should grant to a female to teach and baptize?" It has been taken for granted that the meaning is that a presbyter of Asia, somewhat towards the end of the first century, compiled a history of Paul and Thecla, and, instead of publishing it as a true narrative, either in his own name, or with any name at all, but in good faith, published it falsely, and therefore wickedly, under the name of Paul, as though he were himself the writer; that he was convicted of his forgery, and deposed from the priesthood. This account has been marvelously dressed up, and some of its advocates have ventured to say that a Montanist writer of the name of Leucius was the real author of these *Acts* (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, II., 446).

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\*Grabe's MS. says nothing of Thecla's going to Rome.

The next witness is JEROME, who in his *Catalogus Script. Eccl.* c. 7 (written about the year 392), commenting upon the passage of Tertullian, says that the presbyter who wrote the history of Paul and Thecla was deposed for what he had done by John (*apud Johannem*) the apostle. That Jerome called upon Tertullian is evident from his statement; but his conduct in fathering the story of the deposition by John upon Tertullian is inexcusable, because no such statement was made by Tertullian. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that, according to tradition, alleged or real events which occurred in Asia Minor and touched upon the life of the Church have been brought in connection with John. Thus he is said to have confuted Cerinthus, Ebion, Marcion, and even Basilides. Even miracles which were first narrated by disciples of the apostles or by bishops of Asia Minor were afterwards referred to him (comp. *Patr. Apost.* opp. ed. Gebhart, Harnack, Zahn, I., ed. i., 194). Our passage is a proof of this. Tertullian speaks of an Asiatic presbyter, Jerome adds *Apud Johannem*, and his copyists write, instead of "Apud Johannem," *a Johanne*.

Of Eastern writers who were acquainted with our Acts, we mention BASIL, bishop of Seleucia, of the fifth century, author of a *Life and Miracles of St. Thecla*; NICETAS of Paphlagonia, towards the end of the ninth century, and SIMEON METAPHRASTES in the tenth. The only writer who treats Thecla directly, and not by way of mere passing allusion, is METHODIUS, the author of *Symposium Decem Virginum* (written about A. D. 300). Into this symposium or dialogue ten virgins are introduced as contending in the presence of Areté concerning chastity. At the end of the dialogue Thecla leads off a hymn, to which the rest, standing round as a chorus, respond: "I keep myself pure for Thee, O Bridegroom, and holding a lighted torch I go to meet Thee."

In inviting Thecla to speak, Areté designates her a disciple of Paul: in her oration she speaks of those who "set little by *wealth*, distinction, *race* or *marriage*, and are ready to yield their bodies to *wild beasts* and to the *fire*, because of their yearning and enthusiasm for the things that are in supermundane places." After Gregorion had finished the address, Eu-



boulios cannot suppress her admiration, she knows of other acts of Thecla, with which coincides what they just have heard, for says she: "I know her wisdom also for other noble actions, and what sort of things she succeeded in speaking, giving proof of supreme love to Christ; and how glorious she often appeared in meeting the chief conflicts of the martyrs, procuring for herself a zeal equal to her courage, and a strength of body equal to the wisdom of her counsels." After the last two virgins have finished speaking, Areté addresses them all saying: "And you all in my hearing having sufficiently contended in speaking, I pronounce victors and crown; but Thecla with a larger and thicker chaplet, as the chief of you, and as having shone with greater lustre than the rest." From the latter passage we can infer how greatly esteemed Thecla was already in the third century. Allusions to her we find also in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen. In his first address against Julian the Apostate, he concluded a catalogue of apostles and disciples of the apostles with Thecla; he also speaks of her as a virgin who had escaped the "tyranny" of her betrothed husband and her mother (*Oratio* xxiv.) and *Exhortatio ad Virgines*, II., page 382, 87) connects her escape with Paul's suffering hunger. Gregory of Nyssa (*Hom. xiv. in cant. canticor.*) speaks of her as Paul's virgin disciple, and (*Vita Macrinae*) he calls her a virgin martyr. Epiphanius (*Haeres*, xxix., 5) puts Thecla by the side of Elias, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mother, and praises her for sacrificing under Paul's teaching her prospects of prosperous marriage. Chrysostom tells us how Thecla managed to see Paul. In his *Homily*, xxv. (in *Acta Apost.*) he says: Hear then of the blessed Thecla, who for the sake of seeing Paul, gave her jewels; but thou, for the sake of seeing Christ, wilt not give an obolus."

Isidore of Pelusium (*Lib. I., epist.* 160) calls her "protomartyr," and John of Damascus in an address on those who have died in the faith, says, that one should pray to God not for his own soul alone, but also for that of others, as the protomartyr Thecla had done. Zeno of Verona (*De Timore*) of the fourth century gives an account of Thecla-Antiochian martyrdom as told in the *Acts*, giving as it does particulars of the bulls goaded to attack her, her perils from the seals, and the fiery cloud which

covered her nakedness. Ambrose joins her name with that of Agnes and with the Virgin Mother (*De lapsu virginis*, II., 307) and with Miriam, Moses' sister (*Epist.* 63, *ad Vercell.*), and Sulpicius Severus in his account of St. Martin of Tours (*Dialog.* II., 13, 5, written about 405) narrates that Thecla together with Agnes and Mary often appeared unto him. Even Jerome, though as we have seen he rejects the written narrative of her life, attests the traditional prevalence of her fame by adducing her as an example of saintliness.

Of the martyrologists who mention Thecla, we mention *Usuardus* who wrote about 875, *Ado of Vienne*, who wrote about 860 and *Notker* who wrote about 894.

We have already indicated above how churches were built in honor of Thecla. Such churches and convents were built not only in Asia Minor, but also in Spain (Tarragona) and Germany. Relics of her are preserved in many parts of Europe: in France, at Chartres and Riez and elsewhere; in Germany, in the ossuary church of St. Gereon at Cologne. Another proof of the veneration for her person is found in the wide use of Thecla as a Christian name throughout Christendom. Her deeds were described in verses by Basilius Seleuciensis, and the historian Widukind has written in metrical form the *passio Theclae virginis*. The legend of St. Thecla is produced with much poetic grace by Aubrey de Vere in *Legends and Records*, and the German poet Paul Heyse has retold her story in *Thecla, Ein Gedicht in neun Gesangen*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1863, substituting, however, for St. Paul, a Christian teacher of another name.

All these notices prove that the Acts of St. Paul and Thecla were known in the East and West, but in order to ascertain *the date of compilation* we have to go back to Tertullian. The passage which we have already given above from the writings of this father, it is true, is only an external evidence of antiquity, showing that the Acts must have existed in his time. To this external evidence we have the internal, furnished by the *Acts* themselves. This will determine nothing as to who was their author, but will be valuable in helping us to assign an approximate date. An indication of the early origin of a Christian document is the absence of quotations from the New Testament.



True, this is only a negative evidence ; but when found in connection with sayings attributed to Christ or the apostles which are not found in the canonical Scriptures, it tends to establish antiquity. Now there is not a single direct citation from the New Testament—although the student cannot fail to discover many instances in which the New Testament has been used;—and when Paul preaches upon the Beatitudes, words are boldly put into his mouth which are not in Scripture. This was becoming enough in a contemporary of the apostle, or in a writer of the 2d century, who had received them through a not far-distant tradition ; but it would have been unbecoming in a writer of the 3d century, and, speaking in general terms, it was what writers of the 3d century seldom did. Thus we could quote Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, Polycarp, besides referring to the traditional sayings of Christ (as given in our “Apocryphal Life of Jesus,” p. 124), that such has been the case ; and it is therefore not a matter for surprise, but it is exactly what we might be prepared to expect if the *Acts of Thecla* are, in the main, a document of the 2d century, that the writer should represent Paul not only as saying “Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy,” but “Blessed are they which have kept the baptism, for they shall have rest with the Father and the Son.” A further indication of the comparatively early date of this composition is its teaching the salvability of departed heathen. All early Christendom believed in the efficacy of prayers for those who had fallen asleep in the faith of Christ. But it was only the first two centuries which taught that prayer was of avail for such as had died without baptism and without the knowledge of Christ on earth. Thus we have a parallel case to the prayer of Thecla for Falconilla in the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, where we read that Perpetua, through her prayers, saved her brother Dinocrates, who had died without baptism, “from the dark place ;” and from the place of sufferings he comes to the place full of light. Augustine, commenting upon this (*De Originæ Animæ*, i., 10 ; iii., 9), says that Dinocrates must have been baptized, and that he was suffering in consequence of some childish fault committed after baptism. But

Augustine's statement that the boy was baptized is arbitrary, because best suited to his own theory. But is it in the least likely that Dinocrates had been baptized, when Perpetua herself was unbaptized, and only received baptism shortly before her martyrdom? Now in the 2d century it was not an uncommon thing to pray for non-Christians; but after the 2d century, not only do we lose all trace of prayer for non-Christians who had departed this life, but we find the contrary opinion firmly maintained. So entirely was this the case that, as we have seen, Augustine, "in order to get rid of the plain inference to be drawn from Perpetua's prayer for her brother, was driven to invent the ingenious but scarcely amiable explanation that a little child who had died at the early age of seven years was suffering purgatorial torments for some infantile fault committed *after* his baptism."

Another indication of an early date is the fact that the name "Christian" which occurs twice in the *Acts*, is only used by the two companions of Paul, who call the attention of Thamyris to this fact as a point for accusation. This would place the compilation of the *Acts* at a time when the name "Christian" was sufficient to condemn any one, *i. e.* about the time of Trajan, in the year 115. We may feel a reasonable confidence, then, that, whether the legend of Thecla be true or false, it was composed at least before A. D. 200, perhaps somewhere between 165 and 195, and most probably within a few years of the middle of that period.

Whoever may have been the author of the *Acts*, the question has been asked, *what was his object?* It has been said that he intended to defend and maintain the Montanist theory, and the most important evidence in favor of the Montanist authorship of the *Acts* was taken from the concluding words, "she illuminated many by the word of God;" by which is meant—illumination being taken as a synonym for baptism—she also baptized those whom she converted. Now, leaving aside the statement of Jerome that "Thecla baptized a lion," a statement which he himself calls a *fabula*, and which he did not find in Tertullian, whom he follows, and who would have undoubtedly stigmatized it as nonsense, for such it is, and without investigating how he came



to make such a statement, or whether it was originally meant that Thecla baptized a person of the name of *Leo* (which means, in Latin, "lion"), we know that Thecla baptized none except herself. The only point in the argument now are the words: "she illuminated many by the word of God," which, as Basil of Seleucia says, mean that "Thecla baptized those whom she converted to Christ." Now it is true that *φωτίζειν* (*photizein*) has been used by Gregory of Nazianzum, Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius and Methodius in the sense of "baptize," and *φωτισμός* for "baptism," and by Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Justin Martyr; but this is not the only meaning, for Dionysius Areopagita, Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria use the word for "illumination," "instruction." We are not told that she instructed in public, which is the main point; and if she had preached at all, it probably was no sermon in the strict sense of the word, but a kind of missionary discourse. This inference we make from the *Acts* themselves, according to which she lived among heathen; there was not as yet a congregation, consequently also no officer. That women taught in the apostolic age was nothing uncommon, for of Aquila and Priscilla we are told (*Acts* xviii., 26) that they took Apollos and "expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly;" and in *Romans* xvi., 3 seq., Paul calls them "my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus." After all we cannot perceive any Montanistic tendency in the author of the *Acts*, for his Thecla does not remind us of the Montanistic prophetesses, who even performed ecclesiastical functions. That Thecla baptized others we are not told; and when Basil of Seleucia states this of her, he does it because of his interpretation of *photizein*, and indicates that in the beginning of Christianity in Asia Minor such things had happened. We need only refer to the letter of Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, addressed to Cyprian against bishop Stephen (the 75th of Cyprian's *Letters*), and to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, III., 9. The latter expressly forbid women to baptize and teach, it being "dangerous, or rather wicked, and impious," as against the Scriptures. We can very well perceive how, in the face of such tendencies, which in the 3d century could have been only of a very rare occurrence, a

book must have been welcomed out of which the authority of an apostle could be quoted in favor of female prerogatives in the Church. Being disposed to generalize a single case, the difference in the time and persons was overlooked, and this special case was applied erroneously to different cases. For what we know of Thecla's baptism is, that she asked the apostle for that rite, but he exhorted her to be patient and wait. At Antioch, when in the arena, and believing that she will die without having received the baptism, she throws herself into a trench. After her deliverance she remains eight days with Tryphaena, and instructs her in the word of God. We are not told that she baptized some, but that most of the maid-servants believed, and that there was great joy in the house. Then she comes to Paul at Myra, saying: "I have received the washing, O Paul; for He that wrought with thee towards the gospel, hath wrought with me also that I should be washed." Paul does not utter his disapprobation, but keeps quiet. But when she is about to leave, he does not say to her that she should teach and baptize, but "go and teach." The faculty which Jesus gives to his disciples (Matt. 28 : 19, 20), is entirely different from the one which Paul gives to Thecla.

Thecla's case is exceptional on account of her two-fold martyrdom; being left by Paul and the adherents to his teaching, and being *in periculo mortis*, she baptizes herself, using the Christian formula "in the name of Jesus Christ." According to the whole narrative, Paul cannot make any objection, because God has made himself known in delivering her, and the action of a martyr cannot be prescriptive as to others. Besides the author brings before us a time in which ecclesiastical affairs had not yet taken a definite form, and there is not the least evidence that the object of the author of the *Acts* was to support Montanistic doctrines, and to establish the same by the authority of the apostle Paul. The only object which the author could have had in view was to describe the apostolic time, in which he succeeded only in part. It is a time when the Church commences to develop herself. But using his own judgment in this respect, it becomes fatal, since the author connects the person of an apostle with deeds and doctrines which in this connection must



be detrimental to the Church. Such a writing could only be a great hindrance to the leaders of the Church; and in order to render it of no effect, it was severely criticised.

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### THE PROPER SUBJECTS FOR INFANT BAPTISM.

AN ANSWER PREPARED BY THE THEOLOGICAL PROFESSORS OF GETTYSBURG AND HARTWICK SEMINARIES AT THE REQUEST OF THE NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY SYNOD.

The Faculties of Hartwick and Gettysburg Seminaries, according to the request of the New York and New Jersey Synod to act as a Committee to present an answer to the question: "Whether children of non-professors, or non-church-members, are proper subjects of baptism," respectfully offer the following.

The proper subjects, in infant baptism, are:

1. The children of believers, *i. e.* of professing Christians, or church-members, including those one of whose parents is a Christian.

2. The children of either baptized or unbaptized non-professing parents:

*a.* When such children are presented for baptism by Christians who have adopted them or stand to them truly in place of their parents, so as to be fairly able to assume and fulfill the office of their Christian care and training.

*b.* When, in any other way, they are by their parents submitted to such sponsorial charge, care, and direction as shall bring and keep them truly under the authority and education of the Church, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

3. The children of non-professing parents, which do not come fairly within the terms of these two conditions, are outside of the class of proper subjects of infant baptism.

The authority for the rule thus given is briefly as follows:

1. In fulfilling the commission, "Go, make disciples of all nations; baptizing them," &c., the Church must proceed according to the way and order pointed out in the holy Scriptures.

2. The fundamental authority for the baptism of children is the divinely enacted and unrepealed principle and law of infant membership established in the Church of God under the Old Testament dispensation. That law fixed fundamentally both the requirement and limitations of infant membership.

3. The original Abrahamic and "everlasting" covenant was a family or household covenant, taking the parents and children together, basing the Church covenant in the parental or family relation. Gen. 17 : 7-9.

4. The New Testament clearly declares that covenant to be continued as the covenant of the Church whose doors, by the gospel, are opened now to all nations. Gal. 3 : 8, 9 ; 3 : 17 ; 3 : 29 ; Rom. 4 : 9-13 ; 11 : 24 ; 15 : 8.

That the Church of the Old and New Testaments is in its covenant foundation and grace the one and same Church of Christ, is accepted by all theology but that of the Baptists, whose rejection of infant baptism is inconsistent with such admission.

5. The Old Testament *seal* of the covenant, or of Church-membership, viz., circumcision, also followed the order of the family life and faith. Gen. 17 : 10-14. In receiving the parents, the Church, by this divine order, received also their children. The Jewish parent broke the covenant if either he was himself uncircumcised or left his children uncircumcised. That circumcision was "a seal of the righteousness of faith." Rom. 4 : 11.

6. Baptism has come in the place of circumcision as the sealing or initiatory ordinance for the Church. Col. 2 : 11, 12. On the day of Pentecost St. Peter put it in substance : "Because the promise is to you and your children and to all that are afar off, repent and be *baptized*, every one of you"—coupling, now, not circumcision, but *baptism* with the old phrase and promise : "To you and your children."

7. The practice of the apostles corresponded with all this, viz., they *baptized* instead of circumcising, and baptized no children, as far as we are informed, save in family or household baptisms.

8. The order of circumcision having been extended to such children or persons as became in any way a part of the Jewish family or household, Gen. 17 : 12, 13, we justly believe the rule



of baptism also includes such children as become properly a part of the *Christian* household, or come under its care, supervision and training. Manifestly, from the first, this care, supervision, or "nurture of the Lord," was the determining principle for the rule, and as the new dispensation is not a restricting, but an enlargement, of the reach of the privileges and grace of the covenant, we are warranted in believing that the privilege of infant baptism may be considered as extending as far as, in the New Testament order of the Church, the conditions are fairly and rightly found or furnished for this necessary infant care, direction, nurture and guardianship.

9. The New Testament has no text clearly extending the rule of infant membership any further. Our practice in evangelizing "the nations" must observe the order and limitations which thus clearly appear in the fundamental law or charter of infant membership.

10. This rule is in harmony with the law of duty and responsibility imposed and assumed in the solemn promises made in infant baptism.

11. It is the only rule in accord with the truth that the sacrament is not an *opus operatum*, accomplishing its proper benefits and blessings irrespective of the "nurture and admonition of the Lord" under which it is to bring and keep its subject, and which it guarantees to it. Romish ground seems to be taken both as to an *ex opere operato* effect, and as to the power of the Church to ordain laws without Scripture authority, whenever infant baptism is practiced beyond the scope of this rule.

12. The rule thus given is recognized generally by our dogmaticians. We give some quotations:

GERHARD: "Those who are in the bosom of the Church, together with their children, use the word and sacraments which are the peculiar goods of the Church; but concerning those who have been born without the Church, the apostle says: What have I to do to judge concerning these. 1 Cor. 7: 14: 'For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now they are holy.' This holiness of children born of Christian parents is not merely a *political* cleanness, since even outside of the

Church there may be a distinction between legitimate and natural or spurious children, nor is it an internal holiness and cleanness of heart, as if the children were born holy from their mother's womb, since not less than others, they are 'conceived and born in sin,' Ps. 51 : 5, and are 'by nature the children, of wrath even as others,' Eph. 2 : 3 : but the holiness is *ecclesiastical*, that is, that such children, born of Christian parents, or if only one or the other is a believer or Christian, *may be considered as born in the Church, and have access to baptism*, the sacrament of initiation ; but *others who have been born of unbelieving parents, are to be considered "unclean,"* that is, *to them does not pertain the divine promise ; I will be thy God and the God of thy seed ; and therefore access to baptism is not open to them equally with the children of Christians, but they must first be instructed and profess the Christian faith when they have grown up.* \* \* \*

*The children born of such marriages [one of the parents being a Christian] are clean and holy, that is they are to be regarded as Christian children, and not heathen, and therefore they are not to be excluded from the Church, but on account of the one believing parent, they are to be held as born in the bosom of the Church and to be admitted to baptism.* \* \* \* But thou sayest all infants are alike by nature, that is, they are conceived and born in sin, and are by nature the children of wrath ; therefore no such distinction is made among them, that to some the way is open to baptism, but to others it is closed. We answer, that in respect to original sin all infants are indeed alike, nevertheless there remains this distinction among them, that *some have been born in the bosom and limits of the Church, but some without the Church ; to the former pertains the promise, "I will be thy God and the God of thy seed,"* Gen. 17 : 7 : *these indeed are clean,* 1 Cor. 7 : 14 ; *to these access to baptism is at once open in the age of infancy ; but to the latter pertains neither the promise of God nor the covenant of grace nor baptism so long as neither they nor their parents embrace the Christian religion, but they are strangers from the covenants of promise,* Eph. 2 : 12.—*Loci Theologici* Loc. XXI. Cap. VIII. 198.

CALOVIVS : "And just as not all *vessels* were called holy, but such as were devoted to sacred things, and were sanctified to



this by certain rites, and the rest were unclean, *so not all persons are to be promiscuously admitted to baptism and the benefits connected with it, but only such as have been born of members of the Church or believing parents. These, therefore, are holy, because they have access to the privileges of the Church, while to others who are without, they are not granted.*"—*Biblia Illustrata*, 1 Cor. 7 : 14.

QUENSTEDT: "There is a difference between the *infants of Christians*, whether born of them or transferred and taken unto their guardianship and parental authority, and the *infants of unbelievers*, Pagans, Turks, Jews, who are still under their power. The discussion here is not concerning the latter but the former. For such as are born without the limits of the Church, from non-Christian parents, are not indeed excluded from the benefit by any judicial rejection ; nevertheless they have not yet a right to the thing, are without, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers from the covenant, 1 Cor. 5 : 12 ; 1 Cor. 7 : 14. Therefore the infants of unbelievers are not to be violently taken from their parents and baptized."

The *subjects of baptism* may be considered with respect to their essential nature, extent, and kind. In respect to their essential nature, they are *human beings alone*, and these alive. In respect to extent, they are immediately and *directly*, only members of the Church (*cives ecclesiæ*) ; but mediately and *remotely* they are all nations, with this limitation, however, that baptism can be conferred upon both adults and infants only in the way and manner which Christ has prescribed. Adults, therefore, are not to be baptized before they have been instructed concerning Christ from the word of God and profess the Christian religion. \* \* To the *infants of Christians, or to those who have been born in the bosom of the Church immediate access to baptism is open*, as the privilege as described in Gen. 17 : 7. But by infants of Christians we understand those also who have been born of parents one or the other of whom is a Christian, 1 Cor. 7 : 14 ; those whose parents have been converted to the Christian faith, even though they were begotten and been in heathenism ; *and those who by lawful manner have been transferred to the guardianship and paren-*

*tal authority of Christians; but begotten without the Church are, according to the apostle, unclean, since to them does not belong the promise: I will be thy God and of thy seed after thee. \* \* \** A difference exists between infants born without the Church, and infants born within the same. We refer to the latter, not the former, for the former are not to be judged by the Church, but committed to God, 1 Cor. 5 : 12, 13. Here the Church makes the apostle's distinction between the holy and the unclean; 1 Cor. 7 : 14, between those *within* and those *without*, 1 Cor. 5 : 12, or between the children of the covenant and those *outside* of it, Acts 3 : 25." *Theologia Didactica Polemica*, De Baptisma, Cap. v. Sec. 2.

BAIER : "We may baptize the children of unbelievers, if they have come in lawful way into the power of Christians and can thus be rightly cared for, and trained in the Christian religion and faith; as also it can be granted to them when educated and instructed, and so converted and seeking baptism; so even in infancy, if in immediate danger of death, we may baptize them." *Compendium Theologiæ Positivæ*, Part. III. Cap. VIII.

HOLLAZ : "The infants of Christians before reception of baptism possess an external or ecclesiastical holiness, as of the Church, but do not possess an eternal holiness as of faith. The promise of the covenant belongs to them, but they are not yet in an exhibited covenant."

"But now are your children holy", 1 Cor. 7 : 14. An external or ecclesiastical holiness is referred to which consists in this, that *the infants of believers have direct access to divine grace, and so to a participation in the means through which, by divine ordination, eternal salvation is conferred. For they have been born within the limits of the Church (castra ecclesiae) and have right to the thing, although they do not yet possess it in reality (in re), i. e. they have immediate access to divine covenant grace, but are not yet actually partakers of the divine covenant grace. The holiness is said to be ecclesiastical, not as if unbaptized infants of Christian were citizens or members of the Church, but because they have the right and power of obtaining the privilege of members of the Church, which are*



*not so easily granted to others who are without.*" *Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum.* Part III. Sec. II. Cap. IV.

SCHERZER: "The baptism of such as are not under our power cannot be sustained by any proper authority of the apostles or primitive Church." *Systema Theologiæ*.—Loc. XIV., Cap. XII.

BECHMANN: "What infants are to be baptized? Answer: the children of Christians. But this designation must be more fully explained. To be counted as children of Christians are 1. those born of parents who profess the Christian faith, hear the word of God and use the sacraments; 2. those born of parents one or the other of which is a believer, who are then said to be clean; 3. those whose parents have been converted from Judaism or heathenism; 4. those who have been adopted by Christian parents; 5. those who by lawful means, just war, purchase or gift, have passed over under the power of Christians, in whose place Christians may promise that they shall be instructed in the Christian religion."—*Institutiones Theologicæ*, Part III., Loc. XII., Sec. 17.

MARTENSEN: Though disposed to give wide scope to the privilege of baptism, says: "The fact which experience attests, that many baptized persons are never regenerate nor believers, is no argument against the reality of baptismal grace. It only shows that baptism does not work by magic, that baptismal grace is *not unconditional, but appears in power and activity only upon certain conditions.* \* \* \* The Church has often baptized persons regarding whom, humanly speaking, she must have foreseen that the conditions necessary for the development of the gift of grace would be wanting."—*Christian Dogmatics*, Sec. 235.

For a right and full understanding of these statements of the dogmaticians, it is necessary to bear in mind, that in the connection between Church and State of their day and countries, the population was almost universally in the relation of actual church membership. This explains their reference to those "without" usually under the designation of "*Jews, heathen or Turks,*" and yet, though the term "Christian" embraced the population more generally than its specific application does among us, they nevertheless evidently used it in its genuine sense as denoting the spiritual reality which it named. It assumed that church-members were what they professed to be.

Without doubt many perplexing and difficult questions will arise in the practical application of the rule as above stated. This will be inevitable from the ambiguous relation which many persons sustain to the Church, and the differing degrees of guarantee of guardian nurture and training in the proffered sponsorial care, when this experiment is used instead of the offices of actual Christian parentage. In doubtful cases it would seem best to lean to a generous charity of favorable judgment. But whatever difficulties and uncertainties may attend its application, we believe the rule itself, with its specifications and limitations, sets forth the correct answer to the question which has been submitted to us.

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## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

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### I.—BIBLICAL.

“*The Song of Songs*. Translated from the Hebrew, with occasional notes. By Rev. William C. Daland, A. M., Pastor of the First Seventh-Day Baptist Church, Leonardsville, N. Y. Second Edition. 1888. pp. 50.”

Another attempt to grapple with this *crux criticorum*! Discarding the various traditional theories of its composite character, and of the slavishly spiritualistic interpreters who seek to crowd so much gospel imagery into it, our author holds it to be the production of a single writer who flourished in the age of Solomon—a genuine drama, with a strictly moral tendency.

Comparing it with the book of Job, which he thinks was written about the same time, he says: “These books seem totally dissimilar, and yet they have much in common. They both are the product of the golden age of Hebrew literature. They both exhibit the influence of Chokma philosophy. They both partake of a dramatic character. Job depicts the experience of a man who though in the midst of fiery trials



and afflictions, has the divine gift of wisdom, the fear and perfect trust of Jahveh, which enables him to withstand them all and to come forth as the pure gold from the furnace. The Song of Songs shows us a woman who, by virtue of the same grace, is victorious over the temptations peculiar to a woman in the time of Solomon, and who remains true to her plighted troth and to her virtue, against the allurements of the most luxurious court in history."

Taking this view of the production, our author gives free play to his imagination and handles the fragmentary materials before him with great ingenuity, constructing out of them a fanciful dialogue, interspered with pastoral odes and responsive choruses, even introducing an actual dance by the Shulamite.

"The heroine of the drama, the Shulamite, is represented as induced to leave her vineyards and come to the court of Solomon. He praises her beauty and by fair words and promises endeavors to win her affection. He succeeds in gaining her attention, and awakens in her bosom a severe struggle; but she finally resists his advances and returns to her beloved shepherd. It is the object of the drama to depict the temptations peculiar to a beautiful woman brought to the court of such a king, and to show the power of true love to withstand them. This fidelity is genuine virtue, and is the result of the fear of Jahveh, though the purely dramatic character of the book hardly permits it to declare this. Its purpose is evidently ethical, and herein is a sufficient justification of its place in the canon."

*Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians.* By E. P. Gould, D. D.  
8vo. pp. 226. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

This volume is another addition to the series edited under the title of "The American Commentary on the New Testament," by Alvah Hovey, D. D., LL. D., a work which this journal has previously spoken of in terms of hearty appreciation. It gives at the top of each page in small type and in parallel columns the Authorized and the Revised Versions, and on the body of the page in beautiful print a running commentary based of course on the original text—or, it should be said, on a very careful rendering of that, for the Greek itself is omitted, making the exposition serviceable and satisfactory to students ignorant of the Greek language. At the close of each chapter follow critical notes showing the author's familiarity with the various manuscripts; also a comprehensive analysis of the subject matter which reveals the clearness and power with which Dr. Gould grasps the argument of the inspired author.

We should welcome a commentary on the whole New Testament from his pen. We remember his "Notes on the Lessons of 1885" and our regret at the time that his little volume could not replace all the "Helps,"

so-called, which make up the aggregate of our Sunday School expository literature.

Without being as voluminous as Meyer, Dr. Gould like him comes to your assistance when there is need for it, and does not crowd attempted explanations upon passages that are already clearer than any writings of uninspired men. Then, too, he is as free from denominational prejudice as could be expected from any scholar identified with an earnest church. The exact original sense of a word or a passage he is sure to give, as in the case of "Communion," 1 Cor 10 : 17, however dogmatic interests may lead him afterwards to drift away from it.

In the passage "And were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," 1 Cor. 10 : 2, he gets mixed, along with most commentators, by the presupposition that in water is found an essential factor of Baptism. Hence he explains "The Israelites were in the sea, encompassed by the waters, though not submerged," except so far as the cloud, according to Ps. 105 : 39, was spread as a covering over them. We have not heretofore believed that the Israelites in crossing the Red Sea were seriously drenched either from the cloud above or the sea beneath, and we regard this passage as being fatal to Baptist claims this immersion is the only Baptism.

*The Biblical Illustrator*: or Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations, Expository, Scientific, Geographical, Historical and Homiletic, gathered from a wide range of Home and Foreign Literature, on the verses of the Bible. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A. *St. Mark*. 8vo. pp. 742. Price \$2.00. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company.

Here is a table for the empty and the hungry, a bountiful supply of expository literature gathered from every quarter and embracing every variety of biblical culture. A whole library of comments and sermons on the Gospel according to Mark is collected within the compass of a single volume. And it is not greatly condensed either. With ordinary type, printed upon the average page, the material embraced in this work would fill half a dozen common-sized volumes. So that one gets an immense quantity for a small price. And the quality is of an excellent character. The editor has been an omniverous reader and, possessed of the faculty of discrimination, he has laid before us here extensive citations from the church's most excellent preachers and expositors both of former generations and the present. It is really cyclopædic in its character and is likely to find a large market especially among the clergy and the army of Sunday School teachers.

*The Epistle to the Hebrews*. By Thomas Charles Edwards, D. D., Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. 12 mo. pp. 337. \$1.50. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The Expositors Bible, of which this forms the sixth volume and com-



pletes the first year's issue, is deservedly meeting with great popularity. It is preëminently a commentary for the people, a work that brings out into clear vision the cardinal teachings of the Scriptures, without going into endless labyrinths of critical problems or attempting to resist all the assaults of skeptical thought. These successive volumes offer meat rather than bones of controversy and they give, furthermore, a comprehensive view of the contents of a chapter or paragraph, and the unity of thought in a book, rather than a minute analysis of single terms with their peculiar shades of meaning. They are marked, withal, by high literary excellence and we find their exegetical features faithful to the mind of the Scriptures and suggestive of their rich import.

Principal Edwards' volume on the Hebrews is one of the most satisfactory of the series. Possessed of a clear discrimination between the system of symbols, types and shadows, and that of the spirit, the truth and life, he carries his reader with him into the heart of the Gospel and enriches his mind with the living treasures of evangelical doctrine unfolded in this Epistle. The question of authorship is not discussed, but Principal Edwards feels convinced that St. Paul is neither the actual author nor the originator of the treatise.

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## II. THEOLOGICAL.

*The Augsburg Confession.* Translated from the Latin in 1536. By Richard Taverner, Translator of "The English Bible" of 1539. With the variations of the English Translations, directly or indirectly dependent thereon. Edited for the use of the Joint Committee of the General Council, the General Synod and the United Synod of the South, charged with the preparation of a revised translation, by Henry E. Jacobs, Secretary of the Committee. pp. 120. 4to. With wide margins. Price \$1.00. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

The Common Service being completed, the translation of Luther's Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession is the next consummation called for by the English Lutheran churches and entrusted through their respective General Bodies to a joint committee, largely composed of the scholars who have brought out the Common Service.

The committee at its first meeting at Gettysburg, Penna., in July of this year, decided to translate the Augsburg Confession from the Latin *Editio Princeps*, of 1530-1, and to supply in footnotes all important variations of the German edition published at the same time and accepted by this Joint Committee as of equal authority with the Latin. As the basis of the translation now to be made the committee adopted the old English version of Richard Taverner of 1536, and instructed its Secretary, Dr. Jacobs, whose eminent qualifications for such a task were readily recognized, to have this version printed for the use of the com-

mittee, together with the variations of other translations, more or less dependent upon that of Taverner. The result of Dr. Jacobs' labor form the contents of this work, finely executed under the auspices of the Lutheran Publication Society. Primarily designed for the members of the committee in their task of providing a standard translation, a limited number of extra copies was ordered to be printed, in the hope not only of relieving the committee from a heavy expense but also of supplying the public with a production which many scholars will prize as a historical, a literary and a symbolic treasure.

Taverner's translation of the Confession is a curiosity. "Seventy-five years older than the authorized version of the Bible, and more than half a century earlier than the first productions of Shakespeare," it offers a most interesting specimen of classic, sturdy and idiomatic English, the editor simply modernizing the spelling. It is a monument, too, of the early hold which Lutheranism had in England. As is well said by Dr. Jacobs, who has recently made extensive explorations in that field: "It is a memorial of those negotiations with the Lutheran theologians at Wittenberg which not only for a time promised the reformation of the English Church upon a thoroughly Lutheran basis, but when this was not accomplished, made the Augsburg Confession the great source whence successive English ecclesiastical formularies derived much of their material. Nor was the translation of Taverner made only for theologians, but, as the 'Epistle of the Translator' clearly shows, it was designed to be scattered broadcast throughout the kingdom, 'that the people for whose sake the book was commanded to be translated may the more greedily devour the same.'"

The volume as now edited has additional features of great interest. "A Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches" appeared in England A. D. 1586, the Augsburg Confession contained in this being largely conformed to Taverner's translation.

In 1844 this "Harmony" of 1586 was republished, with some slight changes in the translation of the Augsburg Confession. In 1868 the late C. Porterfield Krauth, D. D., edited a translation, in which he took that in Hall's Harmony as his basis, and made numerous changes. Ten years afterwards the late Prof. J. D. Jacobson, of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, published a revision of the work of Dr. Krauth, which is the translation now generally circulated by the Norwegian, Missouri, Ohio and other western Synods.

The variations which occur in these successive editions are given in the footnotes, with that scholarly accuracy and conscientious care which characterize the literary labors of Dr. Jacobs. The little volume must commend itself as of exceptional value, preferable in some respects to the coming translation that is to be developed from it, and it will not be



surprising if the limited edition published will prove inadequate to the demand.

*An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology.* Based on Luthardt. By Reverend Franklin Weidner, S. T. D., Professor of Theology in Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ills., Member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Member of the American Oriental Society, etc. 1887. pp. 260. Rock Island, Ills.: Augustana Book Concern.

The appearance of this volume, with its general and specific title pages, is the announcement of a forthcoming system of Dogmatic Theology by the author. The present volume contains only the *Prolegomena*, which usually forms the first part, the definition, contents, method, and history of Dogmatics. It comes to us as the outgrowth of the author's work in the class-room, and is published in the hope that it may prove serviceable to other theological students than those under the author's immediate instruction and to English-speaking ministers of the Church. In this hope he is well warranted both by the absence of any volume in English covering precisely the same ground and by the merit of the work itself.

In addition to Luthardt's *Compendium der Dogmatik*, which has been taken as the basis, large use has been made of the manuscript lectures of Dr. Krauth, taken by the author when a student in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. The various topics which properly belong to the *Prolegomena* have been well arranged, and are presented only in outline, with brief discussion of the leading points. The presentation is candid, and prevailingly fair on points on which differing views have been held. As almost inevitable, Dr. Weidner, even in the introductory matter, shaping the groundwork which to great degree determines the structure of the whole dogmatic system, reflects more particularly the whole special type of Lutheran view held in the General Council. Yet the general presentation is so broadly Lutheran, exhibiting what is the common teaching of our Church, that it is rich in matter and valuable for help for our students throughout the whole Church.

Some few of its representations, however, call for positive and emphatic dissent. For instance, the unfavorable judgment of *Pietism* expressed on pp. 232, 233. Besides being conceived of and judged under the influence of the extremest notion about "the idea of pure doctrine for purity's own sake," a notion which in fact separates doctrine from its divinely given practical end, it is depreciated, even "in its noblest form," "even at its best estate," by a one-sided statement that becomes a thorough misrepresentation. This assertion of its weakness and unhealthiness is untrue in fact, and contradicted by its history. The appearance of any disposition in our American Lutheran Church to

discount the character and service of Pietism is to be regretted. It is moreover a gratuitous reflection on the character of our Church as organized and established here under the labors of Muhlenberg and his co-laborers.

The idea that particular churches have any power over their confessional statements, is summarily set aside by quoting a statement from Dr. Krauth, which, if allowed, absolutely shuts off all development of doctrine by the Church universal, except through the organization of new sects, and forever precludes all approach toward a closer doctrinal agreement among the great divisions or denominations of Protestantism. The ground taken is sustained neither by the spirit of Luther nor by the best Lutheran authorities on the subject.

The description of the General Synod as "largely unionistic," in connection with the added expressions about it, while doubtless meant to express a diminution of its proper Lutheran character and status, is we believe, to be accepted as true. The General Synod's constitution binds it to be "sedulously and incessantly regardful of the circumstances of the times, and of every casual rise and progress of the unity of sentiment among Christians in general, in order that the blessed opportunities to promote concord and unity, and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, may not pass by neglected and unavailing." This feature of the General Synod's position is not a fault to be apologized for, but an excellence to be gloried in and cherished. The epithets "unionistic" and "syncretistic" with which narrowness and intolerance would reproach its attitude, and intimate its disloyalty to genuine Lutheranism, are to be accepted as setting forth an honorable distinction, and marking out the only way in which the Lutheran Church, as a particular Church, can take its right relation to the fellowship of the Church universal and accomplish its work in this land and age. We take as a ground for rejoicing the admission made by our author, that the exclusive, anti-unionistic "rule" of the General Council has not been successful in "educating" away the practice of the "exceptions" to it, and making the 'application' of the rule acceptable to the intolerant spirit of some of the Synods. It is a good and hopeful sign.

M. V.

*Yale Lectures on Preaching*, and other Writings, by Nathaniel J. Burton, D. D., Pastor of the Park Church, Hartford, Conn. Edited by Richard E. Burton. New York: Charles S. Webster & Co.

The publication of this fine volume will reveal to the public how gifted a man passed away in the recent death of Dr. Burton. For it brings us a series of lectures and other discourses, left by him in manuscript, of rare richness of thought strikingly presented. The memorial addresses at his funeral, by President Dwight, Dr. Parker, and Rev. J. H. Twichell, prefixed to these lectures, give a most attractive picture of the author, both as a Christian man and as a preacher. A marked



purity, genuineness, sweetness and beauty of Christian spirit and life added to the charm and impressiveness of his "manifold, marvelous intellectual endowment." Making all fair allowance for eulogistic feeling in the utterances of such an occasion, the glowing tribute which such men, having known him intimately and long, unite in bearing to the rich qualities of Dr. Burton's mind and heart, justify us in ranking him high among the gifted men of the Church, with ripest and loveliest Christian spirit.

The twenty lectures here given, making the larger part of the volume, were delivered at the Yale Theological Seminary, twelve of them in the year 1884 in the Lyman Beecher course, and the remaining eight, special lectures outside of the regular course, in 1885 and 1886. These lectures on preaching are marked by great originality, freshness and independence of both thought and expression. They are lighted up by the play of a rich imagination which sparkles and corruscates throughout the discussions. The reader's interest is constantly enlivened by happy surprises in the unexpected and suggestive turns of the thought and expression which brighten the pages. The charm of them is not in the nicely elaborated rhetoric of the sentences, a faultless polish of musical order and phase, but often in spite of a lack of this. For while passages occur which remind of the poetry and rhythm of Jeremy Taylor, others often have the abrupt ruggedness of Thomas Carlyle. Students of theology and ministers of the gospel will get quickening and valuable hints and help, and have their impressions of the greatness of preaching, and their insight into homiletical principles deepened, by reading these lectures.

The rest of the volume is made up of various addresses, on Henry Wilson, Dr. Bushnell, James A. Garfield, Dr. Leonard Bacon, and a Fourth of July Oration; three Essays, on Worship, The Love of Truth, and Agnosticism; nine Sermons, and some Foreign Letters written to the *Hartford Evening Post* during the years 1868 and 1869. The same mental and spiritual characteristics as in the Yale lectures mark these addresses and sermons. The strong and attractive individuality of the man glows through them all. The sermons, though not perhaps, the best illustrations of homiletical rules, have elements of unusual impressiveness, and are sermons which once read, are likely to remain fixed in the reader's memory.

This commendatory notice of this volume must not be taken as meaning an acceptance or approval of all the views of the author. Dr. Burton was an admirer of Dr. Bushnell, whose successor he was in the Park Church, and though he did not follow him in all his deviations from the orthodoxy of Congregationalism, he sympathized with him in the idea of liberalizing theology. He was too independent in his thought and spirit to be an easy disciple of any man, and he evidently retained much more than Bushnell did of the old orthodoxy of the incarnation,

atonement, &c. Some of his views however, on inspiration and other points, as they appear here, depart from the commonly accepted teaching and call for dissent. But apart from and irrespective of a few things of this sort, the earnest, trusting, loving, self-sacrificing, beautiful Christ-like piety that pervades the work cannot but quicken the Christian temper and sentiment of the reader.

The publishers desire to employ theological students, and ministers out of employment, as solicitors for the volume. Address Webster, 3, E 14th St., New York. M. V.

### III. HISTORICAL.

*The Ancient World and Christianity.* By E. De Pressensé, D. D., Author of "The Early Years of Christianity," "A Study of Origins," etc. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. pp. 419. \$1.75. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

Under the title of the Ancient World, the eminent French savant and senator has given us a comparative history of the religions of antiquity in the order of the Chaldeo-Assyrian Religion, the Religion of Egypt, the Religion of Phoenicia, the Religion of Zoroaster, the Religions of India, Hellenic Paganism and Graeco-Roman Paganism. There is also a chapter on the Pagan World at the Coming of Christ, and a short one on Judaism which exhibits the preparation of the world for the gospel.

It is really intended as a sort of introduction to the latest edition of the author's "History of the First Three Centuries," and a study of the antecedent moral history of mankind is in fact essential to a full intellectual appreciation of Christianity, but it is of great interest also as an independent work. The sacred books of all the old religions are opened in order to gain a faithful expression of the struggles after truth and peace under the shadowy teachings of nature. The persistent but unanswered cry of conscience, the profound but never-satisfied aspirations after God, the Monotheistic intuitions of the human mind and the dim though inextinguishable hope of deliverance meet us everywhere. Men are everywhere groping in the darkness, wandering in an endless round, seeking if haply they may find the infinite, the ineffable mystery, which is above and beyond all visible things and on which they all so manifestly depend. That man wants God and that he cannot know him without revelation, this two-fold and supreme truth is cut as with an iron pen into the rocks of human history and the tears and blood of ages of superstition have but brought it out in stronger relief.

All who desire enlightenment on the great subject of religion will find these pages exceedingly instructive and suggestive. They abound in proofs of learning and thoroughness, and as the discussion is alike phi-



losophic and sympathetic, critical and candid, interspersed with passages of tender pathos and brilliant eloquence, it will prove most attractive reading as well as form one of the most valuable contributions to the science of religion and to Christian apologetics. If any one honestly believes Christianity to be an evolution of human thought, or holds it to be but a syncretism of previous religious elements, destined like all the historic superstitions to be in turn superseded by some other faith, let him carefully read this work and for himself contrast the notes of the Gospel with the traditions and speculations of men. The "Light of Asia" analyzed under the powerful lens of history is found to be but a flickering *ignis fatuus*, luring souls to despair. Christianity is the Light of the World.

*Christian Archæology.* By Charles W. Bennet, D. D., Professor of Historical Theology in Ganet Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. With an introductory Notice by Dr. Ferdinand Piper, Professor of Church History and Christian Archæology in the University of Berlin. 8vo. pp. 558. \$3.50. New York : Phillips & Hunt.

This is the Fourth Volume of the Library of Biblical and Theological Literature, so ably edited by Drs. George R. Crooks and John F. Hurst. Not for many days has there appeared a more valuable contribution to the science of church history than this solid and beautiful octavo. The abundant material, which attests the author's erudition, has been arranged and classified with remarkable discernment and skill, and along with this the copious illustrations, the succinct and pellucid style, the absence of dogmatic bias, and Addenda embracing Glossary, Bibliography and a Translation of inscriptions, make it just such a volume as many pastors and intelligent men among the laity have long been craving. As its character and its merits become known it is destined to have an immense circulation. We cannot better present the comprehensive, convenient and in every way admirable plan of the work than by an exhibit of its contents and analytic outline. It has four general divisions. Book first treats of the Archæology of Christian Art, including in successive chapters, monuments, symbols, painting, mosaics, sculpture, architecture, epigraphy, hymnology and music. Book second covers the Constitution and Government of the early Christian Church, its original idea, the modifications of its organization in the first six centuries, its officers, synods, and discipline. Book third is devoted to the Sacraments and Worship, Liturgies, Lord's Day Observance and Festivals. Book fourth depicts the Christian Life, in the sphere of the Christian Family, the Church and Slavery, Civil and Military Life, Charities, Education, and the Care for the Dead.

It will be seen thus that the work partakes of the nature of an encyclopædia, but it is more compact and in every way more desirable than voluminous works of that sort.

As specimens of the author's caution and conservatism we notice his remark on the observance of the First Day: "It is difficult to doubt that it had apostolic sanction," and his quotation from Döllinger on infant baptism: "Christ left no command about it; it was one of those many things his Church was to learn in her gradual development through the Paraclete whom he had given."

*Hildebrand and His Times.* By W. R. W. Stephens, M. A. Prebendary of Chichester and Rector of Woolbeding, Sussex. Author of "Life of S. John Chrysostom." pp. 230. 80 cents.

*The Church and the Eastern Empire.* By Rev. Henry Fanshawe Tozer, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, Author of "The Highlands of Turkey," etc. pp. 198. 80 cents.

These two handsomely printed volumes belong to the series of "Epochs of Church History" edited by the Rev. M. Creighton, M. A., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, published by Longmans, Green & Co., London and bearing the impress of Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, New York, to whom the literary world is so largely indebted for excellent religious publications and reprints. We are very much pleased with these brief sketches and hope they may find their way into thousands of household libraries. Readers very often prefer to have Church History broken up into particular divisions or epochs, for when embraced in a single work it is sure to be appalling in its magnitude or else unsatisfying in the meagerness and dryness of its contents. The series will embrace among others "The German Reformation," "England and the Papacy," Wyclif and the Beginnings of the Reformation" and "The Church and the Roman Empire."

"Hildebrand and his Times" is a subject full of absorbing interest. That was an age fruitful of great men and great achievements, an age of movements and enterprises which did much to shape the future destinies of Europe. It witnessed a reformation of the Church, as did the 16th century, and that reformation had its embodiment in Hildebrand, as the later Evangelical reformation found its microcosm in Luther. With the contests and changes and heroes offered by this period, a thrilling volume may be written, and Mr. Stephens shows himself equal to the task. He writes without polemic asperity and contents himself with the facts.

"The Church and the Eastern Empire," after giving a rapid sketch of the Eastern Empire, which was for centuries the strongest and most important government of Europe, introduces us to the great episodes and far-reaching events which distinguish the history of the Eastern Church. A graphic and faithful portraiture is given of its distinctive features, of its controversies, its various sects, its monasticism, its missionary career, the protracted iconoclastic struggles, and the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

All who take an intelligent interest in history or religion will find



themselves not only instructed but delighted with these all-too-brief pages.

To each volume are added a copious Alphabetical Index and a Chronological Table of the leading events referred to respectively in each volume. The volume on "Hildebrand" has also an excellent colored Map of Central Europe in the 11th century.

*Sacred History, from the Creation to the Giving of the Law.* By Edward P. Humphrey, D. D., LL. D., sometime Professor in the Danville Theological Seminary. Large 8vo. pp. 540. Price \$2.50. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

To the eye this is one of the most solid and attractive volumes to be seen anywhere. And an investigation of its contents leaves a still more pleasing impression upon the mind. The subject is restricted to the most ancient period of history, but it is one that furnishes many of the living problems around which rage the biblical and scientific contests of the present hour. Hardly any other part of the Sacred Scriptures have been so persistently assailed as these earliest chapters, which whether unbelief knows it or not, hold a most vital relation to the future kingdom of God. And it is refreshing to faith to peer into a volume that makes a sturdy defence of those Mosaic records, a work marked throughout by clearness and strength of style, by patient investigation and by entire familiarity with the scholarship and the skepticism of the period.

The difficulties which are supposed to embarrass the Mosaic account of the creation, the author divides into different and exhaustive classes. The first class embraces all those questions in which the meaning of God's word is fully ascertained, and the opposing sciences are immature. Of this class the unity of origin and species of the human race is a fair example. The second class of these apparent contradictions embraces those problems in which natural science is mature, and the Bible is not understood. Thus the literal straining to which biblical language in the description of astronomical phenomena has been subjected, has occasioned an apparent conflict between Scripture and Science. The third class of the questions at issue is that in which the findings of science are incomplete and the proper explanation of the Bible is not yet reached. Here belong certain important problems of geology and astronomy.

The work is a storehouse of historical and biblical learning, and is sure to bring the studious reader an accession of knowledge and to awaken a lively interest on a subject of imperishable interest, while at the same time it will furnish him with well-tested and impenetrable armor for the defence of the faith. It was a great loss to the Christian world to have Dr. Humphrey removed from us at the completion of this

volume and before it reached the hands of the printer, but it was a most gracious providence that spared him till the last page of the manuscript was finished. He needs no monument in stone.

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#### IV. PRACTICAL.

*The Virtues and Their Reasons.* A System of Ethics for Society and Schools. By Austin Bierbower, author of "The Morals of Christ." 1888. pp. 294. Chicago: George Sherwood & Co.

This work is a venture in a new line—an attempt to provide a manual for ethical instruction in the public schools and State institutions on a basis of entire divorcement from religious sanctions, equally acceptable to Christians, Jews and unbelievers. We have examined the work with much interest, to see how the author has accomplished his task. Without doubt an ethical system may be framed out of the natural data of the reason and conscience, and the cardinal virtues have been recognized and acknowledged apart from the Christian revelation. The chief ethical distinctions and judgment are the common property of man everywhere and at all times. Of these leading virtues the author here treats, defining and commending them to the approval and practice of his readers. He divides all duties into two classes, such as regard others chiefly, and such as regard self chiefly. The first class, in their specific place and nature, are treated under the broad principles of Kindness, Truth, Honesty, Family Duties, and Public Duties. The second class are pointed out under general obligations of Self-Development, Industry, Self-Control, Temperance, Self-Respect, Purity, and Conscientiousness. These chapters abound in fine delineations of the principal virtues, wise counsels, and wholesome dissuasives from wrong-doing and vice. The virtues which have a special interest in the present conditions of society and of our country, are particularly emphasized. The volume is rich in counsels and rules which ought to be early and deeply fixed in the minds of the young.

Yet with so much of value and merit in the book, we cannot feel that the author has succeeded in providing the proper book of "ethics for society and the schools." Not simply because of the careful divorce of morality from all religious sanctions, but because of the weakening and misleading principles on which he rests the plea for the moralities of life. Though he indicates his purpose not to enter the field of speculative philosophy or decide the vexed question of the ground of virtue, he at once makes it a simple question of utility, men being called upon simply to do what is best for themselves. Conscience is resolved in a "*feeling*, which indicates, as a result of many impressions, what we ought to do, and impels us thereto." Advantage to the parties concerned, and to others as well, seems to be claimed as the sufficient basis for the moralities here discussed. While not denying that virtue may



have some other sanction, the constant basing of the plea for it only on this ground can never call forth the best qualities of excellence or train into the noblest features of character and life. The highest inspirations to justice, kindness, self-sacrifice, can never come from this kind of teaching.

M. V.

*The Common Service*; 16mo., pp. xxviii., 274, limp cloth cover; 20 cents. *The Common Service with Music*; 6x8, pp. 146; 35 cents. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

This long looked for Liturgy "for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations" has at last appeared. It is called "The Common Service," because prepared by and intended for the congregations of the three general bodies, General Synod, General Council, and United Synod in the South. The little book contains thirteen chapters, with these contents: Preface, Festivals of the Church [Tabular arrangement]; Table of Epistles and Gospels; Table of Scripture Lessons for the Sundays and Festivals; Table of Lessons for Morning and Evening throughout the year; The Order of Morning Service, or The Communion; The Order of Evening Service, or Vespers; The Order of Early Morning Service, or Matins; Introits and Collects for the Church Year; Invitations, Antiphons, Responsories and Versicles for the Church Year; Collects and Prayers; General Prayers; The Psalms. Nearly one half of the book is taken up with the Psalms, copied exactly from the Sacred Scriptures. A very large proportion of the other parts is in the very words of Scripture, and what is not in these words is, withal, thoroughly Biblical. Indeed there is little or nothing here that is of man, except the arrangement. This arrangement is derived chiefly from the Orders of service in use in our Evangelical churches in the sixteenth century, the devout Reformation period; and these were in harmony with the usages of the ancient church. So that the use of this book will become a connecting bond not only among our variously connected churches of the present day, but also with the church of old, even to primitive times. It is a bond both devoutly and historically formed. In this view this Common Service is commended to our churches and published "by authority of the General Synod." It is "not presented as obligatory upon the congregations;" since such obligation would be contrary to the gospel and the genius of our church. But there is a moral and historical obligation upon our churches to sincerely and without prejudice examine and test by use this order of service. There must be some order, and that humanly arranged. Why, then, should it be thought a thing conducive to spirituality or edification of Lutheran churches to forsake Lutheran customs, and follow Methodist, Presbyterian or any other order?

Although there are more parts in this order than in that published in

the "Book of Worship," it will be found that some of the parts there are much simplified and shortened. The Common Service looks a great deal longer than it is, many of the parts being alternative or for only occasional use. One of the most notable changes is the putting of the general prayer, commonly called "the long prayer," after the sermon. This is its true place reasonably and historically, and we believe those who try it will come to like the change. The music will probably be considered heavy by some, at first; but it is rich and expressive and will grow into favor with use. Experienced leaders and choirs that have already tried it strongly praise it. The mechanical execution of these books is excellent.

We might criticise some words and phrases, where we have our preferences, but we do not take this little book in the spirit of criticism and self-pleasing, but as a providential gift of God for the unification of our Church and its advancement in devotional life, true self-consciousness and permanent increase. May the Spirit of God help ministers and people to and in its use.

H. L. B.

*The Book of Worship.* For the use of The United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South. pp. 344. Columbia, S. C.: W. J. Duffie.

The first part of this volume contains The Common Service, prepared by the Joint Committee of the three General Lutheran Bodies. Along with this are given The History of the Passion of our Lord, The Orders for Ministerial Acts, The Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism. It is handsomely gotten up, substantially bound and neatly printed, but in type so small that but for a person's familiarity with the text one would find it a severe tax on the eye to read it in the darkness which stained-glass windows render inevitable in our churches. People on this account, if for no other reason, ought to be encouraged to acquaint themselves well at home with all parts of the service. Of course the Church South publishes also another edition with larger print, but we have not seen a copy of this.

If any one has been troubled over rumors and utterances concerning the diversity in The Common Service, that is the variation of the General Synod's edition from that of the two other bodies, he can easily satisfy himself now by comparing the southern edition as here published with the General Synod's. Since Dr. Schmucker may well be accepted as capable of giving correct information on these variations, we append herewith statements made over his name in the press: "Very few of them are of material consequence, or would materially interfere with the use of either book in the services of worship in a congregation of one of the other bodies." \* \* "With one exception they are unimportant, and do not seriously disturb the general agreement and com-



mon character of the service." They can only appear important to minds that have a fondness for exaggeration and a faculty for making mountains out of molehills.

Since the above notices of the Common Service were put in type a long, unfavorable criticism of the work has appeared from a writer who has evidently but little sympathy with Lutheran liturgies. He seeks to create prejudice against the Common Service on the score that "it is a book of the sixteenth and not of the nineteenth century." This, we beg leave to inform the writer, is a gross error and a serious misconception of the Common Service. We doubt whether it contains a single paragraph from the sixteenth century. The different parts that compose it are very much older. The Nicene Creed, for instance, was adopted early in the fourth century, and with the exception of a few clauses dates far beyond that. The Apostles' Creed, in all but a few expressions, is still older. The same may be said of the *Glorias*. The Epistles and Gospels appointed to be read belong to the first century. So do the Lord's Prayer, the Words of Institution and other parts. The Psalms are still older, having been largely composed by David a thousand years before Christ. One of them is ascribed to Moses, which places it in the sixteenth century B. C.

If age is a serious objection to a Service and unfits it for the use of the glorious nineteenth century, then our critic can make out a much stronger case than he has done in representing it as of the sixteenth century.

But gold remains gold  
Though a thousand years old.

"And his truth endureth to all generations." The only mark of the sixteenth century on this Common Service is the purification of the different parts from corrupt, unscriptural additions, which had become blended with them and which the Reformers in the great revival of the Church in their day carefully eliminated and rejected.

*One Hundred Festgesänge für Männerchöre.* (One Hundred Festal Songs for Male Choirs.) Ausgewählt und bearbeitet von J. G. Kunz, Lehrer und Organist der Evan. Luth. Immanuelsgemeinde Zu St. Louis, Mo. pp. 140. Price, single copy, \$1.50. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House.

The festivals for which the music in this collection is designed, are Advent, Christmas, New-Year, Epiphany, Passion-Week, Confirmation, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, Reformation, Bible Anniversary, Marriages, Burials, and so forth.

We recognize in the compilation a number of musical classics, but we do not feel competent to pass judgment on the merits of the revision and rearrangement which they have respectively undergone. Prof. Kunz is, however, an accomplished composer and musician, and the

churchly ring in these old anthems must commend them especially to German Lutherans. The book is beautifully and substantially gotten up by the Missouri Publishing House, of whose enterprise and excellent work we have repeatedly had occasion to speak.

*The New Model First Reader.* Sentence Method. pp. 96. Chicago: George Sherwood & Company.

This is quite an improvement on all First Readers that we have met. With its richly colored pictures it is beautiful to the eye, and the method of the work is happily adapted to juvenile minds.

*Self-Reliance Encouraged.* For Young Ladies: Indicating the principles and possible measures which will insure honorable success here and hereafter. By James Porter, D. D., author of "The Chart of Life," "Christianity Demonstrated by Experience," etc., etc. pp. 280. Price \$1.00. New York: Phillips & Hunt. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

The aim of this little volume is to excite in young ladies higher aspirations and to guide them to their attainment. It is meant not so much for those who have abundant leisure or ample opportunities at school, but rather for those who are thrown upon their own resources and are obliged to plan for themselves. The author has evidently had extensive observation of the difficulties and opportunities that surround this large class of young ladies, and he writes sensibly and sympathetically, offering counsel which women in every sphere would do well to heed.

#### PAMPHLETS.

*Synodal-Bericht.* Verhandlungen der deutschen Evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, *Minnesota und Dakotah-Districts*, Anno Domini 1888. pp. 73. St. Louis, Mo.: Luth. Concordia Verlag, (M. C. Barthel, Agent).

Similar Reports of the Proceedings of the *Illinois District* and of the *Wisconsin District* of the Missouri Synod have also reached us, but they have been mislaid, which we very much regret since the minutes of the conventions of these zealous Missourians form a very interesting and valuable contribution to Lutheran literature.

















